

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
I.— <i>Supplement to the Description of an Astrological Clock, belonging to the Society of Antiquaries In a Letter to the President, from Captain W. H. SMYTH, R.N., K.S.F., D.C.L., Director</i>	1—20
II.— <i>Account of the Discovery of Roman and other Sepulchral Remains, at the Village of Stone, near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire. By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary</i>	21—32
III.— <i>On the use of Mason-Marks in Scotland. By PATRICK CHALMERS, Esq., F.S.A.</i>	33—36
IV.— <i>Rules of the Free School at Saffron Walden, in Essex, in the reign of Henry VIII. Communicated by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A., in a Letter to Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N., Director</i>	37—41
V.— <i>The Seal of Chaucer: Copy of the Deed to which it is appended: Copy of a public Instrument notifying to him his removal from his Office of Clerk of the King's Works. In a Letter to Sir Henry Ellis from JOSEPH HUNTER, a Fellow of the Society</i>	42—45
VI.— <i>Remarks on a Coloured Drawing of some Ancient Beads, executed by BENJAMIN NIGHTINGALE, Esq., from Specimens in his possession. By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary</i>	46—50
VII.— <i>Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Eltham in Kent: with Notes and Illustrations. By G. R. CORNER, Esq., F.S.A., in a Letter to John Yonge Akerman, Esq., Secretary</i>	51—65
VIII.— <i>Account of Ystumcegid Cromlech, in the parish of Llanfihangel-y-Pennant, county of Carnarvon. By NATHANIEL NEAL SOLLY, Esq. Communicated in a Letter to Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N., K.S.F., D.C.L., Director</i>	66—67

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
IX.— <i>Communication from WILLIAM CHAFFERS, Jun., Esq. F.S.A., addressed to J. Y. Akerman, Esq., Secretary, accompanying the Exhibition of numerous Glass Vessels, and other Antiquities of the Roman Period, found at Nismes</i> - - -	68—72
X.— <i>Notes on some Paper Casts of Cuneiform Inscriptions upon the sculptured Rock at Behistun, exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries. By Lieut.-Col. H. RAWLINSON, C.B., F.R.S., and D.C.L.</i> - - -	73—76
XI.— <i>Notes on Saxon Sepulchral Remains found at Fairford, Gloucestershire. By C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A. In a Letter addressed to J. Y. Akerman, Esq., Resident Secretary</i> -	77—82
XII.— <i>Notice of a Bronze Beaded Collar, found in Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire. In a Letter from ALBERT WAY, Esq. F.S.A., to Sir Henry Ellis, K.H., Secretary</i> - - -	83—87
XIII.— <i>Account of some of the Celtic Antiquities of Orkney, including the Stones of Stenness, Tumuli, Picts-houses, &c., with Plans. By F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., Corr. Mem. S. A. Scot., Lieutenant Commanding H.M. Surveying Vessel Woodlark</i> -	88—136
XIV.— <i>Sir Walter Raleigh, his Character, Services, and Advancement; with new Particulars of his Life. In a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., V.P., to Frederic Ouvry, Esq., F.S.A.</i> -	137—148
XV.— <i>Additional Information respecting the Life and Services of Sir Walter Raleigh. In a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., V.P., to William Durrant Cooper, Esq., F.S.A.</i> -	149—159
XVI.— <i>Continuation of New Materials for a Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. In a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., V.P., to John Bruce, Esq., Treasurer</i> - - -	160—170
XVII.— <i>On some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races. By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq. F.S.A., Secretary</i> -	171—189
XVIII.— <i>Observations upon certain Documents relating to William first Earl of Gowrie, and Patrick Ruthven, his fifth and last surviving son. In a Letter addressed by JOHN BRUCE, Esq., Treasurer S.A., to Sir Charles G. Young, Garter, F.S.A.</i> -	190—224
XIX.— <i>On some "Roundells" or Fruit Trenchers of the Time of James the First. Communicated in a Letter from JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., the Resident Secretary, to the Viscount Mahon, President</i> - - -	225—230

CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE
XX.— <i>On the Place of Julius Caesar's Departure from Gaul for the Invasion of Britain, and the Place of his Landing in Britain; with an Appendix on the Battle of Hastings. By GEORGE BIDDLE AIRY, Esq., Astronomer Royal. Communicated by Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N., Vice-President and Director</i>	- 231—250
XXI.— <i>An Account of the Opening of some Tumuli in the East Riding of Yorkshire. By the Right Hon. the LORD LONDESBOROUGH, F.S.A.</i>	- 251—258
XXII.— <i>Supplementary Observations on an Astronomical and Astrological Table-Clock, together with an Account of the Astrolabe. By C. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., M.A., F.R.S., and S.A., in a Letter to J. Y. Akerman, Esq., Resident Secretary</i>	- 259—264
XXIII.— <i>On a Silver Disc from Tarentum, in the possession of Henry Vint, Esq., F.S.A., of Colchester. By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq.</i>	265—272
XXIV.— <i>Notes made during a Tour in the West of France. By JOHN HENRY PARKER, Esq., F.S.A. Communicated in two Letters to Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N., F.R.S., Director</i>	- 273—295
XXV.— <i>A Narrative of the principal Naval Expeditions of English Fleets, beginning with that against the Spanish Armada in 1588, down to 1603. In a Letter from Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., Secretary, to John Yonge Akerman, Esq., Resident Secretary</i>	- 296—349
XXVI.— <i>Memoir on the Practice of Banishment, as it obtained in the Reign of James II. among those who were sentenced to death for their Participation in the Rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth. By GEORGE ROBERTS, Esq.</i>	- 350—356
XXVII.— <i>Upon an Historical Tablet of Rameses II., 19th Dynasty, relating to the Gold Mines of Æthiopia. By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq.</i>	- 357—391
XXVIII.— <i>On the Deities of the Amenti, as found in Egyptian Mummies. By THOMAS JOSEPH PETTIGREW, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.</i>	- 392—393
XXIX.— <i>Account of Roman Remains found at Box Moor, Herts. Communicated by JOHN EVANS, Esq., of Nash Mills, to Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N., V.P., and Director</i>	- 394—398
XXX.— <i>Account of the Remains of an Ancient Camp near Bayonne. By S. BARING GOULD, Esq., of Lew Trenchard</i>	- 399—402

	PAGE
XXXI.— <i>A few Notices respecting William Lynwode, Judge of the Arches, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of St. David's. By JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.</i> - - - - -	403—405
XXXII.— <i>Report of the Committee appointed by the Council of the Society of Antiquaries to investigate the circumstances attending the recent Discovery of a Body in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster</i>	406—430
APPENDIX - - - - -	433—452
Index - - - - -	453—467

TABLE OF PLATES.

PLATE	PAGE
I.—Clock presented by Henry VIII. to Anne Boleyn, in possession of her present Majesty, at Windsor Castle - - - - -	12
II.—Plans and Views in the Village of Stone, near Aylesbury, with sections of Sepulchral Pit - - - - -	32
III.—Masons' Marks in the Round Tower at Brechin and upon the Castle of Melgund - - - - -	36
IV.—Mason's Marks from the Cash Book of St. Ninian's Lodge, Brechin - -	36
V.—Antique Beads in the Collection of Benjamin Nightingale, Esq. - -	50
VI.—Ystumcegid Cromlech, parish of Llanfihangel-y-Pennant, co. Carnarvon -	66
VII.—Antiquities found at Nismes - - - - -	72
VIII.—General View of the Sculptures at Behistun, taken from the foot of the Rock - - - - -	76
IX.—Specimen of the Median writing at Behistun, copied from fac-similes taken by impression on the spot - - - - -	76
X.—Anglo-Saxon Remains found at Fairford, co. Gloucester - - - -	82
XI.—Bronze Collar found in Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire - - - - -	86
XII.—General Plan of the Antiquities of Stenness, Orkney, 1849 - - -	136
XIII.—Ring of Brögar, Stenness - - - - -	136
XIV.—Antiquities of Stenness - - - - -	136
XV.—Graves in Tumuli and Plans of Picts Houses, Orkney - - - -	136
XVI.—Plan and Sections of a Picts House upon the Holm of Papey Westrey, North Isles, Orkney, excavated in the autumn of 1849 - - - -	136
XVII.—Ground Plan and Elevations of both sides of a Picts House at Savrock, near Kirkwall - - - - -	136

PLATE	PAGE
XVIII.—Roundells, or Fruit Trenchers, of the time of James the First	225
XIX.—Map to illustrate the supposed route of Cæsar, and the Battle of Hastings	250
XX.—Sepulchral Remains from Tumuli near Driffeld, Yorkshire	258
XXI.—Silver Disc from Tarentum	272
XXII.—Cloister of the ancient Abbey of St. Aubin at Angers	278
XXIII.—Chapel of the Hospital of St. John at Angers	279
XXIV.—Mortuary Chapel dedicated to St. Catherine in the Cemetery of the Abbey of Fontevrault	285
XXV.—Church of St. Hilary at Poitiers	287
XXVI.—Plan of the Church of St. Hilary at Poitiers as it existed before the Revolution in 1790	288
XXVII.—Names of Negro Prisoners on the Pedestal of a Statue in the Louvre	
XXVIII.—Tablet of Samneh, presented by his Grace the Duke of Northumberland to the British Museum	
XXIX.—Roman Antiquities found at Boxmoor, Herts	394
XXX.—The Mummy in St. Stephen's Crypt, Westminster, previous to its removal	430
XXXI.—The Crosier	430
XXXII.—The Body wrapped in Cere-cloth	430
XXXIII.—The Head, with the outer covering removed; and again, with the Pledget of Tow in the Mouth	430
XXXIV.—The Head after the removal of the Tow	430
XXXV.—Ancient Stone with Saxon Characters, found at Dewsbury	437
XXXVI.—Leaden Tablet, or Book Cover, with Saxon Inscription	438
XXXVII.—Examples of the Construction of Timber Arches	445
XXXVIII.—Silver Fibula and Torque found at Orton Scar, in Westmoreland	446
XXXIX.—Celtic Remains from a Tumulus near Scarborough	448
XL.—Leaden Horn-Book Moulds found at Hartley Castle	450

ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

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I.—*Supplement to the Description of an Astrological Clock, belonging to the Society of Antiquaries: in a Letter to the President, from* CAPTAIN W. H. SMYTH, R.N., K S.F., D.C.L., *Director.*

Read January 9, 1851.

MY DEAR LORD MAHON,

3, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, 18th December, 1850.

SINCE the publication of my letter to your Lordship, on the history and construction of our Astrological Clock, I have been requested to make an addition or two to that paper, in order to its being more fully illustrative of the subject. In the first place, perhaps the mere representation of the figure of the balance which is given in the thirty-third volume of the *Archæologia*, page 28, does not convey a precise notion of its end and aim, and therefore another diagram, representing it as applied to the escapement, would be more explanatory: secondly, it has been suggested that to many readers not familiar with the forms of the mediæval *horloge*, a general drawing of our table-clock would be an acceptable illustration: and thirdly, Count Krasinski, of a distinguished Polish family, who investigated the story and times of Sigismund the Great, has further strengthened me with circumstantial evidence respecting Queen Bona, the presumed original possessor of the clock. On these grounds, therefore, I again trespass on your Lordship's time.

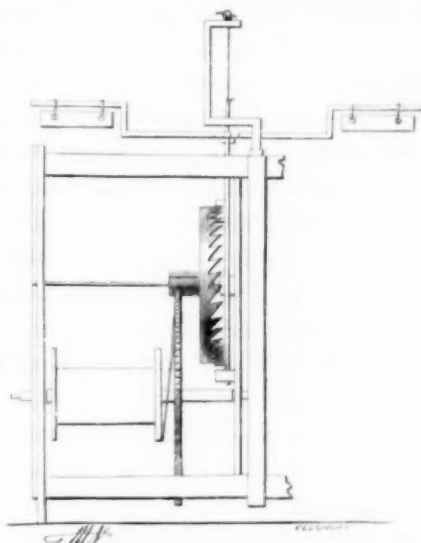
§ 1. THE BALANCE AND ESCAPEMENT.

Among the several points thus advanced, I at once plead guilty to an error of omission as regards the escapement; and the oversight is the more remarkable, inasmuch as I had sought to prove that, however much it fell short of the beautiful workmanship of the present age, it is—to all intents and purposes of principle—the very prototype of the *vertical scape* now used in our chronometers. This significant designation, it will be recollected, is given by workmen to that ingenious mechanical contrivance for sending, at equidistant periods of time, the maintaining power, greatly modified by it and the wheel-work, to the regulator, and thereby indicate time by isochronous vibrations; which compensate the disturbance occasioned by its impulsion upon the joint effect of mechanical agency and varied gravity. This was the portable application, so far back as the year 1525; and the banking of the balance is shewn, in order that it may be seen that, even then, the arms were not permitted to go over and let the wheel loose from the verge, and the clock by such means run down and strip off the points of the teeth of the scape-wheel, a circumstance which often occurs to the watches of the present day.



The mechanical application of this *scape* is equally admirable and simple; and it is to be regretted that we know not to whom we can assign so ingenious an invention. I have already shewn that Henry de Wyck's large clock was provided with such an agent in 1364; but, since the printing of that paper, I have examined one still older than De Wyck's, which weakens the claim set up for Megestein, of Cologne,

as the original proposer. I mentioned that Mr. Rowell, of Oxford, told me he had seen the remains of a very early clock in a tower of Dover Castle ; and the Board of Ordnance having kindly ordered it to be placed under my examination, I repaired thither, accompanied by Mr. Vulliamy, and every attention was paid to our wishes by Mr. Gange, the Ordnance Storekeeper, in whose charge it is kept. We were delighted to find, nearly entire, an unsophisticated old clock bearing the date 1348, and the mark *HL* ; the wheels, fly-vanes, and frame being of wrought iron, and it was wound up by means of small spokes on the end verge of a cylindrical wood barrel. Deeming this relic worthy of the utmost preservation, I requested Mr. Gange to remove it from the tower stairs, where it had long lain, into the armoury of the castle, and there place it on a pedestal in a spot which I was allowed to select for that purpose. That gentleman shewed much zeal for its future safety, and, after washing and carefully brushing the dust off, he had a thin coating of boiled linseed oil laid on ; so that it may now be preserved for many ages. Mr. Vulliamy took the necessary measurements for a professional description of this remarkable relic, with a view to its being published : I shall therefore now only trouble your Lordship with the annexed sketch of the balance and escapement, as a specimen which is sixteen years older than that which I gave of De Wyck's, in the thirty-third volume of the *Archæologia*, page 29.



Our present business however is rather with portable than with large clocks, and they are only here alluded to from being identical in principle as to the *vertical scape*. I believe our own clock to be the earliest portable specimen which can now be produced ; but mention of the balance for table-clocks is made by that extraordinary philosopher, Leonardo da Vinci, who died in 1519. In later times, our records have teemed with the exertions of Huyghens, Hook, Halley, Sully, Tompion, Le Roy, Graham, Grignon, Harrison, and many others, even to the present day ; but all their efforts prove to be, however elegant and efficacious, mere modifications of an established principle.

Yet my encomium on the application of the balance to a train of wheel-work, must not be carried beyond its intended bearing. When this form was first applied,

it possessed no natural property of perpetuating its own oscillations, like the pendulum: its motion being produced by an artificial force acting alternately on its opposite pallets, and derived entirely from its maintaining power at certain intervals. The first balance was, in fact, a simple regulating power; and there was wanting that kind of force which would have the effect of correcting the irregularities of impulse and resistance which otherwise, where a balance vibrates merely by the action of wheels, disturb the isochronism of the vibrations. It was therefore in material respects no better than a continued fly, except that its backward and forward movements, checked at each alternate impulse of the pallets, prevented the acceleration of motion that would otherwise ensue. Now the step from relative to absolute accuracy is a long and arduous one; and while a full acknowledgment is rendered to the happy invention of the mediæval mechanicians, it is impossible to overlook the merit and practical skill which have since brought their object into its fullest developement, as evinced in the modern chronometer. From many years of practical acquaintance with those machines, and in grateful recognition of the admirable results they have afforded, I cannot but consider them as near perfection as, humanly speaking, mere machines need to be; since with care and attention, in proper hands, their going may be implicitly relied upon, as well for navigating a vessel over the trackless deep, as for measuring and fixing arcs of distance, and establishing terrestrial longitudes. Indeed so correct is the principle, and so accurate the construction of our chronometers, that they may be carried over the globe and exposed to every variation of temperature, as well as to the violence of a ship's motion, and yet the second-hand will travel round the circumference of its dial upwards of 600,000 times without an error, at the last, of one-six-hundredth part of that circle. *Vis inertiae* and friction are all but entirely subdued, and reduced to ready modification.

To return to the primitive balance and escapement. In the great clocks before us, to obtain the performance of all the oscillations in equal times, the action of the force applied was required to be the same in manner, quantity, and duration in each oscillation; conditions of such difficulty under the constant changes of friction and resistance, that the happy introduction of the pendulum—converting a rotatory into a vibratory motion, and by its own gravity and isochronism neutralizing the impediments to uniform movement—was assuredly the grandest and most decisive stride ever made in horology. And that this benefit was widely and at once appreciated, is manifested by the fact, that at least eight-tenths of the portable clocks of those times, now existing, have obviously undergone the necessary alterations to fit them for the pendulum. The early efforts in horology consisted in

mere mechanical efforts to ensure regularity by simple means and the best procurable workmanship, for the governing principles were as yet but dimly seen; and it was reserved for the energetic Dr. Hook to penetrate the obscurity by his celebrated aphorism—"ut tensio sic vis."

§ 2. THE FORMS OF MEDIEVAL PORTABLE CLOCKS.

House clocks were either coeval with, or must have soon followed the larger ones of churches and abbeys; and their portability would consequently have been an early desideratum. In my former letter, I alluded to the more than Cimmerian darkness in which the date of this invention was enveloped; and, since the remark was printed, I observe that a claim is made for the engine in the *Usages de l'Ordre de Cîteaux* (see Calmet's Commentary), which was compiled about the year 1120; but assuredly that relates to a sort of alarum, for the sacristan is merely ordered to regulate a "morning-caller," so that it shall ring and make him rise before matins. Indeed I have found no certain mention of these machines before the fourteenth century, and it is difficult to assign even a probable date for their introduction; but about that time it is ascertained that the action of the swing-wheel and wheel-trains was familiar. In my first letter I cited Dante's acquaintance with striking clocks; and his comparing the circular dance (*carola*) of the rejoicing spirits to clock-movements, (*Paradiso, Canto xxiv.*) clearly evinces his knowledge of the wheel-work:—

—— e quelle anime liete
 Si fero spere sopra fissi poli,
 Raggiando forte a guisa di comete.
 E, come cerchi in tempra d'oriuoli
 Si giran sì, che 'l primo a chi pon mente
 Quietò pare e l'ultimo che volò,
 Così quelle carole differente-
 mente danzando, dalla sua ricchezza
 Mi si facean stimar veloci e lente.

At or near the year 1340, Dafydd ap Gwilym, the celebrated Welsh Ovid, abuses a clock for disturbing him during a delicious dream: and thus he perorates—"Confusion to the black-faced clock by the side of the bank, that awoke me! May its head, its tongue, its pair of ropes, and its wheel moulder; likewise its weights of dullard balls, its orifices, its hammer, its ducks quacking as if anticipating day, and its ever-restless works! This turbulent clock clacks ridiculous sounds, like to a drunken cobbler, a cobbler, too, in appearance. Cunning and false blindgut! the

yelping of a dog in a pan echoed! the ceaseless chatter of a cloister!—a gloomy mill grinding away the night!" As this passage, proving so early an application of mimo-phonetic toys to the train, has been contested, the original, albeit understood by fewer than it ought to be, should be submitted:—

"Och! i'r cloc yn ochr y clawdd,
Du ei ffrîw, a'm deffroawdd!
Difwyn fo'i ben, a'i dafod,
A'i ddwy raff eiddo, a'i rod,
A'i bwysau, pelenau pwl,
A'i fuarthau, a'i fwrthwl,
A'i hwyaid yn tybiaid dydd,
A'i felinau aflonydd!
Cloc anfwyn yw'r cloc ynfyd,
Cobler brwysg, cobler ei bryd;
Coluddyn ffals celwyddawg,
Cnyeian ei yn cnyeian cawg:
Mynych glep y menach glos—
Melin wyll yn malu 'nos."

About this time the courtly Froissart was a youthful poet, and one of his earliest known productions is his *Horloge Amoureuse*. Some portions of this poem having been extracted from MSS. in the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, by the Abbé Capperonnier, and inserted in the *Journal des Savants* for July 1783, we have unquestionable evidence as to the clock of that day: and it is altogether so curious, as well as important to the question before us, that I may be excused in giving a translation of the fragments:—

L'orloge est, au vray considérer,
Un instrument très bel et très notable,
Et s'est aussey plaisant et profitable;
Car nuit et jour les heures nous aprent
Par la subtilité qu'elle comprend
En l'absence meisme dou soleil:
Dont on doit mieuls prisièr son appareil;

Ce que les aultres instruments ne font pas,
Tant soient faits par art et par compas:
Dont celi tiens pour vaillant et pour sage
Qui en treuva premièrement l'usage,
Quant par son sens il commença et fit
Chose si noble et de si grant prouffit.

* * * * *

Or, vœil parler de l'estat de l'orloge:

The clock is, if considered truly,
An instrument very fair and very notable,
And it is also agreeable and profitable;
For night and day it teaches us the hours
By the subtilty which it comprises
In the absence even of the sun:
On which account we should the more prize its construction,

Which the other instruments do not do,
However they may be made by art and by compass:
Therefore I hold him for valiant and wise
Who first found the use of it,
When by his sense he began and made
A thing so noble and of such great profit.

* * * * *

I will now talk of the state of the clock:

La premerainne roe qui y loge,
Celle est la mère et li commencement,
Qui fait mouvoir les aultres mouvemens,
Dont l'orloge a ordenance et manière :
Pour ce, poet bien ceste roe première
Segnefier très convignablement
Le vray désir qui le coer d'omme esprent.

* * * * *

Le plonc trop bien à la beauté s'accorde.
Plaisance s'est montrée par la corde
Si proprement c'on ne poroit mieulz dire ;
Car, tout ensi que le contrepoids tire
La corde à lui, et la corde tirée,
Quant la corde est bien a droit attirée,
Retire à luy, et le fait esmouvoir
Qui aultrement ne se poroit mouvoir :
Ensi beauté tire à soy et esveille
La plaisance dou coer.

* * * * *

Et pour ce que ceste roe première
A de mouvoir ordenance et manière
Par la vertu dou pois que le plonc donne,
Dont, selonc ce, elle dou tout s'ordonne,
Le plonc le tire et elle à li s'avance ;
Et pour ce qu'elle iroit sans ordenance,
Et trop astievement, et sans mesure,
Selle n'avoit qui de sa desmesure
Le detournast et le ramesurast,
Et de son droit rieule le droiturast :
Pour ce y fu par droite art ordonnée
Une roe seconde, et adjoustée,
Qui le retarde et qui le fait mouvoir
Par ordenance et par mesure voir
Par la vertu dou foliot aussi,
Qui continuelment le moet ensi
Une heure à destre et puis l'autre à senestre,
Ne il ne doit ne poet à repos estre ;
Car par li est ceste roe gardée,
Et par vraie mesure retardée.

* * * * *

Après, affiert à parler dou dyal ;
Et ce dyal est la roe journal,
Qui en ung jour naturel seulement
Se moet et fait un tour precisement :

The first wheel which lodges there
Is the mother, and the commencement,
Which makes all the other movements move,
Of which the clock has the command and method :
Therefore this first wheel may indeed
Signify very fitly

The true desire which possesses the heart of man.

* * * * *

The weight well accords to the beauty.
Pleasure is shown by the cord
So fitly that it cannot be said better ;
For, just as the counterpoise draws
The cord to it, and the cord drawn,
When the cord is well drawn to the right,
Draws to it, and makes it go
When otherwise it would not move ;
Thus Beauty draws to itself, and awakens
The pleasure of the heart.

* * * * *

And, because this first wheel
Has the regulation and mode of moving
By virtue of the weight which the lead gives,
Hence, according to this, it is wholly regulated,
The lead draws it, and it advances again ;
And because it would go without regularity,
And too hastily, and without measure,
If it had nothing which from its gaining
Might withdraw it and bring it back,
And regulate it by its right rule ;
For this purpose there was arranged by proper art
A second wheel, and so added,
Which retards it, and makes it move
Regularly and by true measure to be seen
By virtue of the foliot also,
Which continually moves it thus,
One hour to the right and then the other to the left,
Nor ought it nor can it remain at rest,
For by it is this wheel kept in order,
And by true measure retarded.

* * * * *

After this it is proper to speak of the dial,
And this dial is the diurnal wheel,
Which, in one natural day only,
Is moved itself, and makes one circuit exactly,

Ensi que le soleil fait un seul tour
 Entour la terre en un naturel jour.
 En ce dyal, dont grans est li mérites,
 Sont les heures *xxiiii* descrites ;
 Pour ce porte il *xxiiii* brochetes,
 Qui font sonner les petites clochetes ;
 Car elles font la destente destendre,
 Qui la roe chantore fait estendre,
 Et li mouvoir tres ordonnéement
 Pour les heures monstrier plus clerement.
 Et eils dyauls aussy se tourne et roe
 Par la vertu de ceste mère roe,
 Dont je vous ai la propriété dit,
 A l'ayde d'un fuselet petit,
 Qui vient de l'un à l'autre sans mouien,
 Ensi se moet rieulement et bien.

* * * * *

Après, affiert dire quele chose il loge
 En la tierce partie de l'orloge ;
 C'est le derrain mouvement qui ordonne
 La sonnerie, ensi qu'elle se sonne.
 Or fault savoir comment elle se fait ;
 Par deux roes ceste œuvre se parfaict ;
 Si porte o li ceste première roe
 Un contrepoids, par quoy elle se roe,
 Et qui le faict mouvoir, selon m'entente,
 Lorsque levée est à point la destente,
 Et la seconde est la roe chantore ;
 Ceste a une ordenance très notore,
 Que d'atouchier les clochettes petites,
 Dont nuict et iour les heures dessusdites
 Sont sonnées, soit estés soit yvers,
 Ensi qu'il apertient, par chants divers.

* * * * *

Et pour ce que li orloge ne poet
 Aller de soy, ne noient ne se moet.
 Se il n'a qui le garde et qui en songne ;
 Pour celi fault, à sa propre besongne,
 Ung orlogier avoir, qui tart et tempre
 Diligamment l'amministre et attempre.
 Le plons relieve et met à leur devoir,
 Et si les fait rieulement mouvoir ;
 Et les roes amodere et ordonne
 Et de sonner ordenance l'ordonne.

Just as the sun makes a single circuit
 Round the earth in a natural day.
 On this dial, of which the merits are great,
 Are described the *24* hours,
 Therefore it bears *24* pins
 Which cause the little bells to ring ;
 For they make the spring relax,
 Which makes the singing-wheel heard,
 And moves them very regularly,
 To show the hours more clearly.
 And this dial also turns and wheels round
 By virtue of that mother wheel,
 Of which I have told you the property,
 By the aid of a little spindle
 Which passes direct from the one to the other ;
 Thus does it move regularly and well.

* * * * *

Next we must say what thing is lodged
 In the third part of the clock ;
 It is the last movement which regulates
 The striking so that it may strike.
 Now you must know how this is done ;
 By two wheels this work is perfected ;
 This first wheel carries with it
 A counterpoise, by which it turns,
 And which makes it move, as I understand it,
 When the spring is brought up to the proper point.
 And the second is the singing-wheel ;
 This has an object very manifest,
 That of touching the little bells,
 Whereby night and day the hours above mentioned
 Are rung, be it summer or winter,
 As is proper, by different songs.

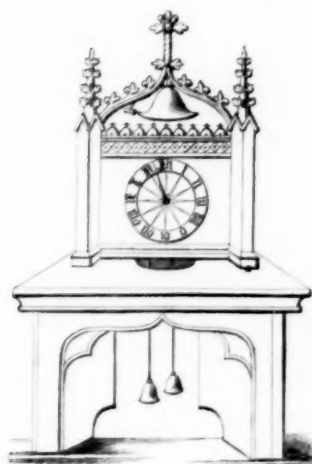
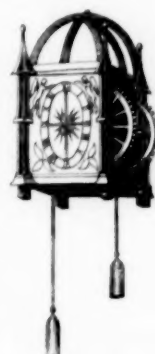
* * * * *

And because this clock cannot
 Go of itself, nor move at all,
 If there is not some one to keep and take care of it ;
 Therefore it must have to keep it in order
 A clocksmith, who, early and late,
 Diligently attends to it and regulates it,
 Draws up the weights again, and sets them to their duty,
 And thus makes them move regularly ;
 Moderates and regulates the wheels,
 And puts them in order so as to strike.

Encores met li orlogiers à point
 Le foliot, qui ne cesse point,
 Ce fuiselet, et toutes les brochetes,
 Et la roe qui toutes les clochetes
 Dont les heures qui ens ou dyal sont
 De sonner très certaine ordenance ont.
 Mès que levée à point soit destente,
 Encore poet moult bien, selonc m'entente,
 Li orlogiers quant il en a loisir,
 Toutes les fois qu'il li vient à plaisir,
 Faire sonner les clochettes petites
 Sans derieuler les heures dessus dites.

Moreover the clocksmith sets
 The foliot, which ceases not,
 The spindle, and all the pins.
 And the wheel which all the little bells
 Of the hours which in the dial are
 To ring have a very certain order.
 But though the spring may be wound up,
 Still, as I understand, can very well
 The clocksmith, when he has leisure for it,
 Every time it pleases him,
 Make the little bells ring
 Without putting the above mentioned hours out of order.

After reading this, the first accurate description of a wheeled clock, I could not but be struck with the tail-piece to Tobit, in the second volume of Mr. Shaw's splendid *Mediaeval Specimens of Dresses and Decorations*, published in 1843; and on my discussing the matter with him, he kindly lent me his wood engraving for insertion in this letter. It will be seen that this is essentially a two-wheeled clock, and not dissimilar from that described in Froissart's poem. It is taken from a manuscript copy of the romance of Renaud de Montauban, printed in the fifteenth century, and now preserved in the library of the Arsenal at Paris.



There are other representations of portable clocks about this period still existing; and, though unaccompanied by description, they afford proof that such machines were in use. In an illuminated MS. in the British Museum, purchased at the late Duke of Sussex's sale in 1844, entitled *L'Orloge de Sapiensse*—attributed to De Souabe, a German Jacobin, born in 1300—there is the drawing of a curious clock in some degree portable, and mounted ornamentally so as to show, contrary to the opinion of some antiquaries, that architectural forms were then applied to domestic moveables. In this illuminated drawing, a clerical judge is represented as hearing a cause; three pleaders are on each side of him, and two others near them, listening attentively. Between the two latter is placed the clock in question, with its bell and weights.

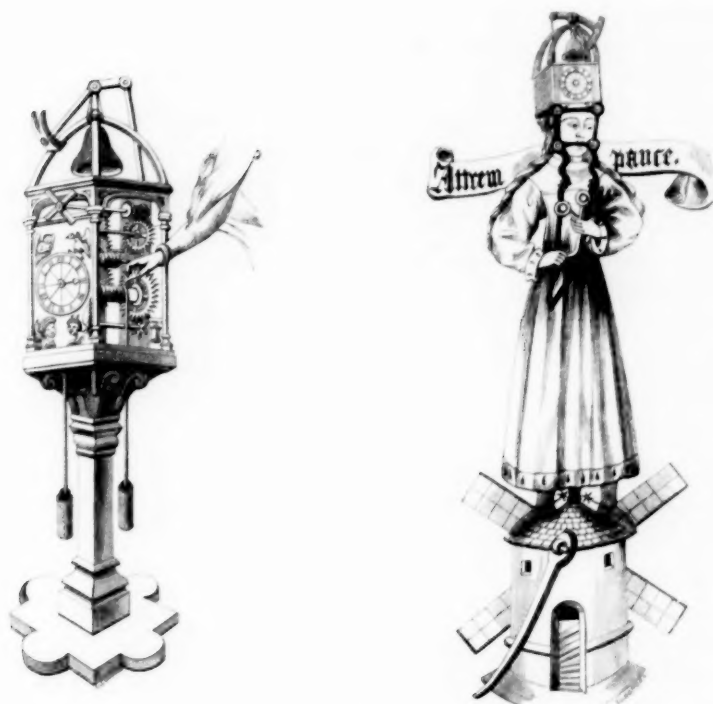
This manuscript opens with an appropriate homily, exhorting men to avoid vice
 VOL. XXXIV. C

and negligence, and be watchful in their duty, since the Deity is ever desirous of renewing our energies as regularly as a clock: "Pour cette cause cy, a pleu a la dousceur et pitié de notre seigneur Ihu Crist, de montrer, par vision spirituelle, la façon et valeur de cest present livre cy a ceilluy qui le fist et composa, quant il lui demonstra ung orloge tres noble et de moult belle forme, dont les clouches douscement et melodieusement sonnans, et pour la merveilleuse et soubtile façon de ceilluy orloge tout cuer humain se mereveilloit et reioissait en le regardant."

In another manuscript volume, presented to the British Museum in 1760, by S. Lethieullier, Esq. there is a fair representation of a portable clock of those days. This manuscript was written about the middle of the fourteenth century, and is MS. Addit. 6797; and on folio 276 there is the drawing of a seated cardinal, attended by the four *cardinal* virtues; namely, Justice, Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude, each bearing an attribute. Of these, Temperance is holding a pair of spectacles in her right hand, and supporting a clock with her left. She is arrayed in a white veil, blue boddice, sleeves with gold borders, a skirt with an embroidered edge, and black shoes. The clock is slate-coloured, with a red face, and gold hands and ornaments: but, though *portable*, it is not a table clock, as the motion was promoted by the two weights which appear. In other respects it seems to have been a compact piece of mechanism, with a large bell and hammer at the top, which, from their comparative magnitude, must have been such as led to the "Et refet soner ses orloges" of the Romance of the Rose. It will be remembered that the moralists of that day, distinguished the above from principal branches of ethics; and the division was based on this reasoning, that for a man to live virtuously, it is necessary that he know what is fit to be done, which is the business of *prudence*: that he have a constant firmness in what he shall judge right, in the office of *temperance*: the animation which urges in difficulty is the business of *fortitude*: and lastly, a man's dealings with human society constitute the object of *justice*. In puritanical times, it was usual to christen children from the titles of religious and moral virtues.

In the Bodleian Library (Laud, 570) there is a cognate drawing in an illuminated vellum manuscript dated 1450, and intituled *Les Quatre Vertus*. Two full-dressed ladies appear on each side of the picture, with a clock between them, the works of which are directed by the hand of a female in the starry firmament. This machine is very curious, and presents another form of portability:—





I recollect having seen a representation of Temperance in a public office at Corfu, typified as a female cooling a piece of red-hot iron by plunging it into water : but in the instances before us that virtue seems to have been leagued with Time.^a For this the most obvious reason seems to be, the indication of that regularity which adds strength to steadiness of purpose and moderation of passion ; such being then esteemed typical of a moral impulse which is now nearly limited in parlance to its opposition to gluttony and drunkenness. The husbandry of time was ever deemed a quality of high order, and became especially prized in mediæval times : hence Shakspeare arms Exeter with the pithy remark to the Dauphin, respecting Henry the Fifth,—“ Now he weighs time, even to the utmost grain.” In another part of the above illuminated manuscript (Laud, 570), Temperance is seen standing under a porch and upon a windmill : she wears spurs, holds spectacles, and upon her head bears a portable clock, singularly fastened as above.

^a In the *Mémoires* of the Society of Antiquaries of Picardy (*tome x. pl. 3*), is a representation of the elaborate *Tombéau de F. de Lannoy*, on the basement of which appear the four cardinal virtues, the third of which is Temperance holding a clock.

But the best and most portable, as well as the most general shape, is the celebrated clock belonging to the Queen (mentioned in my last letter), which is the actual one that King Henry the Eighth presented to the fair, accomplished, and unfortunate Anne Boleyn on their marriage in November, 1532. Her Majesty graciously permitted me to examine this interesting horological relic at Windsor Castle, with leave to handle the works. It is now placed upon an ornamented bracket in the small room at the foot of the staircase leading to the Queen's closet, generally known as the "Panel Room," where it will probably show the taste of the sixteenth century for many ages. On taking it down from its bracket, with my friend Mr. John Hulbert Glover, Her Majesty's zealous librarian, I regretted to find that this valuable machine had been "done up," as the tampering with ingenious works is often too truly termed. The interior wheels are now all of brass, and the whole train is evidently of comparatively recent date; while, from the style of the mechanism, a contrate wheel being used to keep the arbors of the others horizontal, and the adaptation for a pendulum, an inference may be gathered that the "doing up" took place about the year 1680.

But whatever disappointment, in an archæological sense, may attend the visitor of this relic, the fabric and beauty of the curious case, which remains in unimpeachable originality, will fully repay the antiquary and the man of taste. The engraving will convey a tolerably correct idea of its form, and this idea will be strengthened by knowing its dimensions. From the base to the cornice over the face it measures five inches and a half, and from thence to the lion's head at the summit five more, the whole being four inches square. (Plate I.)

It is not only Her Majesty's clock which has been thus altered, but almost all the specimens which I have seen of the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. have had the balance removed and the pendulum applied; and the innovation is so meritorious, that even an antiquary must excuse it. My friends Mr. Octavius Morgan and Sir Charles Fellows have numerous specimens of similar alterations in their valuable collections of early clocks.

All the machines above cited were certainly portable; but, though table-clocks were known, I have found none of an earlier date than that belonging to this Society. The name comprehends compactness, portability, and equable motion, regardless of place or position, with a moving power quite independent of weights or other external forces. Mr. Octavius Morgan, in his interesting account of the progress of the art of watchmaking, has cited the sonnet of Gaspar Visconti, written in 1494, as alluding to the application of the expansive force of a coiled spring, when describing a lover who compared himself to a clock, with a hidden power



*Clock presented by Henry VIIIth to Anne Boleyn
In possession of her present Majesty at Windsor Castle*

Engraved by the Rev. Henry W. Carter, of London, 1837.

W. Carter del.



working day and night within his heart. Mr. Morgan quotes the title of this sonnet from Sassi, who printed it in 1745, but expresses a wish to ascertain whether the same is prefixed to earlier copies. The earliest to which I am able to refer is in Tiraboschi, who gives a marvellous account of the clock made by Dondi of Padua, afterwards designated *Giovanni degli Orologi*; and in his "*Storia della Letteratura Italiana*" produces Visconti's sonnet, with the title nearly as given by Mr. Morgan.

It will be remembered that the date of the Society's astrological clock is 1525, and the nearest chronological approach to it, of a table clock in pristine condition, is a small one belonging to Sir Charles Fellows, the works of which are made of iron. It is only three inches long by two broad, and half an inch deep, with a vertical escapement, going thirty-six hours. From the ornaments of its silver case it is probably Italian, of about the year 1550.

But a valuable specimen of nearly the same date, in Mr. Octavius Morgan's collection, displays ingenuity, skill, and taste. It is a horizontal table-clock in the form of a low base or pedestal, six inches square and two inches and a half high, resting upon four lions couchant, one at each corner. This base, within which the movement is inclosed, is ornamented with a moulding round the top and bottom, and at each angle there is a female caryatic figure holding flowers, and forming a corner pilaster. The sides are finely chased in bold relief, representing the liberation of Eurydice by Orpheus. The face is on the top, and has four concentric hour-circles, the spandrels at the corners being ornamented with masks and arabesque scrolls in relief, and the whole is executed in copper, richly gilt. The most remarkable part, however, is a moveable alarum in the form of a cupola supported on four elegant legs, in which the bell is inclosed. When used, it is set upon the face of the clock, and from the bottom of the cupola a steel rod extends downwards, so as nearly to touch the dial. This is placed over the hour at which it is desired that the alarum should sound, and when the hands of the clock arrive at that hour the upper hand comes in contact with the rod and discharges the alarum, the lower hand still continuing to revolve. This ingenious contrivance was recently put forth in Paris as a new invention!

It is to be hoped that a detailed account of the movement-train of this rare and elegant clock, with its contrivances to mark different registers of time, will some time or other be given by Mr. Morgan, than whom no one is more capable. From the workmanship, he judges it to be of Augsburg manufacture, and its date to lie between the years 1550 and 1575. The Germans, as I have before said, were celebrated in horological art, and Shakspeare is not the only one of the contemporary

dramatists who alludes to their productions. In Ben Jonson's "Silent Woman," first acted in 1609, he says :—" She takes herself asunder still, when she goes to bed, into some twenty boxes, and about next day noon is put together again like a great German clock, and so comes forth and rings a tedious larum to the whole house, and then is quiet again for an hour, but for her quarters."

At the time to which we now refer, table-clocks exhibited so much ingenuity and talent as to prove that they resulted from science carefully applied ; but, the chief problem of our own day being how to make such machines for sale, the art is rapidly falling from a profession to a trade, and most clocks have become a mere article of commerce. Happening to be a member of the committee for the exhibition of works of mediæval art last spring, I was much impressed with this conviction when a beautiful table-clock of *bronze doré*, in the form of a celestial globe, was forwarded to us, the property of Robert Goff, Esq. It was made at Augsburg, and bears the date of 1589 upon it ; it really forms a most elegant and even wonderful piece of horological mechanism, as well from its complicated movements and various performances, as from its singular and original shape. Another remarkable globular clock, but probably of a more recent date, I had the honour to present to this Society from Mr. B. L. Vulliamy, as mentioned in our "Proceedings" for last June ; and that gentleman is now preparing a very detailed account of it, with illustrative diagrams, for the Society's archives.

But this curious machine merits a particular mention on account of its extreme rarity, and some remarkable peculiarities of its machinery. From certain geographical indications which still remain on its surface, it may be dated early in the seventeenth century. In outer appearance it is simply a ball, and it is not readily seen that its own weight is the actual maintaining power which keeps the clock going and striking. It is wound up by only placing the hand under the globe and raising it, as will be shewn in Mr. Vulliamy's drawings ; meantime attention may be drawn to the ingenious mode of action. The ring by which the ball is suspended is attached to a square steel bar, which passes through the upper part of the globe into the frame or body of the clock, and to this bar, above the frame, is fixed a small pulley. Within the frame are two drums, in every respect similar, one on each side of the bar, and each drum contains a spring, the use of which will be presently seen. The drums have each an end wheel, with a ratchet and click mounted in a manner similar to that which connects the great wheel of a clock to the barrel. The connection between the steel bar and the train within the ball is effected by a chain, which passes over the pulley, and an equal number of times round each drum. In this manner the ball is suspended upon the bar. The two wheels attached to the

drums communicate motion to the going and striking parts respectively; and in this way the weight of the whole, with the exception of the bar and pulley, is the momentum which causes the clock to act. When the ball has descended as low as the length of the chain will allow, the reason why pressing it upwards upon the square bar should be equivalent to the winding-up in common trains will be readily understood. The mode by which the chain is taken up round the drums while the globe is being raised should be noted: this end is effected by the springs on the drums just mentioned, which, with the assistance of the ratchets and clicks, cause the drums to revolve in the contrary direction, and to take up the chain as it becomes disengaged by raising the ball. The effect is very singular, as your Lordship must have observed, when this valuable relic was presented to the Society.

The form of table-clocks was as various as the occasions of utility and ornament demanded. The one just mentioned belonging to Mr. Morgan, as well as that of Mr. Goff, are sufficiently elegant for the most splendid palace, while others seem to have been intended for bed-rooms. Our own clock was the property of a queen, and yet is comparatively plain; this is its appearance:—



A curious table-clock, bearing the date of 1560, which is said to have belonged to the intelligent but choleric Dr. Hook, deserves notice. It was lent for my inspection by Mr. Finch, a watch-maker of Hampstead, but is now added to

Mr. Morgan's collection. The driving-train of this machine is in a cylindrical gilt brass box, of six inches and a half in diameter and two in depth, resting on three small balls. The circular side of the box bears the signs of the zodiac, in less archaic taste than those on our own clock; but Virgo sits upon a unicorn, the *experimentum crucis* of purity in the *media æva*. The upper surface of the box exhibits the Ptolemaic sphere in concentric circles, bounded by the *primum mobile*. In the centre of this plate rises a pillar four inches and a half high, on which is



engraved, with French names, a calendar of the week-days: this pillar supports a box-circle of four inches and-a-half diameter, bearing on one side the dial-face and a moveable set of astrological diagrams, and on the other an elaborate stereographic astrolabe and perpetual calendar, the projections being adapted for about 51° of latitude. The communication between this portion and the movement-train, is by means of a long arm through the pillar, terminated by a strong arbour-wheel, acting in contrate. On removing the lower plate of the case the balance appears,

but fitted with a pendulum-spring for regulating,—an innovation on the original works made, perhaps, by Dr. Hook himself. The foregoing is its figure; but the dark ellipse in the centre-piece, denoting the tidal action, is a little exaggerated in the drawing, in order to show it more distinctly.

§ 3.—ADDENDA RESPECTING QUEEN BONA.

I have already observed, that there is sufficient circumstantial testimony to establish that our own clock was the actual property of King Sigismund of Poland, surnamed the Great; and also that there is presumptive evidence that it was presented by him to Bona Sforza, his young Queen. Still, in making a formal inference, every link in the chain of reasoning renders the point more clear and distinct, and therefore becomes valuable, however slight its import may at first appear. Now Count Krasinski informs me, on reading my former letter to your Lordship, that I am more than probably correct in advancing that her Majesty carried off the clock, when she found it prudent to retire into Italy; for she was not only remarkable for acquisitiveness, but was notoriously given to keeping her own. He has examined all the existing documents of Sigismund's times, and gleaned their traditions, and is candid enough to acknowledge that she gave a high degree of elegance and propriety to public manners: but he adds that, being as handsome and well-educated as she was avaricious and intriguing, while she rendered the court of Poland more brilliant than it ever had been before, she made it profitable to herself by the sale of public offices, and rapaciously levying gifts from the courtiers.^a During the dotage of her aged husband, Bona seems to have had paramount authority over the realm, and she struggled energetically to maintain her influence after his death; but Sigismund the Second opposed more obstacles and irregularities than she had looked for, and provoked her by his miserable *mésalliance* with an obscure widow. Having at length lost all hope of governing

^a New-year and birth-day presents, a relic of the Roman *strenæ*, were very unscrupulously exacted in those times, in all the European courts. In my former letter, I mentioned the drawing of a clock by Holbein, which Sir Anthony Denny presented to Henry VIII. as a new-year's gift; and in December, 1756, a large roll was exhibited before this Society, containing a schedule of the moneys, caskets, trinkets, brocades, and rich wearing apparel, which were received by Queen Elizabeth on the 1st of January, 1584 (See *Archæologia*, vol. i. no. 3). It is printed at length, as are some other similar rolls, in Nichols's *Progresses, &c.* of Queen Elizabeth. Not only were peers, peeresses, bishops, and officers of state amerced, but the royal retainers—even to the apothecaries and cooks—were expected to make their offerings. On the occasion in question, her Majesty made returns in gilt-plate to the amount of 4809 ounces, exclusive of what she presented to the foreign ambassadors. The new-year's gift she received from the Earl of Leicester in 1571 was a richly-jewelled armet, having “in the closing thearof a *clocke*, and in the forepart of the same a faire lozengie dyamond without a foyle, hanging thearat a rounde juell fully garnished with dyamondes and a perle pendaunt.”

her son—and, moreover, persuaded by her noted Italian favourite, Papacauda, to whom she was considered by scandal to be privately married—she retreated to Bari, as before stated. Ostensibly the movement was all right and proper; but the Count has ascertained, from existing archives, that this extreme act was sorely against the wishes of the King and the States, for she carried off immense riches in money, jewels, and costly moveables.

The career of Bona was now drawing to a close: after a residence in Italy of only thirty months, she appears to have been poisoned by Papacauda, whose fidelity she sought to secure by a considerable legacy, the amount of which she imprudently communicated to him. During the brief interval of her rule at Bari, it is whispered, her piety and amorous propensities were equally conspicuous; but she was somewhat successful in atoning for the latter by the former—at least, in the opinion of her contemporaries. From a desire of having a reputation for munificence, and a rage for popularity, she possibly might have squandered her wealth without discrimination, and have been lax in regard to her reputation: but, considering the extent of her possessions, her undisputed fiscal rights, and the rich legacies she bequeathed, there can be no reason for supposing Thuanus (*Hist. l. xvi., ad ann. 1555*) is correct in asserting that she died in want and infamy—"Ibi solute et dissentiente à priore vitæ ratione postea vixit, consuetudine ejusdam Papacaudæ non satis honesta usa, cui et omnia bona testamento præteritis liberis reliquit, et fama ac bonis decoctis haud multo post in summa egestate et infamiâ decessit."

I have not the advantage of knowing Count Krasinski's opinion respecting this statement, but I believe he thinks the greatest recorded instance of Bona's inconsiderate prodigality was in her lending 430,000 ducats to Philip of Spain, a sum which was never repaid. Could I have foreseen that this lady's property would one day have been an object of interest to us, I might probably have gathered some particulars when I was surveying the shores of the Adriatic, about thirty years ago. Bari was one of my principal points, and the plan of the place which I then made was long since published by the Admiralty. Regarding Bona, I merely remember some improbable tales of profligacy, the monstrosity of which render them questionable; but it is the character of slander to wince under the faintest symptom of doubt, and to demand for itself unlimited credence. The city still bears marks of her munificence, and the vaulted apartments she once occupied in the castle are visited by every sojourner. The governor himself took me to see her splendid monument, and stiff portrait in robes of gold, in the curious old Gothic church of San Niccolò,—a saint of no small note among the coasting seamen of the vicinity, as the potent *Arbiter Adriæ*.

It is not a little singular that Bona's unfortunate mother, the beautiful Isabella of Arragon—sister of Catherine, Queen of Henry VIII.—had also retired to Bari in her widowhood; and there, according to an insinuation of Paulus Jovius, permitted the heroic Prosper Colonna to tarnish the purity of her early character. Archaeologists would perceive a local fatality in this; for the ancient coins of *Bari* bore a winged Cupid as a reverse, which might have symbolized a prevalent laxity of morals among the Baresi from a very early period. In the middle ages, the city was rich, powerful, and luxurious, although occasionally chastised for effervescence: it was the lingering point of departure of many outward-bound crusaders, and the refuge of others on their return.

Bona's beloved daughter, Isabella, Queen of Hungary, equalled her mother in ambition, and imitated her policy. Thus at the age of eighteen she married a man of fifty-two years old, and, being left a widow at nineteen, brought up her son effeminately in order to govern for him. When the King of France expressed a desire for marrying one of his daughters to the youth, she consulted Bona, who made her the following answer—"Daughter, keep always the power in your own hands: you will lose it all if your son should marry the daughter of so powerful a prince as the King of France."

Having mentioned in my former letter that Queen Bona was named after her grandmother, Bona of Savoy, a few words may be added respecting that point. This lady's profligate husband was assassinated in a church on St. Stephen's day, 1476, by three young enthusiasts, who considered it their sacred duty to be murderers for the public good. But when that event had taken place, Bona of Savoy became Regent for her child; an office indicated on a rare silver coin (*testone*) in the collection of Walter Hawkins, Esq., F.S.A., who kindly lent it to me.



As the legend of this testoon is not easily read, a more detailed description of it may be acceptable:—

Obverse.—BONA . Z . IO . GZ . M . DVCE . MELI . VI . The stolated head of Bona of Savoy, probably struck in the year 1477. The little mitred head on each side, as a mint-mark, is that of St. Ambrose.

Reverse.—SOLA . FACTA . SOLVM . DEVM . SEQVOR. A phœnix standing on branches in flames, its self-built funeral pile; and represented, according to Pliny's description, in the Eagle's attitude, with its head finely crested—"caputque plumeo apice honestatum." To the gorgeous description which the ancients have transmitted of the wonderful plumage of this bird, it is but fair to add Pliny's doubt—"haud scio an fabulose."

There is some difficulty in expanding the abbreviations of the obverse inscription, so that it may be read *in extenso*; part of this may be owing to the Regent's being a female, and part must be attributed to the awkward order of the ablatives; for DVC or DVCIS had been clearer than DVCE. It may probably be thus uncoiled—"BONA Zabaudiae (*i.e.* Zabadia or Savoy). IOhanne. GaleazZo. Mortuo DVCE. MEDioLanI Vidua." The two legends evidently form one sentence so that BONA is the nominative to SEQVOR. This coin is extremely rare, although the same type exists in gold, silver, and copper. Among the Italian numismatic authors, I find it noticed only by Argelati—*De Monetis Italiae*—who briefly describes the obverse as "*Capite velato*," and the reverse "*In postica Phœnix visitur super rogam cum lemmate*:" adding, "*Post mortem mariti, quæ contigit anno 1476, cusus hic nummus*." Therefore, as Galeazzo Sforza was killed so late as the 26th of December, it is probable that the date which I have assigned is the true one.

It appears that the lady's high office had but a short duration; for the regency, and the guardianship of her child held by Cicco Simoneta, were terminated on the imprisonment of the latter by her brother-in-law, Ludovico il Moro, in 1479. The coins, however, continued to bear her name until 1483, and she still exerted her influence as mother of the prince; but, dying six years afterwards, her son fell wholly into the hands of his unprincipled uncle, by whom he was at length poisoned. Nor was this the only injury which Il Moro inflicted, for he made many endeavours to sap the integrity of the young prince's wife, Isabella of Arragon. And these were the parents of the ostensible owner of our astrological clock!

I have the honour to be,

My dear Lord,

Your Lordship's very faithful Servant,

W. H. SMYTH.

P.S.—In my former letter (Vol. XXXIII. p. 14), the name Knight has been erroneously printed for Knibb, as the maker of the old clock at Windsor Castle.

II.—*Account of the Discovery of Roman and other Sepulchral Remains, at the Village of Stone, near Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq. Secretary.

Read 21 November, 1850.



In the year 1847 Dr. Diamond communicated to the Society of Antiquaries an account of some excavations which he had superintended at Ewell near Epsom, when he exhibited various remains found in certain shafts sunk in the solid rock. The particulars of these discoveries, and Dr. Diamond's opinion thereon, have been printed in the *Archæologia*.^a

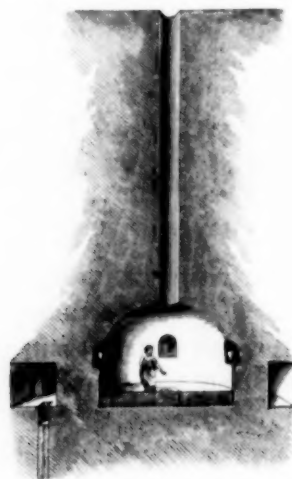
In the spring of 1849 I received intelligence, which was communicated to the Society, of the discovery of several pits of a similar description in the Isle of Thanet, having, in the mean time, found in the work of Bartoli^b additional proofs of their origin and use, tending to confirm the opinion advanced by Dr. Diamond, namely, that these systematically formed pits were designed for the purpose of sepulchral interment,^c and were neither "rubbish holes" nor wells, as had hitherto been supposed by some of our English antiquaries. For the better understanding of this peculiar mode of sepulture, and to save the trouble of reference, I have added a sketch from Bartoli's 50th plate, which shews the construction of a *columbarium* at Rome differing from those previously known. It was discovered, he informs us, on the east side of the Aventine Hill, in the year 1692. The shaft is perpendicular and sixty

^a Vol. XXXII. p. 451.

^b Gli Antichi Sepolcri, ovvero Mausolei Romani ed Etruschi trovati in Roma, etc. Folio, Roma, MDCCCLXVIII. The plate of this tomb is incorporated in Montfaucon.

^c Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. i. p. 328.

palmi (51 feet) deep, with holes on each side as supports for the feet and hands in ascending and descending. The steps leading into the vault are connected with a corridor which runs round the outside of the chamber, and ends in a space in the midst of which is a well six yards deep. The chamber is stuccoed, and the niches for the ollæ painted light blue. In the centre of the floor, which was paved, was a large slab of travertine stone, having a square plate of metal let into the centre and weighing sixty-three pounds, contained in a leaden frame weighing thirty-three pounds. The surface of the plate was very uneven, as if a bolt or ring had been once attached to it.



Here, then, we have the more perfect type of a mode of sepulture which appears to have been very frequently resorted to by the Roman possessors of Britain; a mode of all others, when the rite of cremation had been performed, the best calculated to protect the remains of the dead from violation, while it occupied a superficial area so very limited.

An account of the discovery of other pits, of a character similar to those already known in England, in the village of Stone, near Aylesbury, during the summer of the present year, may probably interest the Society; since it illustrates the habits of the former masters of the world and their Romanised tributaries, and sheds some light on the faint traces of customs which the spread of Christianity and the irruption of other races have nearly effaced.

Except a substantial church, the village of Stone possesses no feature of interest. The high road from Aylesbury to Thame and Oxford passes through it. On arriving

at the western end of the acclivity a fine view of the Chiltern hills opens on the left. This spot, which is at a considerable height above the Vale of Aylesbury, and, though not appearing so to the eye, is, I am informed, nearly at as great an elevation as the average range of the Chiltern hills,—appears to have been in ancient times far more thickly populated than at present. A few years since, when the crown of the hill between the garden of the vicarage and the windmill was lowered, the workmen discovered several human skeletons, with the remains of oxen, a horseshoe, &c. It was conjectured at the time that these relics were the evidence of a battle on the spot, but subsequent observations and discoveries tend to shew that it had at one time been the site of a cemetery, and that too for a period extending in all probability over at least three or four hundred years; the discovery of the skeletons, the horseshoe, and the remains of weapons, proving the Teutonic character of the interments,—whether of Franks or Saxons it would be difficult to pronounce,—but certainly neither of Pagan or Christianised Romans. A short time previously a fibula of large size, and with the Christian emblem, was dug up in the vicarage orchard. The remains of coarse cloth still adhering to the fragment of the *acus*, naturally leads to the inference that it was interred with the body of the wearer. This fibula is engraved in the *Archæologia*.^a Subsequent discoveries in the midland counties of England afford a clue to the age of this relic, which, when compared with the fibulæ found by Sir Henry Dryden at Barrow Furlong in Northamptonshire, and that discovered with some skeletons at Minchinhampton in Gloucestershire,^b as well as those found in a stone-quarry near Ashenden in Buckinghamshire,^c we may with some confidence assign to a period ranging from the fourth to the fifth century. With the skeletons discovered at Stone, was found an obliterated coin of Magnentius; a fact of some importance, since it seems to limit the period of the interment.

I have already ventured on the expression of an opinion, founded on the consideration of repeated discoveries, that the Franks, and perhaps some tribes of Saxons, first made a settlement in this island at the period of the usurpation of Carausius.^d The discoveries at Barrow Furlong communicated by Sir Henry Dryden^e favour such a conjecture, since not a vestige of any Christian emblem was found within the whole area of that cemetery, while the interments, of evident Teutonic character, afforded

^a Vol. XXX. p. 545.

^b Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. i. p. 270.

^c These fibulæ, described as “a pair of ancient scales,” were purchased by the Honourable Mr. Neville at the sale of the Stowe collections. They are engraved in the Journal of the British Archæological Association, vol. v. p. 113.

^d Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. ii. p. 59.

^e Archæologia, Vol. XXXIII. p. 326.

good evidence of their being those of a people in long and quiet possession of the district.

With the exception of the fibula already alluded to, no Christian relics have as yet been found at Stone. The two fibulæ discovered near Buckingham, and recently sold with the collections at Stowe, were of the same size and configuration, but without the Christian emblem.

The limits of the cemetery at Stone cannot now be ascertained; but there is good reason for believing that the southern portion is now included in the garden of the vicarage, while the works of the sand-pit on the north side of the road, near the windmill, from time to time bring to light other relics both of the Roman and the Teutonic character. A few weeks since a skeleton was discovered with the usual spear-head, knife, and umbo of shield, and about the same time two very perfect urns, containing bones, were dug out, at a spot where the remains of a large fire evidenced that the Pagan rite of cremation had been performed. The workmen also laid bare a pit, twenty-seven feet deep, in which, fifteen feet from the surface, an urn was discovered. We have thus proofs that in this spot two distinct races of people had been interred. On the age of those of Teutonic character we may presume to speculate, guided by the historical and monumental data we possess; but on those of earlier times we cannot offer even a conjecture, and our perplexity is increased by the discovery of other interments about a furlong from the spot, on the left of the road, in a ploughed field, part of the vicarage glebe, lately appropriated as the site of the County Lunatic Asylum. Here, in the month of July last, while digging the foundations for the asylum, the workmen discovered what they supposed to be an old well abandoned and filled up. No relics of any description whatever had, up to this time, been discovered on the spot; but, suspecting the character of this supposed well, I had no difficulty in persuading my friend the Vicar to have it explored, and this was proceeded with at once. In a short time we discovered evidence that it had been used for sepulchral purposes. At the depth of eight feet the workmen came to a stratum of hard blue stone, a foot in thickness, through which a circular hole had been made. Immediately beneath, a chamber was found, the dimensions of which are accurately described in the accompanying plan. In this portion of the pit were discovered many fragments of cinerary urns formed of dark slate-coloured clay, some of which contained human bones, the bones of some large animal, and portions of burnt oak and beech. Through the centre of this chamber the perpendicular shaft was continued eleven feet to another and thicker stratum of rock (see Plan). Beneath this again a second chamber was discovered and cleared out. The contents were similar, but with the addition of

the skull, teeth, and one horn of an ox, a portion of skin, tanned and preserved by the action of the sulphurous acid of the blue clay below, and wood burnt, unburnt, and partially consumed; twelve urns of various forms and sizes, two bronze rings, apparently formed for armillæ, of the rudest construction, two and three-quarter inches in diameter, and a bucket with iron hoops, and cleets for the handle, which could not be found.^a



The section of the pit, which accompanies this notice, from its opening to its base, will render any further details needless, and I shall therefore, after directing attention to it, proceed to describe more minutely the contents of this sepulchre.

The urns were of the kind generally found in places appropriated to Roman sepulture, some being of a light colour, and others of the dark slate colour, of the kind baked in "smother kilns," of which process an account will be found in the Transactions of the British Archæological Association.^b

From the foregoing facts it appears, beyond doubt, that interment in pits, as discovered at Stone and other places in England, was very generally adopted during the Roman occupation of Britain. To such a mode of sepulture, so well calculated to conceal and protect the remains of the dead from desecration, may be attributed the fact that traces of Roman and Romano-British interments, considering the length of time this island was occupied by the invaders, and its evident vast population, are *comparatively* few.

It is somewhat remarkable that, while the pits of the same description at Ewell and other places contained fragments of earthen vessels, bearing the stamps of the potters, not a single specimen with a potter's mark was found in the pit at Stone. From these, and other circumstances, I am led to conclude, so far as we can judge from what has been as yet discovered, that the Roman inhabitants of this spot, and their immediate successors, a tribe of Franks or Saxons, were of a humble though not of the humblest grade. We know from Horace, as well as from other writers,

^a An engraving of this bucket, from a Daguerreotype, taken shortly after its discovery, is here given. Its near resemblance to the common milking-pail still in use will be remarked. The edges of the staves are connected by wooden pins. Mention of the *situla*, or bucket for the well, occurs in Plautus, and various other ancient writers. It could not have differed widely from those in use at the present day, for the art of making wooden vessels, with staves and hoops, was known in the time of Pliny, who says, "*Magno et collecto jam vino differentia in cella. Circa Alpes ligneis vasis condunt, circulisque cingunt.*" Hist. Nat. lib. xiv. c. 21. Pignorius, De Servis, p. 266, edit. 1656, gives us a representation of an ancient sculpture in marble, dug up at Augsburg in 1601, on which are seen the Vinitores stowing away casks formed like those used by the moderns. It may be sufficient, however, to cite the examples of hooped vessels in the sculptures of the Trajan and the Antonine columns, or the marble of Gruter, p. 818, No. 5.

^b Vol. i. p. 3.

that the remains of the very poorest of the population were cast, without the ordinary rite of cremation, into pits;^a but the care with which the interments at Stone were evidently conducted, does not favour the belief that the remains were those of the pauper, the friendless, or the criminal.

A few days after the pit had been thoroughly investigated, five more urns of the paler colour were found, about fifty yards from the spot, by the workmen engaged in forming a drain for the asylum. They were deposited about eighteen inches below the surface without any apparent care, and contained a few human bones. This proves that the spot in which the pit is situated was a common burial-ground of the Roman or Romanised inhabitants.

Summary of the various remains discovered at Stone.

1. *In the vicarage garden.*—Large dish-shaped fibula with the Christian emblem. Engraved in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXX. p. 545.

2. *In the turnpike road*, between the vicarage garden and the mill, seven human skeletons, regularly interred, some lying on their sides, others on their backs, and one in a semicircular grave with large stones placed over the whole of the body.

An obliterated coin of Magnentius, and a fragment of the cranium of an ox, were found with one of the skeletons.

3. *In the sand-pit immediately adjoining the mill.*—A skeleton, with spear, knife, and umbo of shield. An urn at the feet.

β. A cinerary urn full of burnt human bones, and near it a small urn inverted and empty. Traces of a large fire over several square yards. Several fragments of cinerary urns.

γ. A shaft twenty-seven feet deep. An urn of light-coloured clay at the depth of fifteen feet. Stones at the bottom bearing the traces of fire.

4. *On the field on which the County Lunatic Asylum is now building.*—A pit, of which the dimensions and details are given in the accompanying plan. In the upper chamber about twelve cinerary and other urns, and in the lower fragments of about thirty urns of various sizes, some of which were broken by the workmen. Several contained both human and animal bones, portions of beech and oak, burnt and unburnt; on the latter the bark is still perfect. At the bottom of the pit, a piece of skin tanned and preserved, as already explained, by the action of the

^a Vide, inter alia, Suetonius in Domitiano, c. 17.—Festus, s. v. *Vespæ*; et ibid. s. v. *Puticuli*.

sulphurous acid of the clay;^a a piece of wood with a square hole in the middle; a bucket made of oak, the handle wanting. A mutilated cranium with the teeth of an ox (*bos taurus*), with the femur, ribs, and other bones of that animal, the core of the horn of a goat, and the phalanges of some young quadruped. A pair of rude bronze armillæ; an iron disc about an inch in diameter, with a spike on each side; the handle of an amphora; and a few fragments of Samian ware.

5. About fifty yards north-west of the pit, two feet below the surface, a double-handled urn, one of smaller size, one with a single handle, and one smaller of dark clay.

6. About thirty yards south-west of the pit were found several fragments of cinerary urns two feet below the surface, of the coarsest fabric.

7. Near the same spot two coins in middle brass, one of them of Domitian, *Rev.* Spes, walking; the other, of Vespasian, *Rev.* an altar between the letters S C.

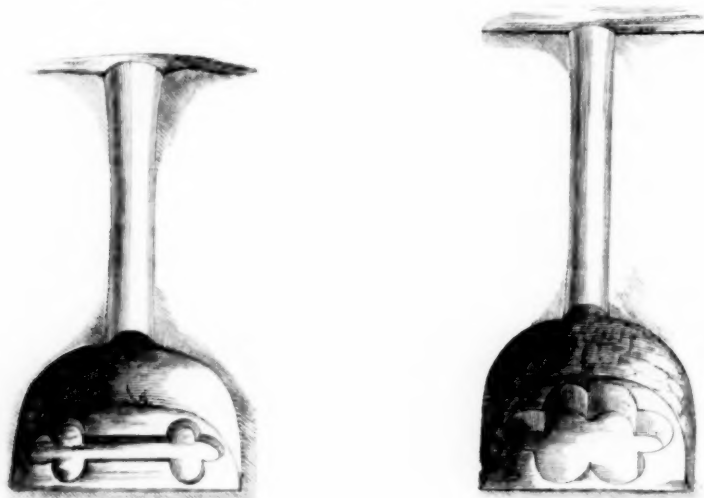
I had completed this account when my attention was directed to the very curious cave discovered at Royston, upwards of a century since, and a view of which was engraved by Stukeley in his *Paleographia Britannica*, No. I., pp. 5, 6. The following is his description of its discovery:—"In the month of August, 1742, some persons had occasion to set down a post in the market-house to nail a bench on for the use of the market-women. In digging, they struck through the eye or central hole of a mill-stone, underground, and found a cavity of about sixteen feet deep, as appeared by letting down a plumb-line. They took up the mill-stone and saw a well-like descent of about two feet in diameter, with holes cut in the chalk, at equal distances, and opposite to each other, like the steps of a ladder, for descent. It was accurately circular and perpendicular. The people, entertaining a notion of some hidden treasure being concealed in this place, set to work in earnest with buckets and a well-kirb, to draw out the rubbish with which it was filled. At length they emptied it, and drew out two hundred loads of earth and rubbish."^b

Stukeley at once concluded that this place was formed as a cell by the Lady

^a The skins of beasts were used in lustrations. "*Pellis Jovis. Sive pellis victimæ quæ Jovi immolabatur. Immolabant autem victimas Jovi Milichio et Ctesio, quarum pelles pellis servabant, Jovis nomine eas appellantes.*" Suidas, s. v. Διὸς Κώδιον.

^b The bottom, says Stukeley, contained "the purest garden mold; and in that the corpse or skeleton of a woman, the skull of which I had in my hand, and well knew to be a female." *Paleographia Britannica*, part ii. p. 9.—How much it is to be regretted that this place was not explored by competent persons, and that an account of its then state was not drawn up by an antiquary less visionary than Stukeley.

Roise, or Roisia, a personage of great piety, who, according to Camden, set up a cross here some time after the Conquest. The Rev. Charles Parkyn, Rector of Oxburgh, ventured to dispute this opinion, and an angry contention followed. Stukeley's arguments, if such blind and absurd conclusions can be so designated, may be seen at length in the second part of his *Paleographia*. Both disputants appear to have remained in utter ignorance of the original purpose of this "cave," which is clearly a Roman sepulchral vault,^a and in construction does not differ greatly from that in the Aventine mount at Rome.^b Nor is this, in my opinion, the only place of the kind in England. There can scarcely be a doubt that the "caves" in the parish of Chadwell, near Tilbury, opposite to Gravesend, were designed and used for the same purpose. Camden speaks of them, and gives sketches of their form, which are here copied.^c "Near Tilbury are several spacious caverns in a chalky cliff, built very artificially of stone to the height of ten fathoms, and somewhat straight at the top."



^a That this vault was a tomb of the Roman period I think there can be no doubt, to whatever use it may have been converted in the middle ages. That it may have been used and tenanted by some recluse at a much later period, is very probable. The two niches would suggest the form of the recess for the *Piscina*, and it will be seen that a cross has been carved above one of them. Their identity however with the niches in the tombs cut in the rock of the mountain called *Bingemma*, is very apparent, as may be observed by reference to plate CCLXIII. figs. 1 and 2, in *The Voyage Pittoresque en Sicile*, etc.

^b Clutterbuck, in his *History of Hertfordshire*, gives the accounts of former writers, but offers no conjecture of his own. Vol. iii. p. 562.

^c This is a proof that these pits were objects of interest to the antiquaries of the days of Camden, while

Gough, in his edition of Camden, corrects his author as to the situation of these pits: "The caverns," he says, "placed by Mr. Camden in Tilbury, are, in fact, in Chadwell parish. Dr. Derham measured three of the most considerable, and found one of them fifty, another seventy, and a third eighty feet deep: the bottom a soft sand, over the top an arch of two hundred feet of chalk. They lie within the compass of six acres, near the highway leading from Stifford to Chadwell; and in East Tilbury, in a field called 'Cave field,' is a horizontal passage to the cavern. These have been supposed granaries of the ancient Britons, retreats of the Danish ravagers, and even King Cunobeline's gold mines."^a

It appears strange that one so devoted to the study of our English antiquities should review such vague theories without offering any opinion of his own. Morant says, "Some derive the first part of the name (Chadwell) from *Lealc*, chalk, thinking it occasioned by the great chalk wells or pits from which chalk was originally dug, or which were made to serve for granaries to the ancient Britons. The Danes are vulgarly reported to have used them as receptacles or hiding places for the plunder and booty which they took from the adjoining inhabitants during their frequent piracies and descents upon this island, and hence they have been styled *Dane* or *Dene* holes." He then proceeds to quote verbatim from his correspondent, "Dr. Derham, late Rector of Upminster, &c.," who, he says, "gave the following description of them in a letter of his dated 17 February, 1706. 'I myself measured three of the most considerable holes, and found one of them fifty foot six inches deep; another, seventy foot seven inches; another, in the wood northward, eighty foot; the depth of the western hole, near the road, fifty-five foot six inches; on the same side the road is another seventy foot seven inches; on the other side of the way, in Hangman's-wood, is another hole of eighty foot four inches. A cow fell into the hole fifty-five foot six inches, not killed nor much hurt, drawn up by a carpenter who went down and put ropes about her. The bottom is a soft sand, on which the cow alighted and was saved. Over the midst of the hole is an arch of two hundred feet of chalk. The holes lie near the highway, within the compass of six acres of ground, leading from Stifford to Chadwell.' Some of them are within the bounds of the parish of Little Thurrock. And in East Tilbury

our ignorance of their present state is a reproach to us. In the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 17, is an account, with views and plans, of some chambers at Baden, supposed to have been used by the Secret Tribunals of Germany, but which appear to be Roman, and of sepulchral origin, to whatever purposes they may have been afterwards applied in the middle ages.

^a *Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 52.

there is a field called Cave-field, in which there is a horizontal passage to the Cavern." ^a

Those who are interested in the inquiry as to the amount of credit which should be allowed to vulgar tradition, and its connection, however remote, with historical fact, will perhaps admit that at a later period of our history, long after the abandonment of these caves as sepulchral depositories, such places may possibly have been used by the marauding Danes as receptacles for booty; but even in this case some fragments of pottery will doubtless be found to indicate the purpose for which they were so carefully excavated.

In the county of Kent there are many similar places, which I cannot but believe are of the same origin. Hasted says, "There are now to be seen, as well on the heaths near Crayford as in the fields and woods hereabout, many artificial caves or holes in the earth, some of which are ten, some fifteen, and others twenty fathoms deep. At the mouth, and thence downward, they are narrow like the tunnel of a chimney, or passage of a well, but at the bottom they are large and of great compass, insomuch that some of them have several rooms or partitions one within another, strongly vaulted and supported with pillars of chalk." ^b He then cites the opinion of the neighbouring inhabitants that they were made by the Saxons, and concludes that they were the storehouses of those people in distracted times. A little further on, in describing the parish of Dartford, he remarks, "About a mile south-westward from the town is Dartford Heath, where there are a great many of those pits and holes so frequent in these parts. Some of these reach as low as the chalk, others no further than the sand. Many of them have been stopped up of late years, to prevent the frequent accidents which happen of men and cattle falling into them. The occasion of their being first dug has already been fully explained." ^c

The "full explanation" is that above quoted, with which the antiquary cannot be satisfied. Further inquiry and examination can scarcely fail to prove their Roman origin and use. The subject is well deserving investigation by our provincial antiquaries; and I have little doubt that ere long we shall be in possession of further evidence.

To recur to the funereal pits of the simplest form discovered in England. From all that has come under my notice, I do not think we are in any danger of confounding them with the well-like excavations which are often found within the walls of towns. These latter, for want of a better term, may be designated "rubbish holes," for their contents are in all cases widely different from those found in the pits which

^a Hist. of Essex, vol. i. p. 229, fol. 1768.

^b History of Kent, vol. i. p. 211.

^c Ibid. p. 226.

are the subject of this notice. Several pits were met with during the excavations for the approaches to the new London Bridge, the contents of which I myself saw thrown out and examined, but not a vestige of sepulchral usage was discovered, not a fragment which could lead to the inference that they had been used for funereal purposes. On the contrary, the pits discovered at Ewell, at Richborough, and at Stone, afforded good evidence that they were designed for the reception of cinerary-urns, and that in considerable numbers. It will be seen by reference to the plan of the pit found at Stone, that it differs in some respects from the others, the excavation extending some distance under each stratum of rock through which the shaft is formed; a contrivance well adapted to protect the urns from being crushed by the superincumbent earth.

That pits of the simplest and rudest construction were designed as depositories for the ashes of the humblest classes of the Roman people, I think there cannot be a doubt. We have, however, little information in classical writers on this head,—the unhonoured and the needy were of course interred in the least ostentatious manner, and the simpler rites observed on such occasions are not detailed; we are consequently not instructed as to the funereal observances of the common people in the various elaborate antiquarian treatises on Roman burial. The dismal picture drawn by Horace of the common burial-ground without the walls of Rome, is so well known that I must apologise for quoting it:—

“Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
 Conservus vili portanda locabat in arcâ.
 Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulchrum,
 Pantolabo scurræ, Nomentanoque nepotî.
 Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agro
 Hic dabat, hæredes monumentum ne sequeretur.
 Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque
 Aggere in aprico spatium, quâ modò tristes
 Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.”

Sat. Lib. I, viii.

Many of the *cellæ* or *puticuli* received the unburnt corpse; but there is every reason to suppose, that in this vast charnel-house the rites of cremation were not refused to such of the poor as died amidst their friends. When cremation became common to the Romans, no better contrivance could have been devised for the preservation of the remains of the dead than that which appears to have been often resorted to by these people in this country. In the full conviction that by making the foregoing facts known to the English antiquary it will lead to the more careful

examination of Roman burial-places, I urge upon those who have leisure and opportunity the exploration of the more extensive and more scientifically formed pits in Kent and Essex, to which reference has been made.

In conclusion, it would seem that the word *culina* was applied to the *bustum* on which the viands for the funeral repasts were burnt, from the circumstance of this ceremony being performed in places where these pits were prepared. *Culina* in the older glossaries meant a cess-pool or cloaca,^a and such was its obvious original signification; but that in after ages it signified a sepulchral pit we may infer from the following passage in Aggenus Urbicus, "sunt in suburbanis," he says, "loca publica, inopum destinata funeribus, quæ loca *culinas* appellant."^b

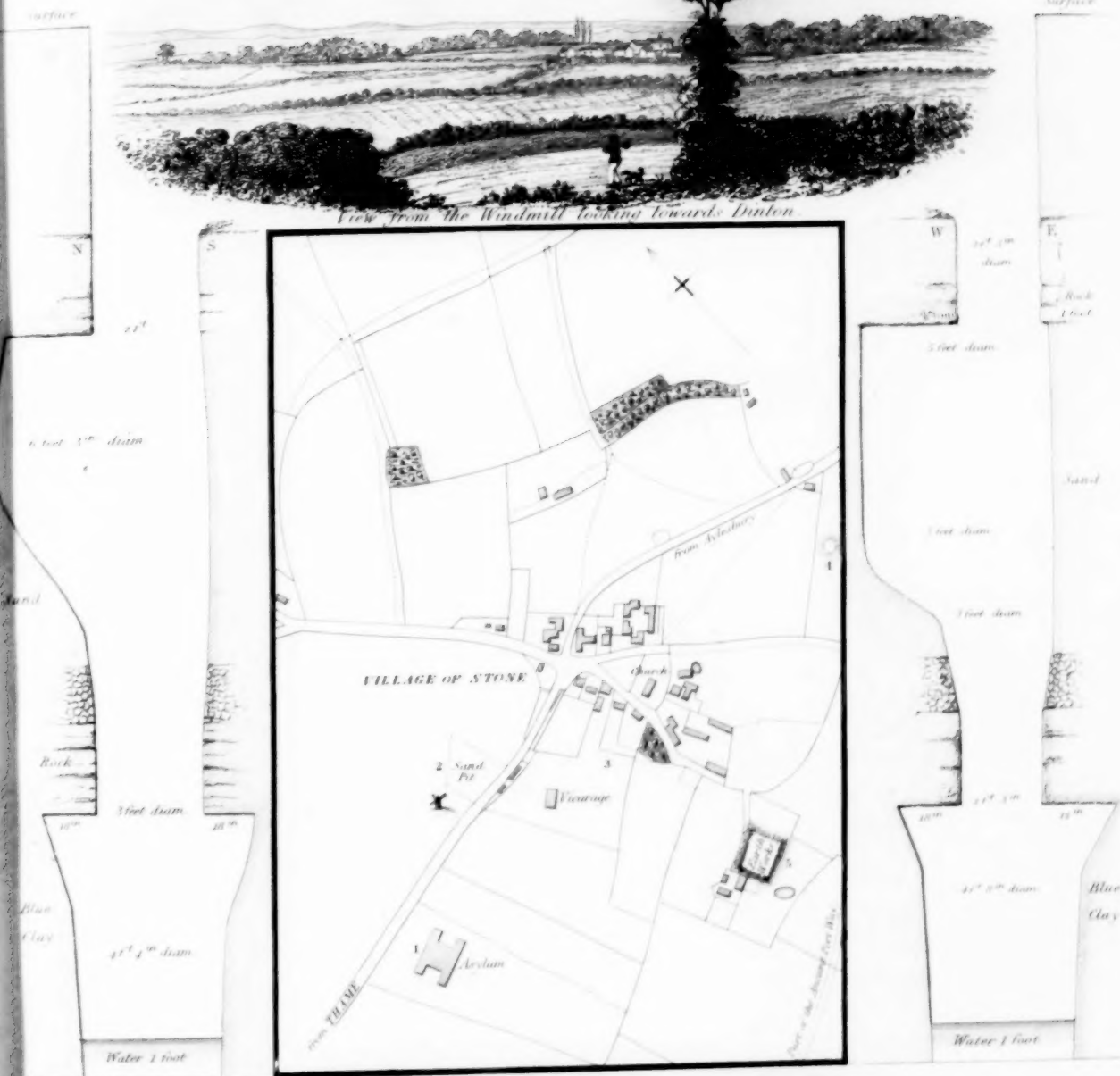
JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

^a Lavatrinum et culinam conjungit. Varro, de L. L. 4, 25. Vet. gloss. ἀφεδρων, culina; atque ἀφεδρων, cloaca, sive latrina est. Eadem glossa ἀποπατος, *culina*. Isidorus quoque culinam, in glossis *latrinum*, secessum interpretatur. Sorani, Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticæ, a Gesnero, Lipsæ, fol. 1726.

^b Aggenus Urb. in Sext. Jul. Frontinum de Agr. qualitate com. de contro. s. xi. Amsterdam, 1661. p. 301.



View from the Windmill looking towards Dinton

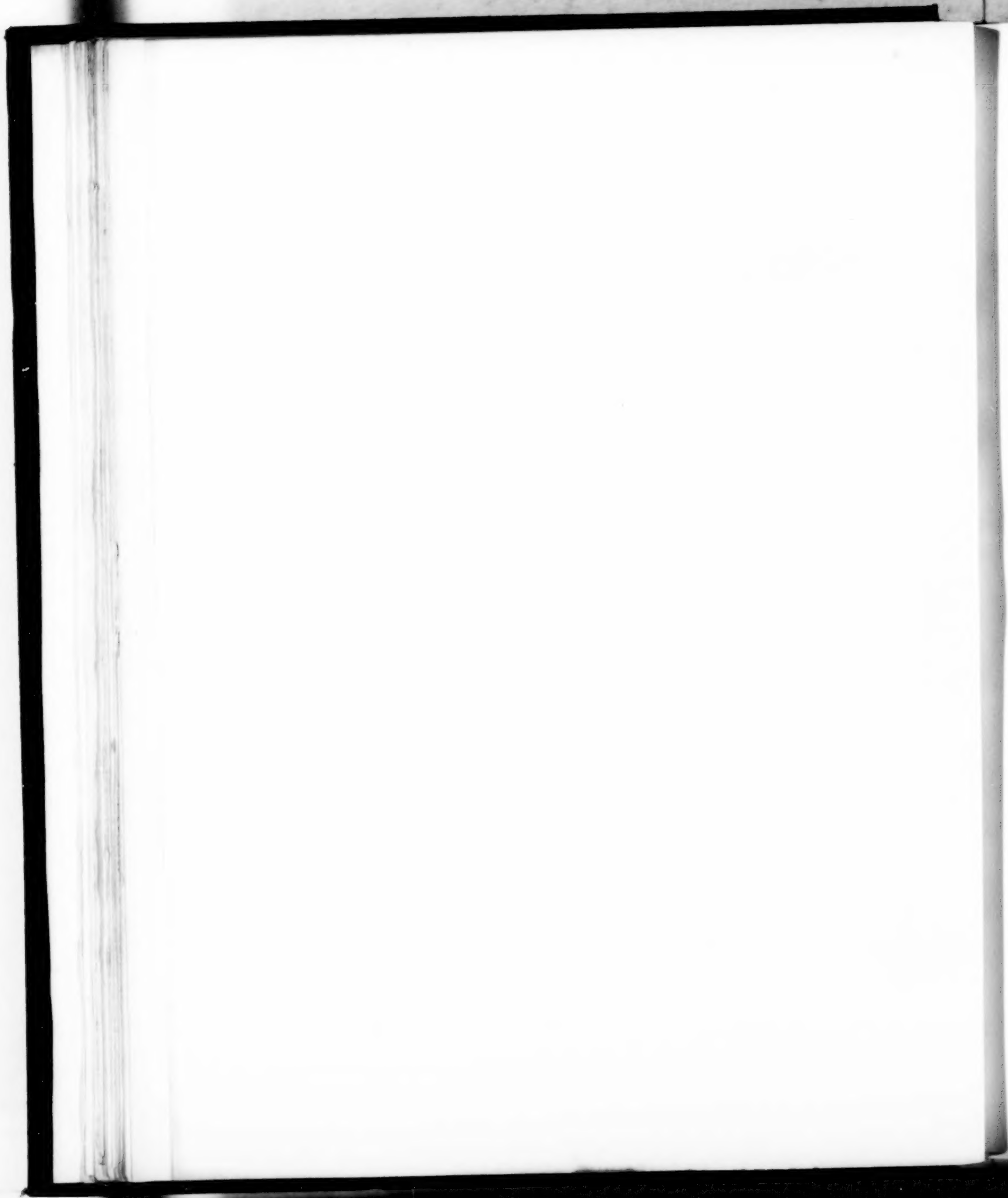


Ploughed field in which the Pit was discovered

Plans and Views in the Village of Stone near Aylesbury, with Sections of Sepulchral Pit

Published to the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 18th 1861

J. Russell sc.



III — *On the use of Mason-Marks in Scotland.* By PATRICK CHALMERS, Esq. F.S.A.

Read June 20, 1850.

THE subject of Mason-Marks has obtained some additional interest lately in consequence of the suggestions that they might be made useful towards ascertaining the dates of buildings. Living in a district rather remarkable for the goodness of its masonry, both in material and in workmanship, my attention had frequently been directed to the singular character of these marks, but it had never occurred to me that they might be made available for the purpose above mentioned until I read Mr. Godwin's letters on the subject in Vol. XXX. of *Archæologia*. Though I doubt whether these marks can be classified chronologically, so as to form an index for fixing the date of buildings, yet it is certainly desirable that those who have it in their power should contribute their mite towards such a collection as Mr. Godwin suggests, in order to a thorough investigation of the subject. It is with this object that I have collected the mason-marks on several buildings in the neighbourhood in which I live, the dates of which are pretty nearly fixed by written records or other extraneous evidence.

I am not a freemason, nor have any knowledge of the mysteries of that ancient craft; but I think it cannot be doubted that these mason-marks had, if they have not now, a mystical meaning, independent of and besides the particular purpose for which they were employed in early times, as now, viz. for denoting and distinguishing the stones prepared by respective masons employed together on any given building. These marks, in all probability, had their origin before the Christian era; and this would indeed be placed beyond all doubt if the marks observed by Colonel Howard Vyse and others on stones in the pyramids of Egypt were mason-marks and not quarry-marks, as in some instances he has proved them to be, or if we could identify the secret societies of Egypt with those of freemasonry, as has been attempted.^a It is only reasonable to suppose that mason-marks have been modified by and added to symbols connected with or illustrative of facts and doctrines of the Christian faith.

^a Anderson's *History of Freemasonry*. Mounier. But perhaps the best account of freemasonry within a short space, is in an article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xiv. p. 280; seventh edition. It gives an ample list of authorities.

The use of these marks is to denote the work of each mason employed in hewing or preparing stones for any building: first, that if paid by the piece each man may have his work measured without dispute; second, that if work be badly done, or an error made, it may at once be seen on whom to throw the blame, and by whom, or at whose expense, the fault is to be amended. A quarter of a century has barely elapsed since the rule, that each mason should have his distinctive mark, and should affix it to every stone hewn by him, was strictly enforced in the district I have referred to; and even now when many men are collected together on a work the rule is observed, though not with so much strictness. It was a law in St. Ninian's Lodge at Brechin that every mason should register his mark in a book, and he could not change that mark at pleasure. Parts of the book in which these marks were registered from 1714 downwards are still preserved in the lodge, and were lately produced in evidence in a trial involving the right of succession to a landed estate. They differ in no respect in character (though, from their number, more varied in arrangement of parts) from those of which representations accompany this paper. I have often asked intelligent and experienced masons on what principle, or according to what rule, these marks are formed; whether they are symbolical, and of what? The answers I have generally got amount to this: that they are supposed to be as old almost as the human race itself; that they probably had in early times a meaning now unknown, and are still regarded with a sort of reverence, and as something mysterious; that the only rule for their formation is, that they shall have at least one angle; that the circle must be avoided, and cannot be a true mason's mark unless in combination with some line that shall form an angle with it; that there is no distinction of ranks—that is, that there is no particular class of marks set apart for and assigned to master masons as distinguished from their workmen; if it should happen that two masons meeting at the same work from distant parts should have the same mark, then one must for a time assume a distinction, or, as heralds say, "a difference."

The marks that are exhibited herewith (Plate III.) are copied—first, from the interior of the Round Tower at Brechin, the age of which is unknown as yet, but Dr. Petrie, author of the valuable treatise on the Round Towers of Ireland, says that he is to prove it to have been built by Irish churchmen about the year of our Lord 1020, and we must await the production of his proofs with such patience as we can command. In this tower there are only two distinct mason-marks, but they are frequently repeated, so that it may be inferred that only two masons were employed in preparing stones for the builders, a supposition probable enough in itself. On the outside of the tower, towards the base, there are many marks, but of these many are known

to have been made of late years by men employed in repairs to the cathedral or to the tower, and I have therefore taken no copy of them. In the Round Tower at Abernethy, the only other of the sort in Scotland, there are no mason-marks; the original surfaces of the stones are wasted away, and apparently more so inside the tower than outside. I may here remark that, having asked Dr. Petrie whether he had observed mason-marks in the Irish Round Towers, his answer is in the negative, but that, his attention not having been heretofore called to the subject, he may have overlooked them. He adds that he is not surprised at the absence of mason-marks in the tower at Abernethy, since he considers it to be of much higher antiquity than that at Brechin, his reasons for which opinion he will give in his second volume at more length. The point is of some importance, as bearing upon the antiquity of mason-marks, if it can be shown that they are not to be found in our earliest buildings, the surfaces of the stones being in good preservation.

The next building in order of time in Brechin, after the Round Tower, is probably the *Domus Dei*, or *Maison-Dieu*, founded by William de Brechin in 1264, but we have no certain proof that this building may not have been repaired, or even rebuilt, by John de Carnoth (or Charteris), Bishop of Brechin from 1427 to about 1451, and a great repairer of church buildings in his diocese; but it is usually attributed to the earlier date.

The next in order is the Cathedral tower and steeple, built or repaired by Patrick de Leuchars, Bishop from 1354 to about 1373, and for some time Chancellor of Scotland. This in the *Registrum Ecclesie Cathedralis de Brechin* is called "*Campanile*," and therefore some have maintained that the Round Tower is the building referred to; but it is enough to notice this supposition, it has no sufficient foundation.

The next building of which I give mason-marks is Melgund Castle, built by Cardinal Beaton, who acquired the estate in 1542, and was murdered in 1546. The cardinal's family arms and initials are carved on the lintel of one of the windows, and the Ogilvy arms, with the initials M. O., may still be seen over another window of the same room. These are the initials of Mariot Ogilvy, the mother of the cardinal's children, and a daughter of the first Lord Ogilvy of Airly, as is proved by a charter in which she is so described; her initials are also cut on a corbel of the stair leading to this room. She seems to have been allied to the cardinal by that sort of morganatic marriage frequent among churchmen of that period, and is the person to whom Knox makes a coarse allusion in his account of the cardinal's slaughter.

I have already referred to Colonel Vyse's mention of marks on stones in the

Pyramids. These appear to be quarry marks, as he says, being made with ochre or paint, as are quarry marks to this day, and not incised in the stone, as are mason-marks proper. Quarry marks are generally used when stones are prepared in a quarry, and serve to denote the course and position in the course that a given stone is intended to occupy, or on rough stones mark the quarry measurement. I annex some figures of quarry marks given by Colonel Vyse. It is not certain, however, that true mason-marks were not used in the pyramids, and I incline to the belief that they were. It is to be noted also that mason-marks are often made on the beds of stones, and therefore become invisible in buildings. If it be objected that they thus lose their usefulness in the appropriation of bad workmanship to the true delinquent, the answer is simple; the marks are made not by the builders, but by those who prepare the stones for the builders, and when they have once passed through the hands of these their use is exhausted.

Whether freemasonry was known among the Greeks and Romans has been a matter of dispute; and it has been well said that the absence of any mention of it by their historians or annalists is no more to be taken as a proof of its non-existence among them than is the silence of our chroniclers and historians down to the time of Hume—I believe even later—a proof that it was unknown in Britain. It is said to have been introduced into Scotland A. D. 1140, at the building of the Abbey of Kilwinning, and to have been preserved in greater purity in that country than in any other in Europe; but, be that as it may, it was probably brought in at the first employment of foreign masons. The continued purity of freemasonry in Scotland may have contributed to the longer use of mason-marks in that country.

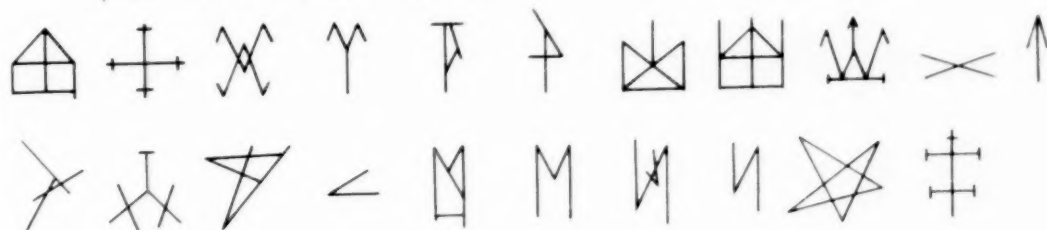
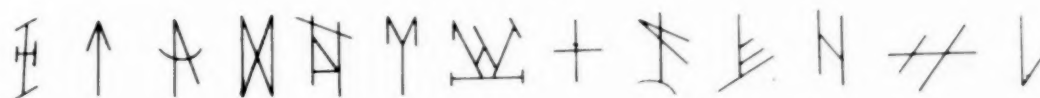
I am quite sensible of my inability to treat these matters as they should be treated, and I pretend to do no more than offer a humble contribution to a branch of knowledge that may possibly be turned to useful account.

I have added (Plate IV.) a copy of the Mason-Marks selected from the Cash-Book of St. Ninian's Lodge at Brechin, as appended to names of various members of that lodge from 1714 to 1847 inclusive.

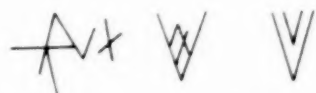
*Marks within the Round Tower at Brechin**(no marks appear on the outside)*

These are the only Marks with any apparent design within the Round Tower. They are often repeated, particularly about the middle, and are generally cut along the whole length and depth of the face of the stone

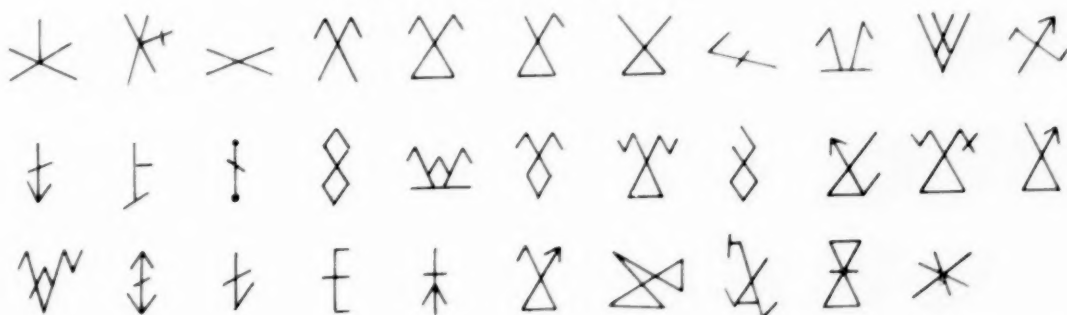
Mason-Marks on the Square Tower. These are all within the building repetitions of which appear upon the outside, and on the Chancel Ruins.

*Mason-Marks on the Inside of Hospital.*

On outside of Hospital and not repeated on inside.



None of the marks upon the Square Tower or Hospital exceed 3 or 4 inches in length

*Mason-Marks upon the Castle of Melquind**(all of them are frequently repeated)*

IV.—*Rules of the Free School at Saffron Walden, in Essex, in the reign of Henry VIII., communicated by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., F.S.A., in a letter to Captain W. H. SMYTH, R.N., F.R.S., Director.*

Read December 5, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,

In turning over the records of the town of Saffron Walden a few weeks ago, I found a volume of rather miscellaneous matter relating to the government of the town, which appears to be chiefly in the writing of the time of Henry the Eighth, and in which are two programmes of Regulations for the management of the Free Grammar School established there in 1525, drawn up by two different masters. They are documents of a kind which are rare, and I think of some interest, connected with one of the most important of all subjects—the history of the development of the human intelligence.

No one has yet undertaken to write the history of the forms and systems of teaching youth as they have existed in this country. Much material on this subject remains; but scattered in such a manner and in such places that it would require both time and labour to gather it together. During a very long period, in fact until after the Reformation, the school system, as far as it related to the teaching of the first grounds of learning, underwent less variation than we might be inclined to suppose. Under the Saxons, schools seem to have been numerous; every priest or monk—indeed every one who by his own education came under the then comprehensive title of clergy—might open a school and teach at his pleasure; and there were probably few districts of any extent in which there was not a schoolmaster. After the establishment of the universities this voluntary system was no longer sufficient to supply the new wants and new calls of learning; and this led gradually to the foundation and endowment of schools where competent instructors were bound to teach, and where every child capable of receiving instruction could demand it as a right. Free-schools, or grammar-schools, as we still call them—they were principally intended to ground youth in the Latin grammar—with no immediate dependence upon the Church, were thus founded in most of our country towns.

It was for the management of one of these schools that the following regulations were drawn up.

The first of these papers consists of two parts—a tabular statement of the lessons required of each form or class for every day of the week (*see opposite page*), and a few rules for preserving order and good behaviour among the scholars. The latter is especially curious; in one respect it furnishes us with rather a singular picture of society, for it seems to intimate to us that a boy, however unknown, and from whence soever he might come, had only to present himself at the school and ask for instruction, that the master merely asked from whence he came and what friends he had, and more especially whether the plague existed in the place he came from. It is evident from the existence of such a rule that it was a case of ordinary occurrence; and it helps us to picture an age in which the desire for knowledge sprang up spontaneously in the childish heart, and when would-be scholars wandered forth not only to seek a teacher, but to beg abroad for the means of supporting themselves at school.

“ This ys the order of the same schole usyd by me Richard Cox scholemastere.

“ They come to schole at vj. of the klok in the mornyng. They say Deus misereatur, with a colecte; at ix. they say De profundis and go to brekefast. Within a quarter of an houre cum ageyne, and tary [till] xj. and then to dyner; at v. to soper, afore an antheme and De profundis.

“ Two prepositores in every forme, whiche doth give in a schrowe the absentes namys at any lecture, and shewith when and at what tyme both in the fore none for the tyme paste and at v.

“ Also ij. prepositores in the body of the chirche, ij. in the qwere for spekyng of Latyn in the thred forme and all other, every one a custos, and in every howse a monytor.

“ Whan they goe home, ij. and ij. in order, a monitor to se that they do soe tyll they come at there hostise dore. Also prevy monytores how many the master wylle.

“ Prepositores in the feld whan they play, for fyghtyng, rent-clothes, blew eyes, or sicke like.

“ Prepositores for yll kept hedys, unwasshid facys, fowle clothis, and sich other.

“ Yff ther be iiij. or v. in a howse, monytores for chydyng and for Latyn spekyng.

“ When any dothe come newe, the master dothe inquire fro whens he comyth, what frendys he hathe, whether there be any plage. No man gothe owte off the schole nother home to his frendes without the masteres lycence. Yff there be any dullard, the master gyvith his frendes warnyng, and puttyth hym away, that he sclander not the schole.

“ By me RICHARD COX, scholemaster.”

	MONDAYE.	Tewysdaye.	WEDENYS- DAYE.	THURSDAYE.	Ffrydaye.	SATERDAYE.
The ffyrst forme	Parte of Stan- bridge Acci- dence every mornyng, with the se- cond, thrid, and fowrthe forme. Insti- tutiones par- vulorum vo- cabula. And also Latynes	Idem	Idem	Idem	Quos decet in mensa at the afternone and rendering of rules	Quos decet in mensa at the afternone ren- der Latynys
The seconde forme	Fabula Esopi Genera Lillii Latynys fower tymys in the weke	Idem	Idem	Idem	Cato, at the after none render rulys	Cato, and at the after none ren- der Latynys and vulgares
The thrid forme	Terence Preterita Lillii Latynys	Idem	Idem	Idem	Most proper hymys, and at the after none rendre rulys	Properesthymi ... and at the after none ren- der Latynys and vulgares
The fourthe forme	Terentius Octo partes Lillii Latyns twies every weke	Idem	Idem	Idem	Vergili Buc- colica in the mornyng, at the after none render rulys	Vergili Buc- colica, at after none rendre Latynys and vulgares
The fyfthe forme	Wrytyng of a theme. Salus- tius. Versefy- eng rulys drawne owte of Despanse- rius other Modus con- scribendi epistolas	The same save they make versis	The same save they make nothyng	Epistole Tullii makynge of epistles beside Salustius	Vergili Eneis in the morn- yng, at the after none rendering of rules lernyd the hole weke	Vergili Eneis repetyng of Latynys and vulgares lernyd that weke
The syxte forme and the seventhe forme	Horatius or Tullius Mosellanys fi- gures or copia- rerum et ver- borum of Erasmus	All lyke Mon- day save they make verses	Lyke as afore save they make nothyng	Epistole Tullii makynge of epistles beside Horatius	Vergili Eneis in the morn- yng, at the after none rendryng of rules lernid the hole weke	Vergili Eneis repetyng of Latynys and vulgares lernyd all the weke

Every quarter one fortynyght every forme rendryth all thynges lernyd that quarter.

The second of the documents of which I send a copy is unfortunately not complete. A leaf has been torn out, which contained the first part of it, and which perhaps gave the master's orders with regard to the behaviour of the scholars. What is left relates again to their lessons, and gives a somewhat more particular account of the teaching than the former. We gather from it the somewhat curious circumstance that the teaching went on on Sundays, the lessons on that day being generally in Lucian or Æsop's Fables. The person whose signature it bears is evidently the same who in the list given by Lord Braybrooke, in his History of Saffron Walden, is called Worthend, and who was master of the school from 1545 to 1547. Richard Cox, who signs the preceding document, was probably the successor of the first master, William Dawson, but his name does not occur in Lord Braybrooke's list of masters.

" . . . Ovide Metamorphoseos the Thursday, Salust the Fryday with the vij. forme and at after none renderyng of there rulys. The Saterdaye lyke as the vij. forme. The Sonday lykewise.

" The vth forme.

" They have the versyfycall rulys of Sulpice gevyn in the mornyng of one of the vjth forme and thys vth forme gevyth rulys to the fowrth, the which be preterita et supina of Sulpice. Also iiij. verses of Ovide Metamorphoseos the Thursday, Sallust iij. fyrst dayes of the weke to be renderid on Saterday in the mornyng. The Latyne they have with the fowrthe forme. There constructyones is throwgh owte the weke unto Fryday Vergilles Egloges, and an other Tullies Epistles; they make materes ageynst Tewisdaye. The Wedenysday make verses. The Thursday epistles. The Friday in the mornyng a part of there rulys to be examyned. Att the after none renderyng of there rulys lernyd that weke. The Saterday xij. verses to be said withowte boke on the mornyng with the examynation of the same, with renderyng of there Latynes. After none construyth epistles. The Sonday as the other hie formys dothe.

" The fowrthe forme.

" After rules and verses geven of the vth forme they hath a verbe providyd ageyne vij. of the klok when the scholemaster comyth in and hase the verbe examyned among them with vulgares upon the same, and after they write the Latyn that one of them shall make by the assygnnyng of the master. And the master construyth to them a poreyon of Terence, and at after none thei construe it and parce it by the ussher. And after renderith rules and then there Latyn; this contynewith tyll Friday, then they have a part of there rulys to be examyned. And at afternone renderith of the rulys lernyd that weke. The Saterday in the mornyng xij. verses of Ovide Metamorphe'. At afternone repetyng and examynyng there Terence lernyd before.

The Sonday with other low holydayes an Englysh of an epistle to be made in Latyn dyverse wayes and somtyme Tullies Paradoxes to be construyd.

“The thrid forme

hath for ther rules Sulpice genderes and his heteroclites declarid every day a portyon of the ussher, and hath throwgh the weke over nyght a verbe set up to be examyned in the mornynge, and makith vulgares upon yt; and after none they have a theme to be made in Latyn, the which Latyne one of the said forme at the pleasure of the master makith openlie dyverse ways. And after that they write the masteris owne Latyne. For ther constructiones uponne Mondayes and Wedenysdayes Aesopes fabelles. Tuesdayes and Thursdayes Lucyanes dialoges. The Friday in the mornynge examynation of ther rules; at the after none renderynge. Saterday in the mornynge proper verses of meter of Lilies making, and after that repetytyon of there Latens with the examynatyon of the same. The Sonday a dialoge of Luciane or a fable of Esope to be seid withowt booke and construed.

“The seconde fforme

lykewise throw the weke hath a verbe sett up over nyght, and makith vulgaris on it, and dothe like at Latyn as the thrid forme, ther rulys, Parvula of Stanbridge, and ij. verses of his vocables. There constructyones Esopes fabules throw all the weke, save that on the Saterday in the mornynge they have iiij. verses of Cato to be renderid withowt booke, with the examynatyon of the same.

“The ffyrst forme.

“In the mornynge a part of Standbridge accidens, and a verbe of the same accidens to be said withowt booke, and then a Latyn to be said at the after none; after that repetytyon of rules. The Friday there comparisons with the verbe sum. es. fui. to be said; at the after none repetytyon of there rules. At Saterday repetytyon of there Cato. The Sonday a fabull of Aesope.

“Also every fforme renderith a fortentyght every quarter for thynges lernyd the quarter before.

“By me JOHAN TWITHEⁿ, scholemaster.

“By me THOMAS BROWNYNG, ussher.”

It has struck me that these two documents possess sufficient interest to be communicated to the Society of Antiquaries; and I therefore take the liberty of requesting you will do me the favour of bringing them forward at one of its meetings.

I remain, my dear Sir, Very faithfully yours,

THOMAS WRIGHT.

To Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N.
Director of the Society of Antiquaries,
&c. &c. &c.

VOL. XXXIV.

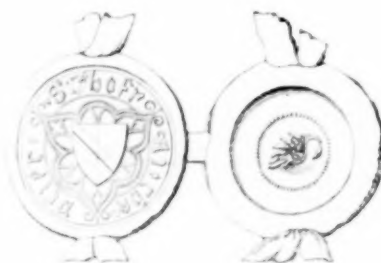
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V.—*The Seal of Chaucer: Copy of the Deed to which it is appended: Copy of a public Instrument notifying to him his removal from his Office of Clerk of the King's Works.—In a Letter to Sir HENRY ELLIS from JOSEPH HUNTER, a Fellow of the Society.*

Read May 14, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,

I beg to have the honour of laying before the President and Members of the Society of Antiquaries what I cannot but deem a very interesting relic, an Impression from the Seal of Geoffrey Chaucer, perhaps the only impression which has descended to our times. I am sorry, however, that it is only a drawing from the original which is now produced; but the original itself will be shewn to any member of the Society who feels an interest about it.



The seal is circular: about the size of a shilling, and presents the well-known coat of Chaucer, but with this difference, that, whereas in other authorities the bend is counter-changed on the per pale field, on the seal the field is parti per pale, but the bend is entire: and, inasmuch as this seal must be regarded as the highest authority for the Chaucer coat, it may seem proper to revive the figure in the form in which it is here exhibited.

The impression is in a good state of preservation. The inscription was not originally cut with much care, and one or two of the earlier letters are imperfect in the stamp; but it may be read thus:

S' Ghostrai chaurier.

The counter-seal has the device of a pelican on her nest, and though it has no inscription may fairly be considered as another seal used by the poet.

I transmit at the same time a copy of the document to which the seal is appended. It will be seen that it is not an instrument of Chaucer's own, but of Thomas Chaucer of Ewelme, then an esquire, but afterwards a knight. This Thomas has been universally regarded as the son of the poet, though perhaps there is not that full and decisive evidence which on such a point as this may be desired, and the possession by him of this seal may be regarded as another item in the collection of circumstances from which the inference of this honourable affiliation is drawn. The date is the 20th of May in the 10th year of King Henry the Fourth, about nine years after the time of the death of Chaucer. It is not without interest as being an early specimen of a deed in the English language, and also for the information which it gives respecting the possessions of Thomas Chaucer, who was one of the most considerable persons of his time, closely connected with the baronage by his marriage, and the father of Alice Duchess of Suffolk.

Neither the deed nor the seal have I believe till now fallen under the notice of any antiquary, having been only lately discovered by me in the unsorted masses of Her Majesty's Exchequer.

I inclose also a copy of another document drawn from the same mass of early evidence: being a writ of King Richard the Second, dated at Westminster on the 17th of June in the 14th of his reign, addressed to Geoffrey Chaucer, late Clerk of the King's Works at the Palace of Westminster, the Tower of London, the Castles of Wallingford and Berkhamstead, the manors of Kennington, Eltham, Clarendon, Shene, Byflete, Children-Langley, and Feckenham, and the mews for the King's hawks near Charing Cross,—signifying to him the appointment of John Gedney as his successor, and directing him to deliver up to Gedney all rolls, writs, memoranda, &c. relating to the said office.

Believe me, dear Sir Henry,

Your very faithful Servant,

JOSEPH HUNTER.

Sir Henry Ellis, Sec. S.A.

&c. &c. &c.

I.

This ys thentent of Thomas Chaucer Squier made atte Ewelme the twenty day of Maij yn the yere of reygne Kyng Herry furth after the conquest tenth endentyd

yn thre parties as hyt sheweth he^r write ^a How that John Golafre Robert James and Will^m Beek ben enfeffed yn the re^usions of the manoirs of Hogenortoⁿ and Cud-lyngtoⁿ wit alle here app^{te}nc³ and that John Golafre Robert James Nichol Yatyngden clerke and John Cotere^t ben enfeffed yn alle the londes and teⁿt³ the wyche were Gilbert Wace knyth yn Ewelme Swyncombe ^t Tuffeld and that Will^m Beek John Lymby and Thomas Leutoⁿ ben enfeffed yn alle the londes and teⁿt³ cleped Turnours yn the tounes and parsches of Bensyngtoⁿ Newenh^m Moryn Mungewell and Tuffeld wyt fyve acres of mede in Warburgh yn the shire of Oxoⁿ to haue and to holde to the forsaide feffes ^t to ther heires fore^umore to the vse and profite of Thomas Chauc^r The Wille ^t the forsaide entente of the same Thomas [Chaucer]^b ys suche as y schal declare to yow that alle the feffes aboute nempned schulle enfeffe Thomas Chauc^r and Maud hys wyf of alle the forsayde re^usions oth of the forsaide manoirs of the forsaide re^usions yf they falle yn the mene tyme forth wit alle oth londes teⁿt³ ^t mede wyt alle here app^{te}nc³ yn the wiche the forsayde feffes ioyntlych oth se^uallich ben feffed ynne to the vse of the forsayde Thomas atte what tyme that euere they ben required by the forsaide Thomas other be Maud oth be the heires of there to bodyes frely begote fore^umore and yf hit happe that the heires of there to bodyes frely begote deye that God forbede lyvyng the forsaide Thomas Chauc^r other Maud that the re^usions manoirs londes and teⁿt³ wyt the mede and wit alle here app^{te}nc³ turne aye to the forsaide Thomas Chauc^r and to Maud and to there heires and to there assignes fore^umore Other elles yf hyt happe that the forsaide heires of the forsaide bodies of Thomas and of Maud frely begote ouerlyve Thomas and Maud and thanne deye wit ou³te issu of there bod^y frely begote thanne alle the forsaide re^usions man[']s londes teⁿt³ and mede wit alle here app^{te}nc³ remayne to Esmond Hampden to his heires and to his assignes fore^umore: And also the entente of the forsaide Thomas ys that the feffes that schulle be enfeffed yn the re^usion of the manoir of Dortoⁿ yn the shire of Buk oth elles of alle the londes and teⁿt³ that were som tyme Laurence Cotesmores in Ewelme and Bensyngton to the vse of Thomas Chaucer forsaide after the acorde that taketh by twene the forsaide Thomas ^t John Cotesmore sone and heire of the forsaide Lawrence make feffement thereof yn the forme and yn alle man[']e poyn^tes as the feffes aboute nempned schulle make of alle the forsaide re^usions manoirs londes and teⁿt³ and mede whanne they ben required as hyt ys forsaide. In wytnessynge of wych thyng^e to this my wille and entente y haue put my sel wrete as abouesaid.

^a That is, by being indented both at the top and at the left-hand margin.

^b Interlined.

II.

Ricardus Dei grā Rex Angl et Franç et Dñs Hibñ dilecto sibi Galfro Chaucer nup
 etico operacōum n̄raz salm. Cum constituimus et assignavimus Johem Gedney
 eticum opacōum n̄raz apud palacium n̄m Westm Turrim n̄ram London Castra n̄ra
 de Wallyngeford et Berkhamstede man'ia n̄ra de Kenyngton Eltham Clarendon
 Schene Byflete Childernelangeley et Feckenham necnon logiam n̄ram de Hathebergh
 in foresta n̄ra de nova foresta ac logias n̄ras infra parcos n̄ros de Claryndon Eltham
 Childernelangley et Fekenham et mutas n̄ras pro falconibus n̄ris juxta Charrynge-
 crouch necnon gardinoz stagnoz molendinoz ac clausuraz tam parcoz p̄dcōz q'm
 oīm alioz parcoz ad eadem palacium turrim castra man'ia logias et mutas pertinencia
 et ad latomos carpentarios et alios oparios et laboratores quoscumq qui opacōibz
 n̄ris p̄dcis necessarii fūnt ubicumq inveniri potint infra libertates et extra feodo
 ecclie dumtaxat excepto p se et deputatos suos eligend et capiend in dcis opacōibz
 n̄ris ponend in eisdem ad vadia n̄ra moratur et ad quedam alia in tris n̄ris patentibz
 inde confectis contenta faciend et explend put in eisdem tris plenius continet tibi
 p̄cipimus qd eidem Johi officium p̄dcū una cum rotulis b̄ribz memorandis et oñibz
 aliis officiū p̄dcū tangentibz que in custodia tua existunt p indenturas inde int te et
 ipm debite conficiend liberes hend iuxta tenorem traz n̄raz p̄dcāz te de officio illo
 nullatenus intromittens volumus enim te inde erga nos exōiari. T. me ipo apud
 Westm. xvii die Junii anno r. n̄ quarto decimo.

BURTON.

VI.—*Remarks on a Coloured Drawing of some Ancient Beads, executed by BENJAMIN NIGHTINGALE, Esq., from Specimens in his possession. By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary.*

Read June 6, 1850.

By the kindness of Mr. Nightingale I am enabled to lay before the Society a drawing of various Ancient Beads in his collection.

I know of no objects of antiquity which, while they present so distinct a character, are at the same time so difficult to assign to a precise period, as these beads. Some may be ascribed with tolerable certainty to particular countries; but others are so widely distributed as to render the place of their fabrication a difficult point to settle.

We have abundant evidence that the fabrication of glass is an art of remote antiquity. Without calling in question the authenticity of the specimens of Egyptian beads said to be as old as the period of the Exodus, we may safely infer that the *κόρα κροτά* mentioned by Herodotus (ii. 69), as appended to the ears of the sacred crocodile in Egypt, were objects formed in a similar manner to the vitrified pastes of which so many of these beads are composed. Beads of this description were doubtless, in the first instance, composed of simple masses; but the art of combining stalks of glass of various colours was evidently soon discovered, and adapted to the formation of party-coloured beads, of which some very beautiful specimens are given in the drawing now exhibited.

Although beads of various kinds are discovered so frequently in Anglo-Saxon barrows, I am inclined to assign even the latest of them to a period anterior to the spread of Christianity. However frequently found in the graves of christianized Saxons, we cannot infer that they date from the century of the interment. Many pagan superstitions still remained, and the talismanic character of beads was still recognised.

To the antiquary it will be needless to remark that beads are discovered repeatedly in England, in the interments of the three distinct periods—the Celtic, the Roman, and the Saxon. The elegant drum-shaped beads of gold discovered in the tumulus at Upton Lovell, and engraved by Sir R. C. Hoare, are well known, and are remarkable among all the objects that have been discovered in the early tumuli.

Among Roman remains a great number and variety of beads have from time to time been discovered; and of all the periods beads of amber, which Pliny informs us were much valued and worn by women, form a part of the personal ornaments of the deceased.

I have now to append Mr. Nightingale's descriptions of the beads in his collection. The accompanying Plate offers a considerable variety, and may furnish data to the antiquary of some value in future inquiry:—

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Clare Cottage, Priory Road, March, 1850.

“ I send you, agreeably to your request, sketches of thirty-five specimens from my collection of Antique Beads, which I will proceed to describe according to their numbers.

“ Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 are of vitrified porcelain, very highly glazed, and of brilliant colours. They were found in a tumulus near Northwold's Mill in Norfolk, together with about eighty others, chiefly of amber and dark blue glass.

“ No. 5 is similar to the preceding, and was found in Butt Lane, Colchester, in 1847.

“ No. 6 was found at the Roman Camp, Castlefield, near Manchester. Transparent green glass.

“ No. 7 was found with Roman coins at Aldborough, near Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire, in 1843. The body is of dark green glass, coated with unglazed enamel, which is delicately veined or marbled in colours.

“ No. 8 is of coarse clay, unglazed. It was found under the walls of York, with a large hoard of stycas, in 1841.

“ No. 9. This elegant little bead, which is probably Anglo-Saxon, was discovered in the Thames near London Bridge, in June 1847, and came immediately into my possession. It is formed of variegated glass, arranged in concentric layers; the facets are cut across these, and produce waved or zigzag lines. A similar bead, about double the size, is delineated in Lee's “Antiquities of Caerleon,” p. 16, No. 21.

“ No. 10 is a fragment of a bead similar to the last in fabric and ornament, and when perfect must have been as large as a hen's egg. It serves to show how these beads were formed, the broken part revealing the disposal of the concentric layers. The light green glass bordering the aperture is as clear and bright as beryl. Its locality is unknown; but perfect beads, equal in dimensions to what this has originally been, are frequently found in the countries bordering the Rhine, and the

local museums of the Rhenish towns, especially Manheim and Baden, are rich in such specimens.

" Nos. 11, 12 were found on the site of the Roman station at Farley Heath, near Albury, in 1847. Both are of transparent glass; one green, with a white opaque stripe running through it; the other, bright blue.

" Nos. 13, 14, 15 were found in London, on the site of the Post Office, when the foundations for the present building were laid. One is of clear yellow glass, the other two of coloured clay, with a shining glaze or enamel.

" These three beads, as well as No. 8, are of the class called traditionally *Druidical*—Druid's beads or rings. They are found throughout England, in all parts of the Continent, and even in remote places in the East. They are occasionally composed of glass, but more generally of coarse light-coloured clay, sometimes covered with a vitreous glaze, and always fluted. They are frequently found in British barrows, and there is a strong probability that they were manufactured here, and sold by the Druids as amulets or charms. Perhaps the glass specimens were imported by those who traded with the Belgæ and Gauls, and formed the model for the manufacture of the commoner native sort. Those who have opened the most ancient barrows have often found but a single bead accompanying a skeleton, and the inference is, that it was deemed an amulet rather than an ornament. The readers of Pliny need not to be referred to his description of the *ovum anguinum*, but it is certain that a notion agreeing with his account of the origin of the serpent-bead, or 'glain stone,' as it is called, is still prevalent in Wales. Lee gives a curious anecdote illustrative of this tradition. He adds that these beads or rings are called in Cornwall 'glain neider,' which literally means 'serpents of glass.'

" No. 16 is of semi-opaque glass, of a milky appearance, and is of an unusual shape. It was found at Chapel Hill, Marshall, near Caistor.

" No. 17 is of coarse red clay, and was found at Caistor, near Norwich.

" No. 18 is a large ball or bead of glass, rather more than five inches in circumference, and unperforated. It is formed of a very dark brown glass, which, except when held to the light, appears black. It is ornamented with white enamel arranged in a series of semicircles radiating from the centre, which is slightly depressed. A somewhat similar bead, belonging to Mr. Orlando Jewitt, of Headington, Oxford, is engraved in the *Archæological Journal* of December, 1846, No. 12; but the enamel on that is disposed in irregular splashes, as if laid on at random. There is another depicted in Beesley's *History of Banbury*, which was found at Adderbury; this is also decorated with spots of enamel, but in a less

degree, and still more irregularly disposed. I do not know where my bead was found. It was obtained (together with No. 10) at the sale of the collection of the late Mr. Anstice, of Bridgewater, where it was labelled 'Phœnician glass.'

"No. 19 is of coarse clay, but glazed; it was found with a human skeleton in a field at Barrow, near Bury St. Edmund's.

"Nos. 20, 21 were found at Kertch, in Southern Russia (the ancient Panticapæum, the capital city of Mithridates, where he is said to have died), in a tomb opened under the personal inspection of Mrs. Cattley, the wife of the English consul at that place, by whom they were, with a large collection of similar objects, brought to this country in 1848. The sepulchres which abound around Kertch have proved extremely rich in antiquities; in one, where the remains of a king and queen were deposited, no less than the almost incredible amount of 168 lbs. weight of solid gold ornaments were discovered. They are preserved in the Emperor's museum.

"No. 22 is from Egypt. This beautiful specimen is of green transparent glass, enamelled all over with minute stripes of red and white.

"Nos. 23, 24 were brought from the East by Major Macdonald. They are of a cylindrical form, and are used in Nubia and some parts of Abyssinia as money; the equivalent of the larger one is four cows! Several specimens in my collection appear to have been purposely cut in half, as a medium for smaller transactions in trade or barter. None but the antique beads are esteemed, and the native eye is so practised as at once to detect the modern counterfeits with which unprincipled traders have attempted to deceive them.

"No. 25 is Egyptian, and was formerly in Mr. Salt's collection; it is of a unique shape, of yellow porcelain, with a blue spiral line which appears to be carried quite through the substance of the bead.

"No. 26 is also Egyptian; it is of red porcelain, with variegated stripes.

"No. 27 is one of a series of twenty-two beads, of different sizes, but all similar in colour and pattern. They were formerly in the collection of the late Dean of St. Patrick, where they were labelled 'Found in a tomb in the Sabine country.'

"Nos. 28 to 35. The locality of these beads is unknown; they are chiefly from a Continental collection. Nos. 29 and 35 are of rich purple glass, the former having a band of green encircling it; the latter shewing grooved circles filled in with a yellow paste. The other examples are remarkable either for shape or ornament.

"I leave to your more experienced and practical antiquarianism the task of discussing the origin, uses, and manufacture of these curious and interesting relics,

which would seem to have been held in high esteem by our rude forefathers, British as well as Anglo-Saxon;

"Remaining, my dear Sir,

"Faithfully yours,

"B. NIGHTINGALE.

"To John Yonge Akerman, Esq.
Sec. S. A."

I have merely to observe that the unperforated bead, No. 18, is unquestionably genuine, and that it resembles a fragment found in Westmerland,^a by labourers engaged in exploring some tombs of the middle ages. If really deposited with the body then found, it had doubtless been considered by the deceased as an amulet.

I am well aware that much might be written on a subject so interesting, and that, whether viewed as personal ornaments or the evidences of ancient superstition, they are well deserving the attention of the curious; but my present object is simply to place before the reader a few well-authenticated facts as a guide to further investigation.

JOHN YONGE AKERMAN.

^a Journal of Arch. Inst. vol. iv. p. 60.



Antique Beads in the Collection of P. Nightingale B.C.

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Eltham, 7 February, 1850.

Perhaps I ought to apologise for some of the notes as unnecessary for the information of the Society of Antiquaries; but, as I am indebted to the late Mr. Gage Rookwode for most of the notes on the furniture and utensils of the Roman Catholic worship, and as I believe them to be very correct, I have added them, thinking they can do no harm to those who are well informed on such subjects, while they may be useful to some to whom such things are not so familiar.

GEORGE R. CORNER,

EXTRACTS FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THE CHURCHWARDENS OF ELTHAM.

Item, paid the xij day of July for setting up of the highe alter, to *yell*
(ale), meat, and drinke, and vj bushells of lime, for the same at vjd.
the busshell iiiijs. ij

Item, paid to Robert Esbruke for taking down of the bell and hanging			
her up again, and trussing the great bell	. . . . .	iiijs.	iiij <i>d.</i>
Item, paid for wainge of the same bell	. . . . .		viiij <i>d.</i>
Item, paid for making of the oblygation ^a	. . . . .		xx <i>d.</i>
Item, paid for carrying of the bell into Southwark	. . . . .		vj <i>d.</i>
Item, paid for carrying of the bell unto the bellfounder	. . . . .	ij <i>s.</i>	viiij <i>d.</i>
Item, paid for bringing home of the bell	. . . . .	iiijs.	
Item, paid for one hundreth and a half and vij lb. of metal for y ^e bell, at			
iiij <i>d.</i> the lb.	. . . . .	lviijs.	iiij <i>d.</i>
Item, paid to the bellfounder, for casting the bell	. . . . .	iiij <i>li.</i>	vij <i>s.</i>
Item, paid for setting up of the Sepulchre ^b	. . . . .		iiij <i>d.</i>
Item, paid for taking down of the same	. . . . .		iiij <i>d.</i>
Item, paid for watching the same ij nights	. . . . .		viiij <i>d.</i>
Item, r'd at Easter for the pascale ^c	. . . . .	vjs.	viiij <i>d.</i>

1555.

Item, paid for sawing of the tree that went to the mending of the bridge			
at Weston Green ^d	. . . . .	iiijs.	
Item, paid for half a lb. of frankincence	. . . . .		vd.
Item, paid for setting up of the sepulchre and taking down the same	. . . . .		viiij <i>d.</i>
Item, paid for watching the sepulchre for 2 nights	. . . . .		viiij <i>d.</i>
Item, paid for cole for the holy fire ^e	. . . . .		iiij <i>d.</i>
Item, paid for oyl and creame	. . . . .		iiij <i>d.</i>

^a *i. e.* a bond or agreement entered into by the bellfounder, who probably lived at Whitechapel. See p. 65.

^b *The sepulchre*.—This was a moveable tomb erected in the church on Good Friday and remaining till Easter Day, and in which the consecrated host was deposited during that interval. The sepulchre was sometimes a fixture and made of stone. This subject has been fully illustrated by Mr. Gough in the Society's *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. III. Pl. xxxi. xxxii.

^c *The pascale*.—Tapers ornamented with flowers were used on high festivals to burn before particular images, and to be borne in processions. They were sometimes made like plaited hair and spiral, and wound round a staff. This was the paschal taper, which was sometimes very large, and it seems to have been customary to make a collection at Easter for the expense of it.

^d *Weston or West-End Green*.—A small common at the foot of the hill on the London side, or west end, of Ebbwam. The rivulet which runs through Lee crosses the high road there.

^e *The holy fire*.—On Holy Saturday, the day preceding Easter Day, is the ceremony of blessing fire, from which the lamps in the church are lighted that are kept alight during the ensuing year for the use of the church. On this day are blessed the paschal candle and the triple candle (see the Roman missal). It was very usual for pious persons to carry home on this day the sacred fire to their houses, as appears from the customs of Vienna and Lyons.

Item, paid to Mr. Draper, one of the churchwardens of Bromley, the vij	
day of June, for xiiij yerres at Michaelmas next . . .	xiiij ^s .
Item, paid to Bexley for quit rent for the land at East End . . .	xvj ^d .
Item, paid for a suitt groat ^a at the same time . . .	iiij ^d .

1556 & 1557.

Item, r'd for torches ^b for old Stubbes . . .	xiiij ^d .
Item, rec'd of John Rolt and John Allee, wardens of the xv penny land, ^c	
to be employed upon the reparation of the church . . .	vli.
Item, rece'd at Easter for the pascal . . .	vjs. viij ^d .
Item, rec'd of Mr. Drere, for tapers at the burial of his wife . . .	vij ^d .
Item, r'd for torches at the burial of ould Thomas Adeene . . .	vj ^d .
Item, r'd of the bequest of Thos. Adean towards the buying of a graylle ^d . . .	xs.

1557.

Item, rece'd for torches at the burial of S ^r . Thomas Huxley, late Vicar	
of Eltham ^e . . .	xij ^d .
Item, rece'd for the burial of S ^r . . . , chaplene to S ^r . Henry	
Gernygame, knight ^f , who was buried within the church . . .	vjs. viij ^d .

^a *A suit groat*.—A fine for non-attendance to do suit at the lord's court.

^b *Torches*.—Used at funerals for poor people in lieu of tapers at each corner of the hearse.

^c *The fifteen penny lands* consist of about thirty-eight acres of land at Eltham, which were given by King Henry the Seventh in 1492 to the poor inhabitants of Eltham towards the payment of their fifteenths, in consideration of so great a portion of the land in the parish belonging to the Crown, and not being assessed to the subsidies. This land is still held by trustees for the parish.

^d *Graylle*.—A gradual, a service-book which takes its name from the prayer chaunted *gradatim* after the epistle. It is the choir-book used for singing mass.

^e Thomas Huxley, Vicar, is not mentioned by Hasted in his list of Vicars of Eltham.

^f Sir Henry Jerningham, Knt. of Costessey Hall, Norfolk, was among the lords and gentlemen who joined Queen Mary at Framlingham on the proclamation of Lady Jane Grey in 1553, and did her good service at Yarmouth, where, while he was raising for her, six tall ships well manned, that were appointed before Yarmouth to have taken the Lady Mary if she had fled, were by foul weather driven into the haven, and Jerningham taking a boat to hail them, the sea-soldiers demanded what he would have. His answer was, their captains, whereunto the soldiers consented, threatening to throw them into the sea if they refused to serve Queen Mary. (Chronicle of Queen Jane, printed for the Camden Society, p. 8.) On the 31st July, in the same year, the Queen made him Vice-Chamberlain and Captain of the Guard. On the insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Henry Jerningham was sent with the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Arundel to oppose him; but, the trained hands deserting the Duke at Strood, and going over to Wyatt, the Duke of Norfolk fled, together with the Earl of Arundel and Sir Henry Jerningham. He probably occupied Eltham Palace as Vice-Chamberlain. The chaplain's name is omitted in the original.

Item, paid to the painter, the 12 day of April, of London, for painting the roode withe Mary and John	viijs.	
Item, paid for 2 standing candlesticks of iron for the hearse ^a and a wicker case for the challis	iijs.	iiij <i>d</i> .
Item, paid to Rob'te Easebrook, carpenter, in part of payment of his bargain for the reparations of the church the 28th of Novr.	ij <i>li</i> .	xvjs. viij <i>d</i> .
Item, to the cloke maker for looking to the cloke and mending of her for this yeares end at Christmas.	vjs.	viiij <i>d</i> .
Item, paid to the bayley of the town for the coman fine ^b due for half a yere at o' Lady day last past	vjs.	ix <i>d</i> .
Item, paid for xvj <i>li</i> . of newe waxe for the pascall and for the tapers about the sepulchre, and the rood lofte with the 4 tapers, and Judas lighte ^c at xij <i>d</i>	amounteth	xvjs.
Item, paid for working of xiiij lb. of old wax at j <i>d</i> . the lb.		xiiij <i>d</i> .
Item, paid for coles for the hallowed fire		iiij <i>d</i> .
Item, paid for the clarks and singers drinking on Easter Day	ijjs.	viiij <i>d</i> .
Item, paid to Henry Snokesone for a canopy cloth ^d	iiij <i>li</i> .	
Item, paid for a new graylle, the xij of Septe.	xvs.	
Item, paid for vj yards of Hollon clothe for an albe, ^e at x <i>d</i> . the y'd	vs.	
Item, paid for nayles to mende y ^e lecturne		j <i>d</i> .
Item, paid for a hoely water sprinkle		iiij <i>d</i> .
Item, p'd for the churchwardens charges riding to London to buy a grayll, and the clothe aforesaid		xvj <i>d</i> .
Item, paid for v ells of coarse holland clothe for the rood clothe at x <i>d</i>	iiijjs.	ij <i>d</i> .
Item, paid for 2 yards of canvas for the altar in the chapel		xij <i>d</i> .
Item, paid for painting for the altar in the chappel	iijs.	vj <i>d</i> .
Item, paid for a line to pull up the rood clothe on Palm Sunday		iiij <i>d</i> .

^a *The hearse*.—It was usual on the death of persons of any note to erect in the church a hearse or stage decorated with palls or herse-cloths, tapers, the arms and cognizances of the deceased, &c.

^b *The common fine*.—John Passey, by his will, dated 5th July, 1509, gave a messuage and land upon trust, among other purposes, to pay 13s. 4*d*. yearly to the borsholder of Eltham for the head-silver or common fine payable to the Crown at Michaelmas and Easter Law days.

^c *Judas' light*.—A taper which represented Judas Iscariot, and which at a certain part of the ceremony on Good Friday was suddenly extinguished and left to stink.

^d *The canopy cloth* was borne over the Eucharist on solemn processions; as on the feast of Corpus Christi, and in visitations to the sick.

^e *Alb*.—The alb is a white linen garment worn by the priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, reaching down to the feet, and tied round the neck and at the wrists, and gathered by a girdle round the waist.

1557. 1558.

Item paid for one sake of colles for the hallowed fire . . . viijd.
Willm Hamonde^a signs the audit as Vicar of Eltham.

1559.

Imp'mis, delivered to John Birde on silver challis.
Item, deliv'd to John Birde a cannipy of rede damaske.
Item, deliv'd to John Birde one vestemente^b of white, and one redde vestemente, and another vestemente of dove sattine, and to hangine clothes for the altar, the one of whytte and the other of reade damaske.
Receaved and deliv'd the iiij day of Februarye to John Skitte and Thomas Mumbeye, churchwardens, as followethe, of Eltham, in the second year of the reign of Quene Elizabeth.
Item, deliv'd to John Birde a whitt damask vestemente, with all things belonging thereunto.
Item, two longe towelles, the one diaper and the othere plaine, and a cross banner cloth.^c
Item, a whitte damaske vestemente, with a saville^d and an albe for the same.
Item, a vestemente of redde velvitte w^t all thinges belong' thereunto.
Item, a cope^e of whitte satyne.
Item, a herse clothe of redde vellvite.
Item, a cannipy of red damaske.
Item, a painted satteine clothe.

^a William Hammond is another Vicar of Eltham not mentioned by Hasted.

^b *Vestment*.—The garment particularly called the vestment is the chasuble, casula, or planeta; an outer vestment pulled over the head and cut open at the sides to the shoulders, which the priest wears at mass. It derives its name from the Roman garment called *pænula*.

^c *Hanging-cloths for the altar*.—The altar-cloth is often called in English manuscripts frontell (antependium).

^d *A cross-banner cloth*.—Banners of green were used in processions on vigils and fasts, and often had depicted on them either the personified representation of the Trinity, or more frequently the heraldic emblem or diagram drawn in a triangular form, and reading *Pater est Deus*, &c.

^e *Saville*.—A saveall or pinafore.

^f *Cope*.—The cope, *cappa*, called also *pluviale*: used for the choir-service and ceremonials. It resembles in its shape a large and flowing cloak, open in the front, and fastens on the breast by clasps. The copes were of various colours and materials, and differently ornamented.

l̄m, a vestemente of bodkin^a work, w^t all thinges belonging therunto.

l̄m, a vestemente of blue damaske, w^t all things belonging thereunto.

l̄m, iij tunicles^b and two cushens, an ould coverlitte, and ij stoules.

1560.

l̄m, paid for a bibell . . . . .	. xijs.
l̄m, paid for or charges in buying it	xijd.
l̄m, paid for putting downe the alter	vijjd.
l̄m, paid George Gouldwell, of Bexley, for an obit rent, ^c the 4th day of Nov ^r . due at the feast of St. Myghell, in the yeare of o ^r Lord God	
1560	vjs. vijjd.

1562.

l̄m, paid to the boys for the Maypole	vjd.
l̄m, paid for the Quene's Inj'sions and the Bishop's Articles	vd.

1563.

l̄m, rece'd of St John Hangere, ^d for half a yere's rent of the parish house at Pope Strete ^e	ixs. vjd.
--	-----------

1564.

l̄m, paid to John Alighe for a soldier's cap	xiiijd.
l̄m, for scoweringe two harnesses and triminge them	vs. iiijd.
For cariage of the harnesses to London and fetchinge home again	xvj d.
l̄m, for a sworde, and carying the harness to the muster at Blackheathe	ijs. viij d.
l̄m, laid out at the Kinges bench for a felow that was taken in this lordship	ijs. ijd.

1566.

Paid to Edd. Ellyat, at the eatinge of the bucke that was geven to the p'rish	xss.
--	------

^a *Bodkin or baudkin*.—A rich kind of stuff made of gold and silk.

^b *Tunicles, tynucoll, tunicella*.—The sub-deacon's garment.

^c A rent-charge payable out of some of the parish lands for the obit of the donor.

^d Sir John Hanger was, I believe, a Roman Catholic priest who had served the church during the reign of Mary.

^e Pope Street is a hamlet in the parish of Eltham, on the road to Footscray.

Item, paid to the keeper of the spitel house in Kent Strete ^a for kepinge of joyner	xljs.	
Item, paid for skowering of the p'ish harnis	vijjs.	vjd.
Item, paid for watchinge the beacon at Shutters Hill ^b	vs.	
Paid for carrying ij. lodes of timber from Whets elme to the church ^c		xijd.

1568.

Paid for drinke for the ringers at ij. times, when the Queene cam throw the towne ^d	viiijd.
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*Payments to Sylvester Page, the Shingler, for the Reparations of the Church
Steeple.*

Paid to Sylvester Page	iiijl.	iijs.	iiijd.
The like	iiijl.	iijs.	iiijd.
Item, p'd to Sylvester Page for 200 shingles		vjs.	
Item, paid to Sylvester Page for 7 dayes work and 3 men	xxxijjs.		8d.

1569.

Item, paid for drinke when the Quene came throw the towne for the ringers	vjd.
--	------

^a The *Spital House* in Kent Street was the hospital for lepers, called "The Lock."

^b The beacon at Shooter's Hill was one of a chain of beacons established on every eminence along both sides of the river and communicating with each other. Each parish in which such an eminence was situate seems to have been required to keep a pile of wood always ready to be ignited, and to maintain persons to watch it, and to fire it, on receiving the signal from the next beacon.

^c *Whett's elm*, or *Wyatt's elm* is frequently mentioned in the parish records. It was at South End on the road from Eltham town to Footscray, and probably at the angle formed by the road leading to Chiselhurst, called Green Lane; but the corner of the road from Eltham to Bexley was called White's or Wyatt's Cross, and I have been informed that there was formerly an ancient elm growing there. Recently the skeleton of a man upwards of six feet in length has been discovered there. It was probably the body of a *felo-de-se* buried at the cross road, according to ancient, but now happily exploded, custom, from whom the place may have derived its name of White's or Wyatt's Cross. Can Wyatt's Elm or Wyatt's Cross have any connection with Sir Thomas Wyatt or his family? His son George Wyatt, the poet, is said to have died at Bexley.

^d *Ringing the bells* on Queen Elizabeth's progress through the town.—It was well for the churchwardens of Eltham that they paid her Majesty that mark of respect, for the churchwardens of Saint Olave's, Southwark, were sued in the Star Chamber and heavily fined "for not ringing their bells when the same terragant Queen passed down the river in her barge to Greenwich."

Item, paid for a book called the Omilles, and the charges to buy it	. xjs.	vjd.
Item, paid for a bybell and charges to by it	. . . . .	xxxs.
Item, paid for a communion cup and a cover, weight 10 oz. 4 qr. at 5s. 10d. per oz. Sum is liijl. iijs. ijd. In part of payment for the challis and a pattin peel gilt, xiiij. oz. haulf qr. at 4s. 8d. the oz. liijl. xvd.	. . . . .	ijs.
Item, to Robte Stubbes for drinke, when the parish stuffe was fetched away	. . . . .	xjd.
Item, paid for sittinge at Dartford, when the Quenes Commissioners was there about chantry landes, the 22 day of April, 1569	. . . . .	vs.

1571.

Item, geven to the ringers in bread and drinke the same day that the Quene was pelaymed*	. . . . .	xijd.
John Carnicke* signs the audit as Vicar.		

*The Account of John Rolt and Edward Ellygate, Wardens of the Fifetene peny
Lands belonging to the parish of Eltham, for 4 years, viz. the 10, 11, 12, and
13th of Eliz. ending at Michaelmas Day last past.*

Sum of the receipts	xxvijl. iijs. viijd.
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Payments by the same Wardens in anno 1568.

Paid to the Quene for half a fiftene in the 10th year of her reign	xxijs.	vjd.
Item, paid to the becon at Shutters Hill, 10th yr.	. . . . .	xs.
Item, paid to Robert Stubbes and John Petley, ch'wardens, for the re- pairing of the church steaple	. . . . .	xxxvijs. viijd.
Item, paid to the becone in the xjth yeare	. . . . .	xs.
Item, paid for a corslett and a pike	. . . . .	xlijs. iiijd.
Item, paid for a dager	. . . . .	xijd.
Item, paid for iij. Scotcs cappes	. . . . .	iijs. vjd.
Item, paid for a bille	. . . . .	xvjd.
Item, paid for a sword girdell	. . . . .	viijd.
Item, paid to the souldiers at their going out at certain times	. . . . .	vijs.
Item, paid for match & gunpouder	. . . . .	xvjd.
Item, paid for frise sloppes and jerkings	. . . . .	xxxvs.

* This means the anniversary of her proclamation.

* John Carnick is a third Vicar of Eltham not in Hasted's list.

Item, paid for a corslet and a pike . . . . .	. xls.	
Item, paid to Richard Bori for the beacons, in the xijth yere	xxxs.	
Item, paid to the souldiers at Lewisham		xijd.
Item, paid for ij. gunes and ij. morindes ^a	liijs.	vjd.
Item, paid to the souldier for a sword and a dager on his going to the shippes	liijs.	
Item, paid to the counstaple for iij. lb. of poulder, and ij. lb. of match, and ij. lb. of shot	vjs.	j d.
Item, paid for laist for the flaske and touch-box		vjd.
Item, paid for conduct moni to the counstaple, and going to moustier with the souldier	vjs.	vjd.
Item, paid to Quene Elizabeth for one fifteenth, in the 13th yere of her reign	xlvs.	

1572.

Rece'd of Sr. John Carnike, Vicar, towards the making of the dialle, of his own free gifte	iijs.	
Paid to Mr. Angell, the preacher, the sixth day of Marche	ijs.	
Item, paid for a writ out of the Marshalsea	ijs.	vjd.
Item, paid for the Knight Marshalman's charges	ijs.	xs.
Item, paid for other charges about the same	vs.	
Item, paid for drawinge the courte		xvjd.
Item, to Willm. Barnote, for going to Rochester to the imbassiter w ^h horses	vjs.	
Item, paid to John Petley for a day's work, for making a seat for Mr. Vikare, and bordinge the Crosse-house ^b		xiiij d.
Paid to Henry Graynes for the v. mens din ^{rs} that wear the coman harnessse, when they did must last in the court yard	js.	vij d.
Item, to Mr. Bromhead, constapell of the hundred, for watching the beacon	vjs.	iiij d.

^a Morions.

^b *The Cross-house.*—I am not sure whether the cross-house was a market-house with a market-cross standing in the wide space near the church from which the Court Lane leading to the palace branches off at right angles, or whether it was a cross-house similar to an ancient one at Southampton, consisting of two walls intersecting each other, and forming a cross covered by a roof, but open on each side, thus affording a shelter on one side or the other, let the wind blow from any quarter. Such a cross-house might have stood, and would have been very necessary, near the beacon at Shooter's Hill. The cross-house is afterwards mentioned several times on occasion of a poor woman being brought to bed in it, and others being sick there.

Paid to John Bourne for a pound of gunpowder *iiijd.*
 Paid for writing of 17 yeres accounts of the churchwardens—there
 accounts written in a great boke called a ledger *vjs. viijd.*
 I^m, paid for v. mens diners that did wear the comon armor the last
 musterday * *xxs.*
 Paid for pullinge down the backe of the rodeloft *xijd.*

1572-3.

Paid at the eating of the buck which Mr. Hatton gave to the parish^b *xxxvijs. viijd.*

1574.

I^m, paid to goodwif Hayte for vitall that a woman had that was brought
 abed in the crosshous *iijs.*
 I^m, paid to John Allee and Richard Feltone for the charges of the mearse-
 ment touching the hew and cry for Brown that murthered Mr.
 Sanders at Shuttters Hill^c *xxxvijs. viijd.*

* The parish soldiers must have had a sumptuous dinner this time; the cost of the former dinner was only *1s. 8d.*

^b *Mr. Hatton.*—This was the celebrated Sir Christopher Hatton—

“Whose high-crowned hat and satin doublet
 Moved the stout heart of England's Queen,
 Though Pope and Spaniard could not trouble it.”

Christopher Hatton was appointed Keeper of Eltham and Horne Parks on the 27th July, 1568, for his life, and he appears to have enjoyed the office until his death, in 1591, for one of his letters is dated from Eltham, 15th July, 1590. And here doubtless the Queen visited him. She was twice through the town in 1568, once in 1569, and she dined at Eltham in 1576, as appears from these extracts. A pleasing notice of Hatton's mode of living here, and of his taste and liberality, occurs in the intercepted letters of Monsieur de Champenaye, ambassador in England from the Low Countries. He says:—I was one day by Sir Christopher Hatton, Captain of her Majesty's Guard, invited to Eltham, a house of the Queen's, whereof he was the guardian. At which time I heard and saw three things that, in all my travels in France, Italy, and Spain, I never heard or saw the like. The first was a concert of music, so excellent and sweet as cannot be expressed; the second, a course at a buck, with the best and most beautiful greyhounds that ever I did behold; and the third a man of arms, excellently mounted, richly armed, and indeed the most accomplished cavaliero I had ever seen. This knight was called Sir Henry Lea, who that day (accompanied with other gentlemen of the court), merely to do me honour, vouchsafed at my return to Greenwich to break certain lances, which action was performed with great dexterity and commendation.—*Segar's Account of Tournaments*, in *Walpole's Miscellaneous Antiquities*. The *37s. 8d.* spent at the eating of the buck was probably for drinking, exemplifying the old saying, that good eating requires good drinking.

^c *Hue and cry for Broen.*—This alludes to a horrible murder committed at Shooter's Hill in 1573, by George Brown, who, being enamoured of the wife of Master Sanders, a merchant of London, waylaid and

Item, paid to Cowke for makinge cleene the armore againste the muster,
the v. day of June vs. vjd.
Item, paid for writinge the bills for the muster viijd.
Item, paid to John Petley for making the becon ijs. iiijd.
Item, paid to the clockmaker for his wolle yeres ser' for keping the clock xs.

1575.

Item, paid for makinge the bookes of the collections toward the makinge
of Colliton haven, and for caryng the said bokes two severall days to
London ijs.

1576.

Payd for brede and dryncke whan y^e Quenes Grasse dyned at Eltham,^a
for ringing xxjd.

1577.

Paid to Thomas Kowke for skowring of y^e harnis vjs.
Paid for two swordes vs.

1578.

Item, paid for untilling of the crosse xvjd.
Item, paid for removing the tiles out of the crossehowes into y^e store-
house, &c. xijd.

1579.

Item, paide for a booke for y^e plague to be reade in y^e church iijd.
Item, paide unto John Browne for wafers for y^e comunion vjd.
Item, paide for ij. quartes of muskadine xvjd.
Item, paide for eighte quartes of malmesie iijs. viijd.

murdered Sanders (with the connivance of his wife) on Shooter's Hill, where he was on his road into Kent in pursuit of his business. Mr. Sanders's man servant, who was also left for dead by the road-side, fortunately recovered sufficiently before his death to give an account of the murder, and accused Brown, who was apprehended at Rochester, tried, and executed on the spot where the murder was committed, and Mrs. Sanders, with two confederates, Mrs. Drewry and a man called Trusty Roger, were afterwards tried, convicted, and executed in Smithfield. This horrible tragedy gained for the place, for a time, the title of "The Hill of Blood," and a play was produced on the subject, shewing that the morbid taste for such subjects, which now unhappily exists, is not peculiar to the present day.

^a This was doubtless on a visit by her Majesty to Sir Christopher Hatton.

Item, paid to Petlye for rearinge of y ^e crossehouse	xijd.
Item, payed unto Cokerell for his abbott money ^a due at the feast of Saynte Mychell last paste	vjs. viijd.
Item, for Good Bremmington his dayes work in helpinge of John Petley of settinge up of the stoupes ^b of the crossehouse	xd.

1580.

P'd to the pishe of Bexley for a signe penny ^c at the corte there	jd.
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1581.

P'd at Sr. Thomas Walsingham's ^d at the deliv'ance of Richard a Price to y ^e gaile	iijs.
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1582.

Item, p'd to Jone Fittricke	xijd.
Item, p'd for her whippinge	vjd.
Item, laid owt to the clockmaker for the newe clocke	vli. xs.
Item, p'd to the bailiff of Bexley for wante of apperence at the courte	iiijd.
Item, geven to a poore woman w th was sicke in the cross howse towards her relief	viijd.

1583.

Item, p'd to the somner for warninge the churchwardens and sidesmen to appeare before the L. Bishop about M. Vicar his business	xxd.
Item, p'd to him that brought my L. his warant for the accepting of o ^r reader	vjd.
Item, for carying the bell to Bromley and home agayne	vjs. viijd.
Item, payd to the bell founder for castinge the bell	iiijl. xs.

^a *Abbott money, obit money.*—See ante.^b *Stoupes, stulpes, posts.*^c *A sign penny*—a fee paid to the steward or bailiff of the court on signing the book.^d Sir Thomas Walsingham, of Scadbury, in Chiselhurst, was sheriff of Kent in 5th Elizabeth. His grandson of the same name had the honour of Eltham given him, which was the Earl of Dorset's, and the Middle Park, which was Mr. White's. "He has cut down 3000*l.* worth of timber, and hath scarcely left a tree to make a gibbet."—From the *Mysteries of the Good Old Cause*, 1660, quoted by Lysons. He died in January, 1583-4.

1584.

Item, laid owt for iij. arminge girdells and one girdell for a shefe of arows	iijs.	ij <i>d.</i>
Item, the same day for one touch boxe		xvj <i>d.</i>
Item, for a springe for the peece		iiij <i>d.</i>
Item, for a newe breeche		xx <i>d.</i>
Item, for a dagger		x <i>d.</i>
Item, for a stocke for the calyver		vij <i>d.</i>
Item, for ij. boordes for the Vicares coffin ^a		xx <i>d.</i>

1585.

Paied to the ryngers when the trators were taken ^b	vj <i>d.</i>
Paied for charges going to the courte at Deatford for a daie for repera- tiones of the churche	iiij <i>d.</i>
Paied for my dynner	ij <i>d.</i>

1586.

Paied for our dynners at the cortte at Deatford	xij <i>d.</i>
Paied for discarginge the corte	iiij <i>d.</i>
Paied for cravinge of a daye at Deatford	vj <i>d.</i>
Paied for delyvering a byll at London	xij <i>d.</i>
Paied for exhybeting of the byll	iiij <i>d.</i>

1588.

Paied to Roger Pounder for to bye swordes and daggers ^c	xx <i>s.</i>
Paied more to Roger Pounder whene he wente to Chattam heathe	vij <i>s.</i>
Paied to Goodman Peatley for making the stoxe and felling the tree, and for squaring it	iiij <i>s.</i>

1589.

Paied for seatting fourthe of a soldger into Frawnce	x <i>s.</i>
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^a *Boards for the Vicar's coffin.*—This was Thomas Thirwind, who was buried 26th January, 1584.

^b *The traitors.*—This probably alludes to the Earl of Arundel, who was arrested and sent to the Tower as he was about to embark in order to leave the country.

^c 1588 was the year of the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada; but the parish of Eltham seems not to have been called upon for any great contribution of force to repel the invaders. The valiant Roger Pounder (whose name seems formidable enough) being the only man sent from Eltham with 20*s.* to buy swords and daggers, and 8*s.* in his pocket to Chatham Heath.

Receved of Mr. Twyst, the mynister, for breakinge up of a gravfe in the
 churche vjs. viijd.

1592.

Paid for hegynne of the spryng that was laid out at Houngerland * xxd.

1593.

Paid to John Samon for wering of the parish armour for ij. days at the
 mouster xvjd.

Paid to John Sharlok for wering of the parys armoure for ij. dais at the
 muster xvjd.

Paid to Dicson for skoweryng of the parys armor, dow at Mydsomer last
 past for half a yere vjs.

Paid for caryng of to (two) prisners that robed to millers one Chisles
 (Chiselhurst) Heath to Madston xxs.

1594.

Paid to Mr. Ellet for caryng of turf for the butt in Estfeld ^b xviijd.

1596.

Memorand.—Whereas there was a controversie betwene Mrs. Anne
 Twist, her Mat^e laundres, and Mr. Wyllm. Elliott, about a pewe in the
 churche; It was ordered by the Lord Bishopp of Rochester that the
 said Mrs. Twist should have the place where the pewe stood, and the
 said Mr. Elyott to have the pewe, and she to builde another of her
 owne cost, w^{ch} is alreadie done, this xxvjth of August, 1596.

Itē, paid to the weyver for degyng of turfe for the bute in Estfeld,
 carryinge and makinge ijs.

Itē, paid for the souldiers coottes and all belonginge thereto xvs.

Itē, laid out at hollontyde for wine and bread xxijd.

Itē, paid for four days training vjs.

Itē, paid to the mouster master iijs.

Itē, paid to the paratore for a suspension againste the parishe ijs. ix*d*.

* *Houngerland*.—The name of part of the parish lands.

^b *The butt*. By Act of Parliament of Henry VIII. every parish was required to have butts for the
 practice of archery. This item shows us that the parish butts of Eltham were in Eastfield, which is at the
 back of the houses on the north side of the High Street.

1600.

The carrying the great bell to be new cast, Mr. Morse, bell founder, dwelling in Whitechapel without Aldgate, being agreed with all for 5*l.* and to deliver it at the weight that he received it, that was 9 hundred and a half. And at the receiving of the bell back again it weighed 3 score and 7 lb. more than it did before. There was 3 score and 3 lb. at 8*d.* the lb., and 3 lb. at 2*s.* 6*d.* the pound, being called ten and tenglars. The whole sum is 7*l.* 10*s.*

On the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1603, and the accession of James I. his Majesty's first visit to the ancient palace of Eltham is noticed in the churchwardens' accounts as follows, and not inappropriately in connection with a schoolmaster :—

Itm, paid to Goodman Wyborn for charges for the coming of the King's Majesty into the town, and for ringing on the birthday of the young prince, and for charges of a schoolmaster, the 18 of June 1605, and latteses for the school window 6*s.*

VIII.—*Account of Ystumcegid Cromlech, in the parish of Llanfihangel-y-Pennant, county of Carnarvon. By NATHANIEL NEAL SOLLY, Esq. Communicated in a Letter to Captain W. H. Smyth, R.N., K.S.F., Director.*

Read December 5, 1850.

DEAR SIR,

Bron-y-Garth, Port Madoc,
16th November, 1850.

IN consequence of the desire you expressed for views and measurements of Ystumcegid, when we visited it together last August, I again repaired to the spot, and I now have the pleasure to forward you the result of my operations and inquiries. This cromlech, or in Welsh *coetan*, is situated about half a mile from the left bank of the river Dwyfawr, which winds considerably in this part of its course, and may probably have given rise to the name Ystumcegid or Ystumcuddiedig, meaning the windings of the hidden or concealed. The house which originally stood on this property is reported to have been the residence of Prince Owen Gwynneth in the eleventh century; but, having been burnt down during the wars of Owen Glendower, the present farm-house was erected shortly afterwards.

The ground rises towards the cromlech on three sides; it is placed at the edge of a field, with walls of loose stones built up to it. Round about are low undulating hills much covered with large boulders of a sort of greenish trap rock; and in the distance is a view of Cardigan Bay. Three of the pillars or upright supports of the cromlech are of this trap rock; the fourth supporting stone, as well as the slab forming the top, are composed of a hard, grey stratified rock, which was probably obtained from the hills in the immediate neighbourhood, as many pieces or fragments of this stone, as well as of the trap rock, are used in the construction of the adjoining walls. The top or roofing stone, usually termed "table stone," is nearly flat, and in shape resembles a boy's paper kite, the sharp end pointing nearly due west. The accompanying sketch, marked No. 4, is a plan of this stone drawn to a scale of half an inch to a foot; it measures eleven feet in the broadest part, fifteen feet in its greatest length, and forty feet eight inches in circumference. The thickness of the stone varies from fourteen inches to eighteen inches, being greatest at the broad or eastern end; it averages sixteen inches; and I compute its weight to be

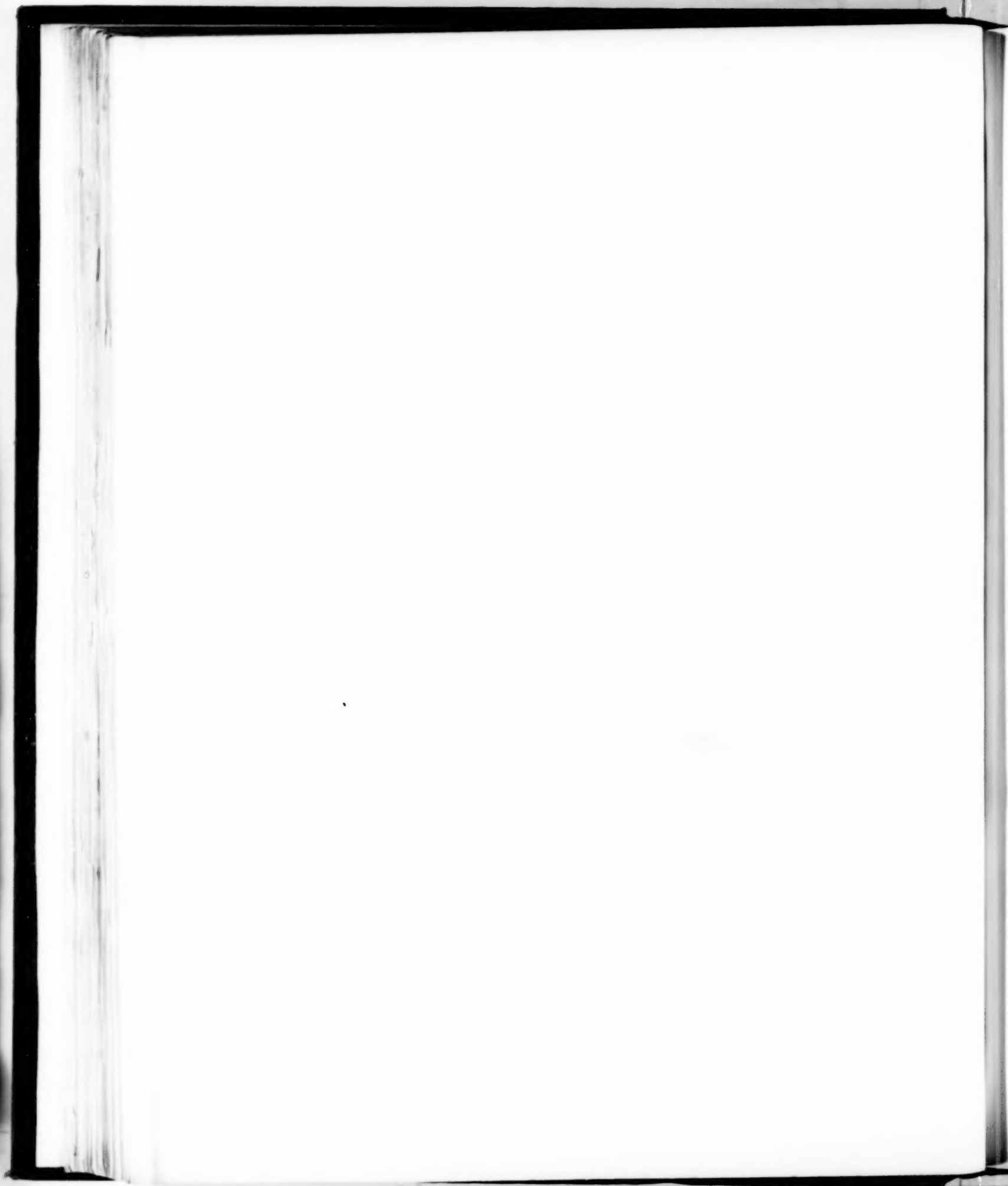


Scale of Feet



Ystumcegd Cromlech Parish of Llanfihangel & Pennant, Co. Carnarvon

Published by the Society of Antiquaries 17 October 30th April 1856.



about fourteen tons. It is placed at an angle gently inclined from east to west, and has five slight marks or grooves on the surface, running also east and west, but which appear to be caused by natural joints in the stone. The height of the three upright stones or pillars at the eastern end is about six feet one inch each, measured from the surface of the ground; and that of the one at the west end four feet three inches. They all appear to have their ends or foundation sunk to some depth in the soil; and have not the least appearance of ever having been shaped or dressed with any tool, but are very irregular, with rough edges, and their surface is overgrown with lichens and moss stains. I send herewith three views of this cromlech, taken by myself on the spot; that marked No. 1 is from the north side, No. 2 is from the west end, and No. 3 from the east end. In order to give a more perfect and complete idea of its form, I have left out of these views the boundary walls of the field, which, as already stated, are now built up to the cromlech at both ends.

I can hear of no tradition in this neighbourhood with respect to this cromlech. There are several others in this part of Carnarvonshire, of which I have seen three, but this is by far the largest.

That they are sepulchral structures may perhaps be inferred from the well-known practice during the earlier ages in North Wales, of burying beneath mounds of stones, cairns, or tumuli; and the ready supply of slabs and large stones in all the localities where the cromlechs are placed may naturally have suggested their construction. That there were many ancient Britons buried in this neighbourhood may be gathered from the frequent occurrence of barrows on the tops of the adjacent mountains; and from the circumstance that in the adjoining farms of *Llwyn-y Mafon-isaf* and *Bach-y-Saint* very ancient sepulchral urns made of clay have been dug up, as I am informed by Mr Ellis Owen, of *Cefn-y-Meusydd*, who discovered one himself in the spring of 1849. This urn contained ashes and a small bronze knife. It was unfortunately much broken; but a description of it has been sent by Mr. Owen to Mr. Albert Way.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours, &c.

N. N. SOLLY.

IX.—*Communication from WILLIAM CHAFFERS, Jun., Esq., F.S.A., addressed to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary, accompanying the Exhibition of numerous Glass Vessels, and other Antiquities of the Roman Period, found at Nismes.*

Read December 12, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR,

Watling Street, 9 December, 1850.

As several members of the Society have expressed a wish to see the collection of Roman glass vessels which I had the honour to exhibit a fortnight ago, I have again produced it on the table, together with other interesting objects from the same locality. Since my last communication, I have received from Monsieur Perrot, an intelligent and experienced antiquary at Nismes, a descriptive account of the interments, which I now have the pleasure of laying before you. This gentleman has been for many years conductor of the excavations made around the principal edifices of the town of Nismes, by which means he has become possessed of a great variety of antiquities; and, although the town (as I before stated) has a public Museum, the funds are extremely limited, the administration of the town having only voted towards its maintenance, since the year 1845, the sum of one hundred francs.

The tombs here, as at Pompeii, seem to have been placed by the side of the ancient ways leading to the town, just outside the walls and near the gates; and the remains are generally found deposited in stone cists or cases composed of quadrangular stones longer than they are broad, either level with the ground, or raised upon square blocks two or three feet high, of the kind called by the Romans *mensa*, the words "ponere mensam," so common in inscriptions, alluding to these tombs. I shall now proceed to give the particulars I have received relating to them.

"About two years since, a labourer named Durand, whilst at work near the bureau d'octroi, on the road leading to Avignon, wishing to straighten his pickaxe, knocked it upon a flag-stone which sounded hollow: his curiosity prompted him to raise the stone, and he was not a little surprised to find underneath a quantity of glass vessels." "The contents of this tomb were as follows: a glass urn without handles, nine inches high; a very elegant bronze lamp standing upon a candelabrum

or tripod; several glass unguentaria and lachrymatories; a bronze patera, and also a sort of network for the hair, made of light and fine fibres of gold, interwoven." The last, being very fragile, was not forwarded to me.

"The large cinerary urn, fifteen inches high, with handles and cover, was found at Codognan, in the month of April last, on the ancient Domitian way (the Montpellier road) in a rectangular cube hollowed out and covered by a stone fastened with iron clamps, about half an inch in thickness; there were also three glass bottles with handles, a small bronze lamp with its tripod, two earthenware lamps, one with its wick of asbestos, and two glass lachrymatories; also a first-brass coin of Nero, and one of Augustus, the latter of the colony of Nismes (a crocodile chained to a palm tree, in the field C O L. N E M., Colonia Nemausus), and a small drinking cup or bowl, above which was the following inscription:

D M
C L A S S I A E
T H E O D O R
A E Ø A V R E L
T A V R I N V S
C O N I V G I
C A R I S S I M A E .

There is in this deposit one object worthy of particular remark, the terra-cotta lamp with the asbestos wick. It has been often supposed, that the ancients used this mineral for this purpose, but I believe in no other instance has it been discovered in the lamp itself. It is not probable that it was generally used, for we are told the ancients esteemed it nearly of equal value with pearls. This asbestos wick is formed of exceedingly fine fibres, similar in appearance to glass, but much finer, two bundles of which are fastened together and twisted. It was imagined by some to have been one of the ingredients in the perpetual lamps, about which there has been so much frivolous controversy. Pausanias (l. c.) speaks of a wick of this substance being used in the golden lamp which burnt day and night in a temple at Athens. Pliny tells us that the *linum asbestos* was used at royal funerals to keep the bones separate from the ashes of the funeral pile. One of these shrouds was discovered in a marble sarcophagus at Rome, in 1702, which I believe is still carefully preserved in the Vatican.^a

^a Sir J. E. Smith's *Tour on the Continent*, vol. ii. p. 201.

"Whilst excavating for the foundations of a hospital on the Sauve Road, a tomb was discovered bearing the following inscription, curious from its numerous abbreviations. It contained an urn with handles and cover, thirteen inches high, in-

D M
P · CÆOL · BELLG
CÆOLA · CAMPAM
COLBERTO · PENS

closing burnt bones; two earthenware lamps; a patera of polished steel; a coin of Honorius; some phials, and lachrymatories.

"The two following inscriptions, although incomplete, are still interesting as covering the remains of two sisters. The contents of these tombs were very

D · M
T · AVRELLIA
CN · AVRELLI
VXORI · RA

D · M
D · AVRELLIA
T · AVRELLIA
SORORI · ET ·

similar; they were surmounted by two female busts. These stone coffers were fastened in the same manner as that before described, viz., by iron clamps. The arrangement of the contents of one of these will be seen by the accompanying sectional drawing.



"In the centre was a large urn without handles; on one side, the square glass bottle with fluted handle, and a bronze lamp; on the other a glass patera and drinking cup, a glass bottle with handle, two lachrymatories, and two coins of Antoninus and Aurelius.

"The other interment was similarly arranged, except that instead of the lamp there was a glass cup, in which was a very curious spoon of yellow glass (Plate VII. fig. 3); a *simpulum*, or ladle, in bronze, of fine form (Plate VII. fig. 1); and two coins, of Hadrianus and Antoninus.

"There were also found on the same spot a pretty bronze figure of Mercury, the left arm of which is wanting, and an elegant bronze lamp; the handle projecting over the lamp terminates in a well-executed ram's head; together with its pedestal, also of bronze (Plate VII. fig. 7). These were discovered about 250 yards from the Porte d'Auguste, at the point where the roads to Arles and Beaucaire separate.

"The small glass urn with handles, a mirror of polished steel, a Phallic bulla plated, and a square bronze bell, were discovered in digging the foundations of the aqueduct of the Montpellier railway at Nismes."

Amongst the earthenware lamps, one in particular deserves attention. On the triangular piece which protects the hand from the flame are three figures, a priest sacrificing at an altar, and on each side an attendant standing on a pedestal about to make a libation from a vessel in the shape of a horn, which he holds above his head; on the circular compartment are represented the heads of Jupiter, Juno, Diana, Mercury, Mars, Apollo, Vulcan, Venus, Minerva, Ceres, Vesta, and Neptune. These were the twelve deities of the first rank, and we find in the Roman temple at Nismes (*la Maison Carrée*) twelve niches round the interior, which probably contained statues of these deities.

A *silver* fibula, projecting in the form of a half-moon. Roman brooches in this metal are scarce, being more frequently made of gold or bronze.

A bronze fibula.

A very large crater or cauldron of bronze made to fix on a tripod, for sacrifices, or perhaps for cooking viands, probably the former, from its being ornamented on the exterior.

Another bronze bowl smaller than the preceding.

A bronze strainer with two handles, one a plain loop, the other representing a lion's head and claws, terminating in the head of a goose (Plate VII. fig. 9).

Another with a twisted handle.

A very fine bronze statuette of Hercules, partially clothed with the skin of the Nemean lion, the nose and ears of which are placed on the top of his head, the mane flowing down his neck, and the skin twisted over his left arm, the two claws hanging below; it is fastened in front at the throat, forming a curious projecting collar; the face is not bearded. In the left hand are two apples from the garden of the Hesperides, and the right rests upon the knotted club (Plate VII. fig. 5). There are also some exquisite fragments of another figure of Hercules: the two hands, a foot, and the club are unfortunately all that could be found.

Some bronze vases with handles (Plate VII. figg. 4, 6), keys, earthenware beads, &c., all of which I am informed have been discovered in the vicinity.

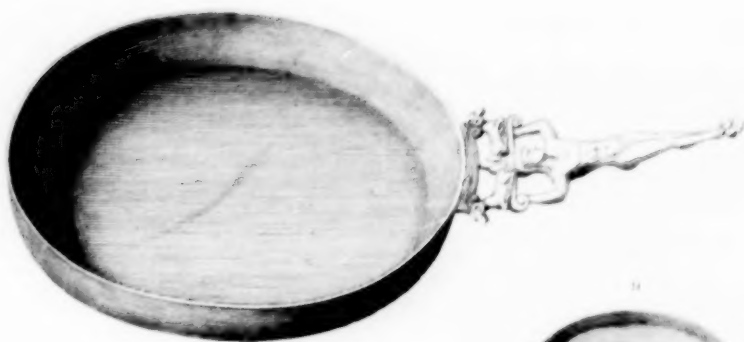
The striking reverse of the coin of Augustus and Agrippa before-mentioned, and the device of the crocodile chained to a palm-tree (alluding to the subjugation of Egypt), struck at Nismes, will account for the discovery of the Egyptian antiquities now exhibited, brought thither probably by some of the Roman soldiers or Egyptian captives who followed the army to Nismes to settle at this colony.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours truly,

W. CHAFFERS, *junr.*

J. Y. Akerman, Esq.
Sec. S.A.



Antiquities from Nisimes

X—*Notes on some Paper Casts of Cuneiform Inscriptions upon the sculptured Rock at Behistun exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries. By Lieut.-Col. H. RAWLINSON, C.B., F.R.S., and D.C.L.*

Read March 7, 1850.

THE small paper Casts which are lying on the table are impressions of the epigraphs that are attached to the line of captive figures sculptured on the great triumphal Tablet of Behistun ; and the two large sheets which are suspended against the side wall of the room are from the same locality. This rock of Behistun is a very remarkable natural object on the high road between Ecbatana and Babylon. It was probably in the very earliest times invested with a holy character ; for the Greek physician, Ctesias, who must have visited this spot in the fourth century before Christ, ascribes the most remarkable of the antiquities that were to be found there to the Assyrian queen Semiramis ; and Isidore of Charax confirms this tradition of the country in his notice of the column and figure of Semiramis, at the city of Baptaua, in the district of Cambadene. Now I believe Semiramis to have been altogether a mythic personage. In the historical inscriptions of Nineveh there is no trace either of Ninus or Semiramis ; but both the names are probably to be recognised in the Pantheon. A very remarkable bas-relief at Behistun, which contains the full face of a colossal female figure, and which is evidently far more ancient than the tablet of Darius Hystaspes, represents, I think, the object mentioned by Isidore ; and in front of the bas-relief are the remains, now barely distinguishable from the masses of rock by which they are surrounded, of the enormous pillar which stood contiguous to the shrine of the goddess, and which was doubtless an object of worship. Ctesias asserts that a long Assyrian inscription was engraved on the rock of Bagistane ; and it would seem very probable that an Assyrian monarch, on returning from one of his expeditions into Upper Asia, may have recorded at this holy spot the success of his arms ; but certainly nothing of the sort is to be seen at present. If an Assyrian inscription indeed had been originally engraved upon the rock near the bas-relief containing the female face, it would have been destroyed by the workmen of Khusru Perwiz (the Chosroes II. of the Greeks) who about the time of the appearance of Mohammed laid out a palace on this site, and caused the surface of the rock to be chiseled away, in order to form the back wall of the building. The rock of Behistun doubtless preserved its holy character in the age of Darius, and it was on this account chosen by the monarch as a fit spot for the

commemoration of his warlike achievements. The name itself, *Bhagistán*, signifies "the place of the god;" and the figure of Ormazd, the chief of the "Bhagas," or gods of the old Persian theogony, is thus depicted on the tablet as the presiding local divinity.

The rock, or, as it is usually called by the Arab geographers, the mountain of Behistun is not an isolated hill, as has been sometimes imagined. It is merely the terminal point of a long, narrow range which bounds the plain of Kermanshah to the eastward. This range is rocky and abrupt throughout, but at the extremity it rises in height, and becomes a sheer precipice. The altitude I found by careful triangulation to be 3,807 feet, and the height above the plain at which occur the tablets of Darius is perhaps 500 feet, or something more. Notwithstanding that a French antiquarian commission in Persia described it a few years back to be impossible to copy the Behistun inscriptions, I certainly do not consider it any great feat in climbing to ascend to the spot where the inscriptions occur. When I was living at Kermanshah fifteen years ago, and was somewhat more active than I am at present, I used frequently to scale the rock three or four times a day without the aid of a rope or ladder: without any assistance, in fact, whatever. During my late visits I have found it more convenient to ascend and descend by the help of ropes where the track lies up a precipitate cleft, and to throw a plank over those chasms where a false step in leaping across would probably be fatal. On reaching the recess which contains the Persian text of the record, ladders are indispensable in order to examine the upper portion of the tablet; and even with ladders there is considerable risk, for the foot-ledge is so narrow, about eighteen inches or at most two feet in breadth, that with a ladder long enough to reach the sculptures sufficient slope cannot be given to enable a person to ascend, and, if the ladder be shortened in order to increase the slope, the upper inscriptions can only be copied by standing on the topmost step of the ladder, with no other support than steadying the body against the rock with the left arm, while the left hand holds the note-book, and the right hand is employed with the pencil. In this position I copied all the upper inscriptions, and the interest of the occupation entirely did away with any sense of danger.

To reach the recess which contains the Scythic translation of the record of Darius is a matter of far greater difficulty. On the left-hand side of the recess alone is there any foot-ledge whatever; on the right hand, where the recess, which is thrown a few feet further back, joins the Persian tablet, the face of the rock presents a sheer precipice, and it is necessary therefore to bridge this intervening space between the left-hand of the Persian tablet and the foot-ledge on the left-

hand of the recess. With ladders of sufficient length, a bridge of this sort can be constructed without difficulty; but my first attempt to cross the chasm was unfortunate, and might have been fatal, for, having previously shortened my only ladder in order to obtain a slope for copying the Persian upper legends, I found, when I came to lay it across to the recess in order to get at the Scythic translation, that it was not sufficiently long to lie flat on the foot-ledge beyond. One side of the ladder would alone reach the nearest point of the ledge, and, as it would of course have tilted over if a person had attempted to cross in that position, I changed it from a horizontal to a vertical direction, the upper side resting firmly on the rock at its two ends, and the lower hanging over the precipice, and I prepared to cross, walking on the lower side, and holding to the upper side with my hands. If the ladder had been a compact article, this mode of crossing, although far from comfortable, would have been at any rate practicable; but the Persians merely fit in the bars of their ladders without pretending to clench them outside, and I had hardly accordingly begun to cross over when the vertical pressure forced the bars out of their sockets, and the lower and unsupported side of the ladder thus parted company from the upper, and went crashing down over the precipice. Hanging on to the upper side, which still remained firm in its place, and assisted by my friends, who were anxiously watching the trial, I regained the Persian recess, and did not again attempt to cross until I had made a bridge of comparative stability. Ultimately I took the casts of the Scythic writing, which are suspended against the walls of the room, by laying one long ladder, in the first instance, horizontally across the chasm, and by then placing another ladder, which rested on the bridge, perpendicularly against the rock.

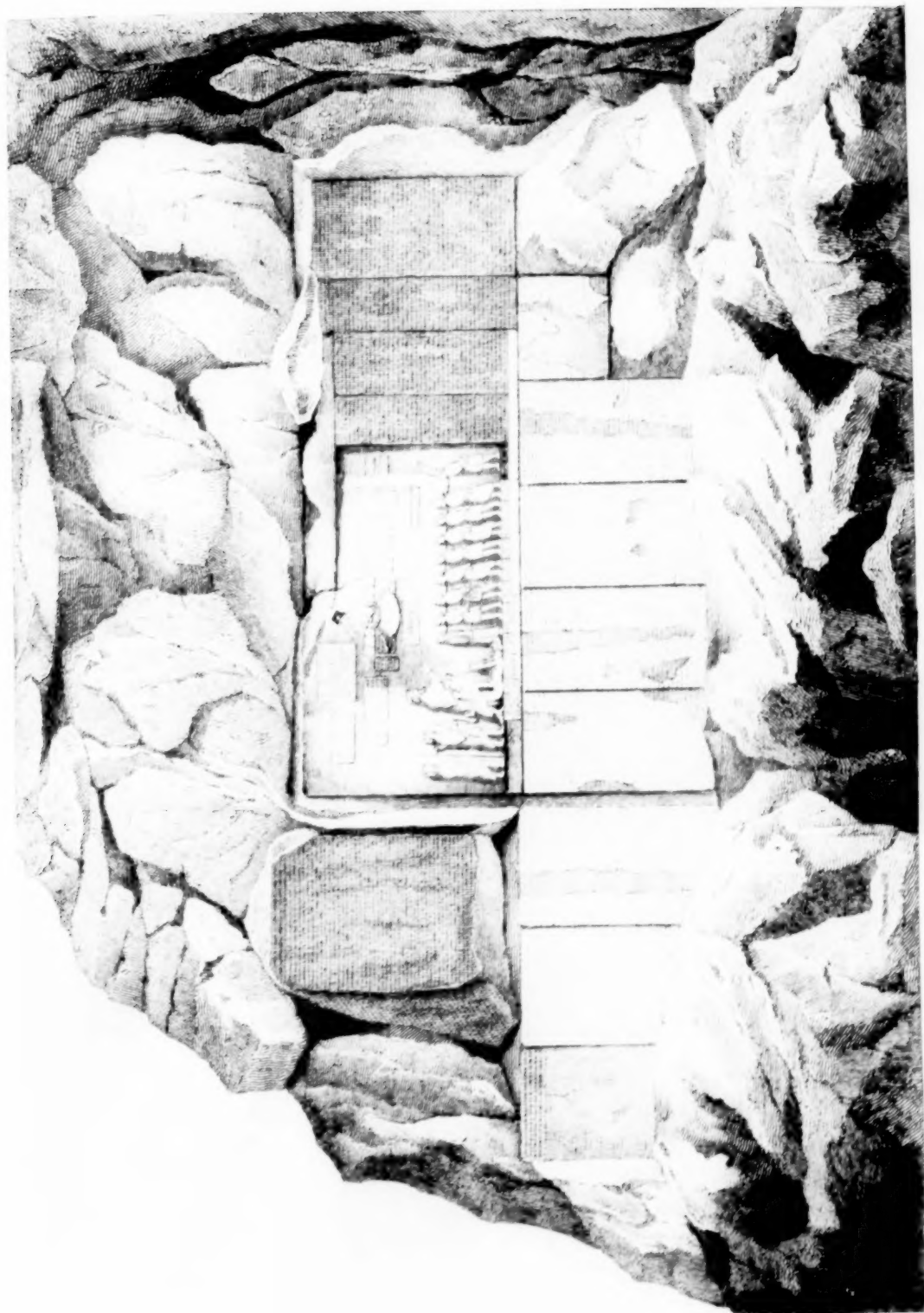
The Babylonian transcript at Behistun is still more difficult to reach than either the Scythic or the Persian tablets. The writing can be copied by the aid of a good telescope from below, but I long despaired of obtaining a cast of the inscription: for I found it quite beyond my powers of climbing to reach the spot where it was engraved, and the craigsmen of the place, who were accustomed to track the mountain goats over the entire face of the mountain, declared the particular block inscribed with the Babylonian legend to be unapproachable. At length, however, a wild Kurdish boy, who had come from a distance, volunteered to make the attempt, and I promised him a considerable reward if he succeeded. The mass of rock in question is scarped, and it projects some feet over the Scythic recess, so that it cannot be approached by any of the ordinary means of climbing. The boy's first move was to squeeze himself up a cleft in the rock a short distance to the left of the projecting mass. When he had ascended some distance above it, he drove a wooden peg firmly into the cleft, fastened a rope to this, and then

endeavoured to swing himself across to another cleft at some distance on the other side; but in this he failed, owing to the projection of the rock. It then only remained for him to cross over to the cleft by hanging on with his toes and fingers to the slight inequalities on the bare face of the precipice, and in this he succeeded, passing over a distance of twenty feet of almost smooth perpendicular rock in a manner which to a looker-on appeared quite miraculous. When he had reached the second cleft the real difficulties were over. He had brought a rope with him attached to the first peg, and now, driving in a second, he was enabled to swing him-self right over the projecting mass of rock. Here with a short ladder he formed a swinging seat, like a painter's cradle, and, fixed upon this seat, he took under my direction the paper cast of the Babylonian translation of the records of Darius which is now at the Royal Asiatic Society's rooms, and which is almost of equal value for the interpretation of the Assyrian inscriptions as was the Greek translation on the Rosetta Stone for the intelligence of the hieroglyphic texts of Egypt. I must add, too, that it is of the more importance that this invaluable Babylonian key should have been thus recovered, as the mass of rock on which the inscription is engraved bore every appearance, when I last visited the spot, of being doomed to a speedy destruction, water trickling from above having almost separated the overhanging mass from the rest of the rock, and its own enormous weight thus threatening very shortly to bring it thundering down into the plain, dashed into a thousand fragments.

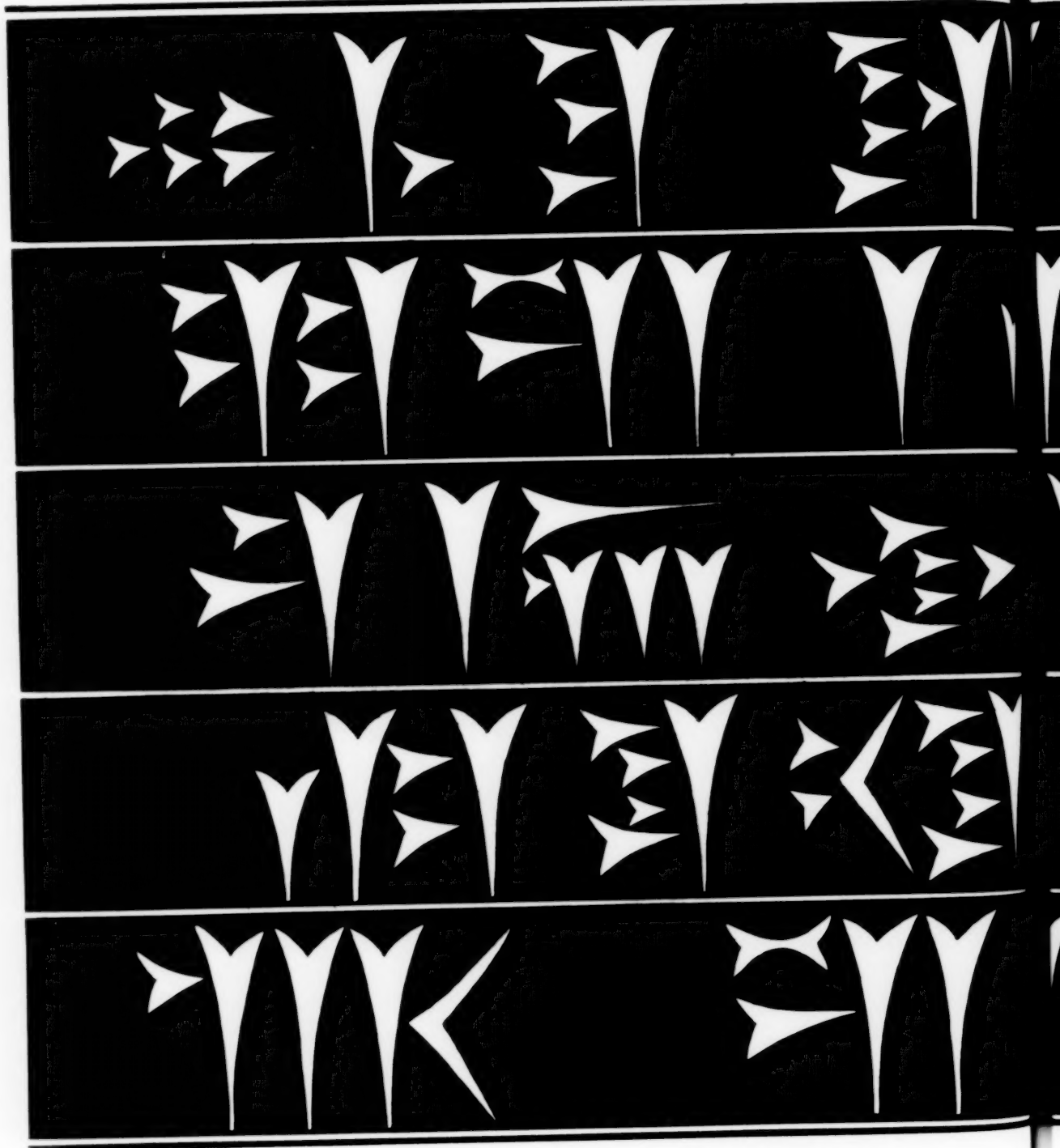
The method of forming these paper casts is exceedingly simple, nothing more being required than to take a number of sheets of paper without size, spread them on the rock, moisten them, and then beat them into the crevices with a stout brush, adding as many layers of paper as it may be wished to give consistency to the cast. The paper is left there to dry, and on being taken off it exhibits a perfect reversed impression of the writing.

The Persian text of the Behistun inscription has been lithographed by the Royal Asiatic Society, and a copy is here exhibited to show the great extent of the writing. Casts of the Babylonian and Median translations are also with that Society, and these texts will be printed, types having been cast for the purpose, with all convenient despatch.

The casts of the inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes in the Babylonian character, which are also exhibited to the meeting, were taken by me from a place called the Gung ranch, near the town of Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana. They contain the usual formula of royal commemoration found on the trilingual tablets of Persepolis, but they are of interest in exhibiting several forms of characters which are unknown in any other Babylonian record that has been yet discovered in Persia.



from line 61 of the text



see also the text on line 62 of the text

the great Sumerian tablet

No. 1000000000



the Sumerian tablet by impression on the pot

Notes on Saxon Sepulchral Remains found at Fairford, Gloucestershire. By C. ROACH SMITH, F.S.A. In a Letter addressed to J. Y. Akerman, Esq. Resident Secretary.

Read Jan. 23, Feb. 6, 27, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,

5, Liverpool Street, City, April 7th, 1851.

On the 23d of January I exhibited to the Society, through the kindness of Mr. W. M. Wylie, some Saxon Fibulæ and Beads found at Fairford, with drawings of other objects of the Saxon period, which had been discovered in the same locality at intervals from 1844-5 to 1850.

At some of our more recent meetings other objects, most of which are the result of still pending researches conducted by Mr. Wylie, have been laid before us, and these I shall now allude to or describe, with a view to make a record of them in the forthcoming part of the *Archæologia*. I feel convinced in so doing I am meeting the wishes of the Society, and particularly of those Fellows who are more especially interested in this branch of the study of our national antiquities, by supplying authenticated facts, and placing them where, for purposes of reference, they will be accessible to all. It is in accumulations of such facts we must seek for a verification or correction of our opinions on the origin and character of such remains, on their several points of resemblance to analogous objects found in different parts of this and other countries, and, consequently, on the connection between the peoples who used them, their habits, customs, and usages. Too much stress cannot be laid on the necessity of registering and storing up the details of discoveries such as these as early as possible after they are made, before they fade from recollection, and before the relics themselves become lost or separated from each other and from the circumstances which alone render them useful to scientific and historical research. Even at the risk of appearing needlessly lavish, I would advocate the supply of the most copious illustrations, considering that it is not the mere novelty of type that gives value to such objects, but that it is the repetition and constant occurrence of particular things under similar circumstances which can alone warrant sound conclusions and classification. You must have often felt how comparatively worthless an elaborate verbal or written description has been rendered for the want of

drawings; on the other hand, how much the rudest sketches will sometimes contribute to explain and make intelligible the most meagre and imperfect description.

I commence with a brief history of Mr. Wylie's researches which that gentleman has kindly furnished me with. He states: "When we first resided at Fairford, in 1847, I heard that some bones, armour, &c. had been found, about three years before, in quarrying a field there. This field had long been in the possession of the family of the Rev. J. Keble, the poet, and had been sold by him to a benefit-club of the place, who proceeded to quarry stone for a wall. It was at that period divided into two inclosures of two acres each; one of these was arable, the other very old grass land, and the surface, I am told, was slightly undulating, but bearing no appearance of tumuli, or of ever having been disturbed. It bore the name of Water-slade; and the three adjoining fields are called Garrows, Garstons or Gascons, and Hempland. In 1850 the club was broken up, and the field sold in small allotments. Some of these were purchased by a mason of Fairford, who at once commenced a quarry to obtain stone for building, and he employed the same men who had conducted the former excavations. Toward the end of June, one of these men sent me some beads of *terra cotta*, porcelain, and some vitreous substance, incrustated with coloured patterns, and some rough pieces of perforated amber. These were found about the skull of a skeleton. I then directed I should be informed of any similar interments they might meet with, and accordingly in the early part of July I was summoned to the discovery of another grave. I immediately attended, and saw the earth carefully removed from a skeleton, which was perfect, even to the teeth, and lying about three feet deep upon the stone brash or rubble—"the rock," as it is here termed,—with the head to the south-west. No coffin had been used. The skeleton measured full six feet, but, as the head was depressed and the legs bent, I calculated that the height, in life, must have been six feet six inches. The bones were remarkably large, but the skull fell to pieces on being touched. On the right breast were two fibulae (Pl. IX. fig. 4). They are of copper, richly gilt and ornamented in front. When exhumed the gilding shone brightly, but it soon tarnished on exposure to the air. The pins for fastening the fibulae at the back were of iron, as is evident from the corrosion of the hinges. Some fragments of iron lay among the ribs of the skeleton. Near one hand were some perforated pieces of rough amber, and a large flattish round bead of green glass (an inch and a half in diameter lengthways), worked apparently for the bed or matrix of some coloured material. About the skeleton were some small pieces of pottery, and stones blackened by fire. I have since seen other skeletons exhumed on the same ground. The most remarkable measures seven feet. It was quite perfect, and is now in the possession of Mr. Cornwall, of

Fairford. By its side lay the boss and two handles of a shield, with some bronze ornamented studs, and a long well-wrought spearhead, fashioned like a bayonet, only with four sides. By another skeleton was a piece of red ochrous substance. By the head of another, that of a female, were a great number of beads, two bronze twisted ear-rings, and a large green glass bead. On either breast was a fibula, and a plain ring, apparently of copper silvered, round a finger-joint. Beneath a skeleton was a small vase of very porous black earthenware. Another somewhat larger, but in a very decomposed state, was found in one of the other graves.

"Subsequently other fibulae and beads have been found. One of the latter is a large piece of amber; another is of crystal accurately cut in squares. These also lay by the side of a skeleton. Animals' teeth were occasionally found. I have also a fragment of an ivory armlet (the ivory is perhaps that of the sea-horse), and a small brass coin of Gallienus, perforated for wearing as an ornament. One of the fibulae, of bronze silvered, is a rude representation of a bird (Pl. X. fig. 7). Two others, of bronze gilt, are circular and concave (Ibid. figg. 1 and 5). One of large size (fig. 2) is particularly interesting: it had been broken and repaired, as appears by the perforations.

"During the excavations of 1844-5, thirty-six skeletons were found with fibulae, such as Fig. 1 in the plate; bosses of shields; an ivory armlet; a bronze patera; some bones of a horse and horse furniture; and a long and very broad sword, measuring 2 feet 11 inches in length, the only one, I believe, then discovered, and only a few spear-heads.* All the skeletons hitherto exhumed are above eighty in number, in which are included several of children. Knives in iron were frequently found, and usually by the necks or about the ribs."

"*February 6th.*—Further excavations made. Discovered a very perfect skeleton lying with the head S.W. On each breast was a large bronze, gilt, concave, fibula. On a left-hand finger-joint were two plain silvered rings, such as gipsies wear. By the hip was a large amber bead, and about the body a great number of amber and various kinds of glass beads; also six ferrules, of either tin or speculum metal, which perhaps had been worn strung with the beads. By the head were several short pieces of bronze which appear to have been attached to the scabbard of a dagger, and a fragment of the iron still adhered. The most curious relic was a yellowish glass vessel, of singular construction, which was lying behind

* Many interesting relics doubtless perished at this period, and for whatever still remains we are solely indebted to Mr. Vines of Fairford. The persons of influence who might have preserved everything, unfortunately "cared for none of these things."

the head. It was sadly fractured, and probably was not entire when buried here, as much of it is still wanting, after a long search for the fragments.

" *March 4th.*—Found a skeleton lying on its side. By the head were a number of strips of bronze, measuring, when put together, about seven feet; perhaps these formed the frame-work of some head-dress; also a spear-head. By an arm was a lance, knife, and pair of shears. An umbo was by the knees, and at the feet a bronze vessel, which proved corroded, and broke on removal. It had an iron handle, and measured ten inches in diameter and six deep.

" *6th.*—By the head of one found to-day were a number more strips and dovetailed ornaments, which seem to have been gilt, and perhaps formed a sort of barbaric tiara. By the hips was a lump of iron, and at the feet an iron ferrule, perhaps of the spear-staff.

" *7th.*—Another found, with remains of a bronze plated belt. A broad head of a spear was by the skull; a very perfect pair of bronze tweezers, by the arm; a knife and umbo, at the knees; and a ferrule, perhaps of a spear-staff, at the feet.

" Also another, perhaps the most interesting yet found. It measured six feet six. By the head was a wooden cup formed of small staves of oak, bound with brass. The whole was sadly corroded, but still hung together, and we were able to remove it. It is of a slightly oval form, four inches in diameter and three in height. By the right arm were a perfect pair of tweezers; by the hips a bluish green glass bead, with a wavy pattern painted round it; a large umbo was by the knees, and by the right side a very broad, pointed sword 2 feet 11 inches long.

" *8th.*—Another very perfect female skeleton, with some traces of a child. Nothing was with this but two plain fibulae, and a quantity of charcoal ashes at the head, among which was a small hook, evidently used for hanging a vessel over the fire.

" Several skeletons have since been found, but no relics were with them. Altogether, therefore, up to this period, March 29, more than 120 graves have been examined.

" I have only mentioned to you such as appeared to me the most interesting. I have attentively observed the position of the skeletons, and find, as a rule, they were interred with head to the south. The variation in several cases has been, perhaps accidentally, to the south-west, and *one*, that with the bird-fibula, was lying, I am told, due east and west. I lately found the ashes of an infant in an earthen vase of the very commonest order. No relics were with it, and this is the only instance of cremation I have observed here.

" It may be worth remarking that we have invariably found the *umbones* on the *knees* of the skeletons, whereas, I believe, they are usually found on the lap. Then

the fibulae have been found in pairs; sometimes one below the other; one on *one* breast; more usually one on *either* breast, but always on the breasts. Sir H. Dryden speaks of those found at the Marston cemetery, as being always on the *shoulder*. Does not this variation in the position of umbones and fibulae point out these Saxons of Fairford as belonging to a different Teutonic tribe?"

The above is Mr. Wylie's statement, bringing the discoveries down to the 29th of March. It should be remarked that a brief notice was given of those made in 1844-5, in vol. ii. of the "Journal of the British Archaeological Association," with engravings of two bosses of shields, a fibula, and the sword (Pl. IX. fig. 3). The last of these was engraved from a defective drawing, and incorrectly described as bronze; whereas it is of iron, but the upper and lower parts of the sheath were edged with bronze, which still adheres to the sword.

This sword, the blade of which measures 2 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the handle $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, appears to be somewhat more rounded at the end than the generality of the Saxon swords which have been found in Kent and other places; but it is probably not so in reality. The scabbard has been protected with a bronze rim at the top and bottom, a peculiarity which I have noticed in other examples found in Gloucestershire and Worcestershire.

If we compare this sword with the engraving of one found at Londinières, near Dieppe, engraved in the "Revue de Rouen," Fév. 1848, we shall find that, although the scabbard was rounded, the sword itself is perfectly pointed. The example referred to in every respect seems to resemble that from Fairford. The other sword found by Mr. Wylie, without the scabbard-ornaments, is of the same dimensions, and *pointed*.

The large fibula (Pl. IX. fig. 2) of bronze gilt, and another from Fairford closely resembling it, are very similar to that found in the Saxon burial-place at Marston Hill, in Northamptonshire,^a to one found at Badby in the same county,^b and to others found in Yorkshire.^c A portion of one of very large size, found near Leicester, is preserved in the museum of that city. To the same class belong specimens found at Selzen, near Mayence,^d and one preserved in the Wiesbaden museum, to the lower end of which is attached an oblong bead and a large globular substance apparently jet. Circular concave fibulae were also found at Marston Hill, the pattern on one of which accords with that on a specimen from Fairford, and also on one of the three fine examples found in Oxfordshire which I recently exhibited to the Society,

^a Archaeologia, Vol. XXX. Pl. XIII.

^b Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc. vol. i. p. 61.

^c Journal of Brit. Arch. Assoc. vol. ii. p. 311.

^d Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen, von W. und L. Lindenschmit. 8vo. Mainz, 1848.

and which are now in the museum of Lord Londesborough. Other varieties have been found in Buckinghamshire, in Berkshire, and in Warwickshire. Fig. 5 of our Plate seems the counterpart of a pair found in a barrow at Oddington, near Stow in-the-Wold, in Gloucestershire,^a with other remains analogous to those discovered at Fairford; it also resembles one found in a barrow on Shalcombe Down, Isle of Wight.^b Fig. 6 of our Plate belongs to another variety of the former class, many of which have been found in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Northamptonshire, as well as in some other counties; and Fig. 7 reminds us of the late Roman fibulae in the form of birds, as well as of some found in Saxon burial-places in the Isle of Wight,^c and in Frankish graves on the Rhine.^d Fig. 4 is to me a new type. The guilloche pattern is evidently a copy of that common Roman ornament, and the interior pattern has also probably been suggested from some classical design, such as those in the Roman tessellated pavements, from which I think many of the Saxon ornaments were originally taken. The Ω like figure certainly reminds one of that letter on the coins of Offa; but, if we examine the large fibula, a very similar figure, intended apparently for a face, will be found on three sides of the oblong part. These classes of fibulae are seldom found in the numerous Saxon burial-places in the county of Kent.

The glass goblet or cup mentioned by Mr. Wylie can scarcely be described without the aid of an engraving. It resembles one in the Canterbury museum, stated to have been found at Reculver, and one engraved on p. 6 of the Messrs. Lindenschmits' discoveries made at Selzen, before referred to.

The object discovered on the 6th of March is probably the band of a small coffer or box. Mr. Wylie has forwarded to me a copper bowl found in one of the graves, which resembles precisely that figured in Nichols's *Leicestershire*, Vol. I. Part ii. p. 136, in the plate of Saxon remains dug up in Queneborow field.

I have also received from Mr. Wylie three small brass coins, exclusive of that of Gallienus; two are of Valens and Gratian; the other, which is illegible, has been perforated for wearing as an ornament.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly,

C. ROACH SMITH.

To J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq.
Secretary.

^a *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1787, Pl. ii. Fig. 9.

^b *Transactions of the Brit. Arch. Assoc. at Winchester*, pl. 3, fig. 2.

^c *Ibid.* fig. 11.

^d *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. ii. pl. xxxv.



All objects the size of original, except the sword.

Anglo-Saxon Remains found at Fairford, Co. Gloucester.
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1872.

XII.—*Notice of a Bronze Beaded Collar, found in Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire.*
In a Letter from ALBERT WAY, Esq. F.S.A. to Sir Henry Ellis, K H., F.R.S.,
Secretary.

Read April 10, 1851.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

The curious bronze collar, an unique variety of the beaded torc, according to the classification of these interesting objects proposed by Mr. Birch, was discovered a few years since, in Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire, about two miles to the North of Cumlongan Castle. That extensive turbary appears to occupy a site once covered by a forest of great extent: the trunks of large trees are frequently found in it, and numerous vestiges of various periods have been brought to light, from time to time, in cutting peat, including a considerable number of coins. I have also seen impressions from two seals discovered in this morass: one of them appeared to be an antique gem, the intaglio representing Mars; the other was a personal seal of late mediæval date, bearing an eagle displayed.

The tradition that an ancient forest once grew where these remains have been found is commemorated by the popular rhyme,^a repeated in the district around—

"First a wood, and next a sea,
 Now a moss, and ever will be!"

It occupies an area of about twelve miles in length, by about two or three miles in breadth, extending to the Solway Frith. Mr. Wilson, secretary of the Antiquaries of Scotland, to whom I am indebted for these particulars, has noticed many remarkable discoveries which have here occurred. "Lying as it does (he observes of Lochar Moss) on the southern outskirts of the Scottish kingdom, the track of many successive generations has lain along its margin or across its treacherous surface, beneath which their records have been from time to time engulfed, to be restored in after ages to the light of day."^b Amongst the most curious of these

^a See the interesting collection entitled, *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*; by Robert Chambers; under the Section, *Rhymes on Places*.

^b *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*; by Daniel Wilson. Edinb. 1851, p. 30.

relics he notices the canoes, which have repeatedly been brought to light. Vestiges, undeniably of a Roman age, may also be cited, as having occurred in this great depository; especially an exquisite cup of bronze, embellished with figures of dancing bacchantes, and a wreath of vine leaves tastefully encircling the neck. It lay about nine feet beneath the surface, and was long preserved in the possession of a family in Dumfriesshire, but its actual existence cannot be traced.

The beaded collar, an example of a curious class of ancient ornaments included by Mr. Birch, as already noticed, with the *torques* of the Celtic tribes, was discovered under the following circumstances. A labourer engaged in cutting peat suddenly disclosed to view a small bronze bowl, in which lay a number of shining round objects, which, either from the blow given by his spade or the tremulous consistency of the moss, appeared to him in movement, in the cavity of the basin. Like the finder of the assemblage of chess men, in a small subterranean structure at Uig, in Lewis, the popular superstitions of his country instantly recurred to the mind of the astonished peasant; and, supposing that he had uncovered, if not a nest of gnomes, at least some marvellous appliances pertaining to the elvish race, and apparently possessed of life, by their movement in the bowl, he hastily covered them up, and retreated to his home. It need scarcely be said that, the story once told, bolder spirits were speedily found, and the real character of the elfin hoard was ascertained.

This collar, the various parts of which had become disunited, probably by the decay of an iron bar or strong wire upon which the bronze beads were strung, presents a very distinct variety, although several beaded collars have been discovered in England. Its form and ornamentation will be understood from the accompanying representation (Plate XI.). A portion of the hoop, about one-third of the circumference, is a solid flat piece of metal, nearly half an inch in thickness, having the inner side, which came into contact with the neck, carefully smoothed, whilst the outer edge is chased with a series of zigzag lines, obviously bearing resemblance to the threads of a cord. It has also one face enriched with a peculiar ornament; and studs, at intervals, may be noticed, being the heads of pins or rivets, passing through the whole thickness of the metal. The other, or inferior, side of this portion is perfectly plain. These details are illustrated in the Plate by a small figure representing a portion of the hoop. The remainder of the circle consisted of bronze beads, originally, as it is believed, strung upon a curved iron rod, the ends of which were fitted to the extremities of the solid portion just described. The two parts thus adjusted together could be readily disunited, and the collar removed from the neck. The beads are of two forms—a variety of

the melon-shaped type, the segments being here alternately convex and concave. Between each pair of these there is a collar-shaped piece, bearing resemblance to the vertebral bone of a fish, or to the revolving portion of a small pulley, and thence the portions thus formed have sometimes been designated as "pulley-beads." It may be remarked that these pieces are rather wider on one side than on the other, a contrivance by which they were better adapted to the curve of the collar.

The form of these singular beads, it has been conjectured with much probability, was actually taken from that of the vertebral joints of fishes, which in primitive times may have been strung with globular beads alternately, as ornaments of an uncivilised race. If this supposition may seem worthy of credit, and we may admit the notion that the beautiful beads of glass or vitrified pastes of rich and varied colouring, which evince so perfect a knowledge of the processes of vitrification, were introduced into Britain as objects of barter by the Gauls or Spaniards, or even by the Phœnician traders who may have reached these coasts, an increased interest must be connected with the ornaments of this collar. It appears obviously to bear the impress of its original, scarcely more indeed than a tradition still preserved in its forms, but sufficing to prove their primitive character. The glass beads, productions of a land far advanced in civilization and knowledge of the arts, had become by a singular chance combined with the bones of fishes, the rude ornaments of maritime tribes in times of barbarism; and, whilst the forms of both are reproduced in the bronze of a later age, a lingering vestige may be traced of the cord upon which these objects had been strung, so obscurely perceptible, however, that without the aid of other collars of the same class, it might have escaped attention.

The vertebral-shaped pieces are found in the curious fragment of a bronze collar found at Perdeswell in Worcestershire, and exhibited to the Society by Mr. Jabez Allies, F.S.A., in whose possession it remains. A representation of this object has been given in a former volume of the *Archæologia*.^a In that example the iron rod on which the beads were strung existed in a very decayed state. The alternate beads were of a peculiar twisted shape, difficult to describe, and which is accurately shewn by the plate. A similar arrangement of grooved rings or pulley-pieces, alternating with beads, is perceptible, although less distinctly marked, in the remarkable collar found near Embsay, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in 1845, figured also in the *Archæologia*.^b It is likewise seen in another bronze collar found in Lancashire, in 1831, now in the collection of Mr. James Dearden, F.S.A.^c

^a *Archæologia*, Vol. XXX. p. 554.

^b Vol. XXXI. Pl. 23, p. 517.

^c This collar is noticed in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XXV. p. 595.

The careful examination of these examples, varied in details, but analogous in their general features, appears fully to confirm the ingenious supposition advanced by Mr. Birch, already stated, that in these ornaments vestiges of a primitive arrangement may be traced, sufficing to indicate the combination of beads with fish-bones, and the cord upon which they were strung. In the Embsay collar the imitative intention of the portion which simulates the cord is very obvious.

A few of the beads completing the circle of the collar found in Lochar Moss had been lost; in the representation given in the plate this deficiency has been supplied. It is uncertain whether the entire series were found in the bowl, when the discovery before described took place; they may have been missing previously to the deposit in the moss.

The bronze bowl which had served as the depository of these curious remains was skilfully formed of thin metal-plate; it was placed, when discovered, upon three stones, which apparently had been hewn or roughly squared. It may deserve mention that this bowl was of a size not quite sufficing to receive the collar in its entire state, and it is probable that for greater convenience in placing it within the basin, the collar had been disunited, and the beads unstrung. The edge of this little vessel was slightly recurved; it was totally without ornament, it had no handles, and there is nothing in its form to characterise its age. Various examples of basins of thin metal, found in Great Britain, might be cited; nine such, described as of copper, were found one within another at Sturmere, in Essex, near a Roman station and road.^a The bowl from Lochar Moss was not dissimilar to these, but of rather less shallow proportions. Bronze vessels, but having handles, are given by Douglas, in the *Nenia*.^b Two Saxon basins, of shallow form, and highly curious, are described by Mr. Roach Smith in a former volume of the *Archæologia*.^c They were found in Lothbury.

In regard to the age to which the curious collar from Lochar Moss may be attributed, the indication which presents the most distinctive character appears to be the peculiar S-shaped ornament, running round the solid portion of the hoop. We may without hesitation assign this collar to the period distinguished by Worsaae and the antiquaries of the North as the iron age of the early antiquities of Europe. Mr. Wilson, honorary secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, has thus placed this singular collar, in his *Archæology of North Britain*; and amongst the numerous vestiges of olden times represented in that beautiful volume, he points

^a These vessels are figured in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XVI. p. 364.

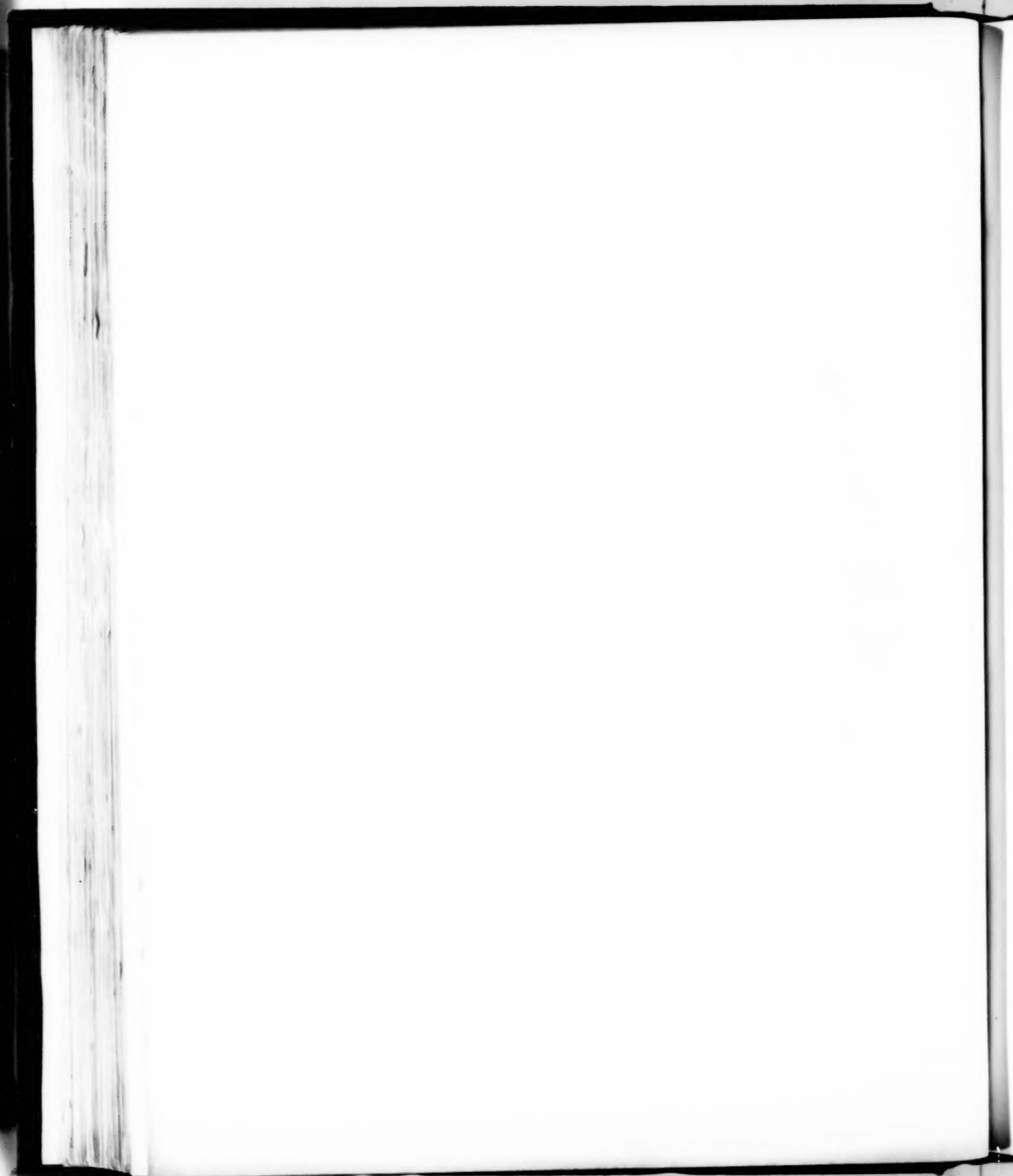
^b See the *Nenia Britannica*, Plate XI.

^c Vol. XXIX. p. 367.



Bronze Collar found in Locher Moss, Dumfriesshire.

Published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1866.



out a bronze diadem, or massive ring for the head, found in Roxburghshire, of which the ornamentation resembles that seen upon the relic from the turbary in Dumfriesshire. The deficiency of any extensive series of British antiquities, accessible for purposes of comparison, precludes the possibility of fixing with any precision the date of remains of this early age, but I imagine that its date is not anterior to the ninth century.

I have only to add, that by the kind permission of Mr. Gray, of Liverpool, this remarkable collar, with the bowl wherein it had been deposited, were sent for exhibition to the Members of the Archaeological Institute; and that the committee of that Society requested me to communicate them for the inspection of the Society of Antiquaries, as relics of more than ordinary interest.

I remain, dear Sir Henry,

Yours faithfully,

ALBERT WAY.

SIR HENRY ELLIS, K. H.
Sec. Soc. Ant. &c.

XIII.—*Account of some of the Celtic Antiquities of Orkney, including the Stones of Stenness, Tanul, Picts-houses, &c., with Plans, by F. W. L. THOMAS, R.N., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Lieutenant Commanding H.M. Surveying Vessel Woodlark.*

Read Feb. 6th and 13th, 1851.

CHAPTER I.

The following Notes have been arranged partly with the view of affording the means for comparing the Celtic antiquities of the Orkneys with their prototypes situated in other countries, but more particularly in the hope of inducing some resident gentleman of more leisure and antiquarian lore to draw up a detailed description of these interesting Landmarks of Time, many of which are fast disappearing before the efforts of rural industry and agricultural improvement. There is, however, but little cause to apprehend any further dilapidation in the greater monuments of the county; an interest in their conservation is daily gaining strength, and we have the faith to believe that in a short time even a peasant will feel ashamed to remove from the inquiring presence of enlightened men an irrecoverable record of the thoughts and feelings of a by-gone race. The antiquities of the Orkney and Shetland groups will be found upon examination to be well worthy of a careful study, not only from being extremely numerous for the small extent of country in which they are placed, but also from the great diversity of their forms, in many places leaving us unable to determine the purpose for which they have been erected.

Orkney is generally supposed to have derived its name from words in the British language signifying Outer-Catti, and to have been inhabited by a branch of the Catti;^a but, leaving conjecture, we find it stated in the famous diploma drawn up by Bishop Thomas Tulloch, in 1443,^b that immediately preceding their conquest by

^a "Which are said by a certain old manuscript to be so called (Orkney), as if one should say Argat, that is (for so it is there explained), *above the Gotes*; but I had rather expound it Above Cat; for it lies over against Cath, a country of Scotland." &c.—Camden, p. 1073.

^b In Barry's History of Orkney: it has since been printed by the Bannatyne Club, in the 3rd volume of their works.

Harald the Fair-haired these islands were occupied by two different races, the Pape and Peti (Pets or Picts), and that the Northmen "swa passit on the said nations of Peti and Pape, that the posteritie of thame after remained nocht."^a

But though the posterity of these people "passit away," they left behind them records of their social development in their sepulchres, their habitations, their castles, and their domestic and warlike implements; and such of these as have fallen under the writer's notice will be described.

Of the Pape it may be briefly stated that they are supposed to have been a collegiate Irish priesthood, introduced about the time of St. Columba^b the apostle of the Picts; and, judging from the names, Paplay in South Ronaldsey, Paplay in Holm, Eynhallon, Papey Stronsey, and Papey Westrey, are places in which they have been located. It has also been pointed out to me by Professor Munch, of Christiania, that the island now known as North Ronaldshā is in Saga literature called *Rinansey*, which appellation he believes to be after the famous St. Ringan, or Ronan, and to have received that name *before* the conquest of this country by the Northmen. The Pape seem to have spread as far as Iceland, for, according to the *Landnámabók*, before Iceland was colonized from Norway, there were people there who the Northmen called Papa; they were Christian men, and left behind them books in the Erse language.^c

The ruins of many ancient buildings, both defensive and simply domestic, are ascribed by tradition to the Picts, who, instead of being magnified by the haziness of indistinct historical vision into giants or cyclops, have (probably from the very narrow passages in their castles and dwellings, and their small kistvaens), dwindled in the vulgar estimation to a race of pigmies: it is presumed that the controversy concerning their ethnographical position has long been settled, and that they were in fact a geographical division of the Celtic Britons.^d

^a Reperimus itaque, imprimis, quod tempore Haraldí Comati primi regis Norwegie, qui gavisus est per totum regnum suum hac terra sive insularum patria, Orchadie fuit inhabitata et culta duabus nacionibus, scilicet Peti et Pape, quæ duæ genera naciones fuerunt destructæ radicibus, hac penitus per Norwegieenses de stirpe sive de tribu strenuissimi principis Rognaldi, qui sic sunt ipsas naciones aggressi quod posteritas ipsarum nacionum Peti et Pape non remansit.—Barry, p. 399.

^b "St. Columba meeting one day with a prince of the Orkneys at the palace of King Brude, he told the King that some monks had lately sailed with a view of making discoveries in the northern seas, and begged he would strongly recommend them to the Prince who was then with him, in case they should land in the Orkneys. They did so, and owed their lives to the recommendation of Columba."—Smith's *Life of St. Columba*, p. 55.

^c Adur Island bygdist of Nordmönnun varo p'ar p'eri menn er Nordmenn kalla Papa, p'eri varo menn kristner, &c.—Johnstone's *Ant. Celto-Scan.*, p. 14.

^d "After an interval of many years, when Brito reigned in Britain, and Posthumus his brother over the

It is generally imagined by those whose topographical information is limited to the southern portion of Britain that the island becomes more uneven as its northern extremity is approached: this is not, however, strictly the fact, for, after passing the mountain ridges which rise between the neighbourhood of Perth and the Ord of Caithness, we descend upon a simply hilly or undulating country, possessing very few romantic features, but peculiarly adapted to the labour of the agriculturist. The same topographical character occurs upon the northern side of the sea-valley (Pentland, properly Pightland, Firth) which divides the archipelago of the Orkneys from Scotland, where, instead of mountain masses separated by deep valleys, we find a swelling moorland whose mean elevation would not exceed one hundred feet. There are some exceptions to this usually tame appearance, for the hills of Hoy, of Orfer, Ronsey, and Edey have either had sufficient cohesive strength, or have accidentally escaped the denuding influence which has been going on around them; but in general the old red sandstone has been swept away, and the flagstone of the same formation, after the deposition of a few feet of boulder clay, is the floor upon which the present race of men are passing their ephemeral existence.

It is worthy of remark, that there is good evidence of the low grounds having been formerly covered by a forest of birch, hazel, and willow, which, besides forming a covert for the wild boar, red deer, and other extirpated animals, would afford fuel and shelter to the primitive inhabitants. That the native wood had become too scarce for economic purposes about A. D. 925, may be gathered from the fact that the reigning earl acquired the title of *Torf-Einar* from having taught his subjects the use of that substance for fuel, and this is but one generation after the occupation of the country by the Northmen.

That the Celtic or original inhabitants were very numerous is proved by the great number of barrows scattered throughout the islands; I imagine that at least two thousand might still be numbered; and when it is remembered that half as many more have probably been removed or obliterated from within the inclosures, an idea may be formed of the length of time which must have elapsed since the country was first settled. These barrows seem almost posited by accident, for they may be seen upon the very top of a hill, or upon the brow, or halfway down, upon the moor, or by a burn, or by the sea side. They are single, or in confused groups. At

Latins, not less than 900 (about 256 B.C.), the Picts came and occupied the islands which are called Orcades; and afterwards from the neighbouring isles, wasted many and not small regions, and occupied them in the left part of Britain, and remain to this day. There the third part of Britain they held, and hold till now."—Nennius, C. 5, quoted by Ritson, *Annals of Caledonia*.

Stenness and at Vestrafield there are four posited contiguously in a straight line; but I have not met with a circular, nor indeed any other, arrangement of barrows, except that they are sometimes twin, not however of equal size, but one about two-thirds smaller than the other.

The common form of the Orcadian barrows is the *bowl-shape* of Akerman's *Archæological Index*. These barrows present exactly the outline of one-third of an orange cut through its axis. From their depressed figure they do not make a prominent appearance in the landscape. The contrary happens with the conoid barrows, which are at once remarkable from their greater height and size. It will be shewn hereafter, that there is reason to believe the conoid tumuli to be of Scandinavian origin.

There are considerable varieties in the species of bowl-shaped barrows; the simplest is a low mound of earth not raised more than eighteen inches from the ground, and about seven or eight feet in diameter: there is a group of five of these dimensions close to the Great Stenness circle (ring of Brogar), and four of them are posited in line, suggesting a relationship among the occupants in blood or destiny.

Increasing in size, they may next be noticed as about four feet in height, and twelve in diameter; these contain but one grave (*kistvaen*), formed by four rude slabs placed upright upon the natural surface of the moor, so as to inclose a small oblong cell; and in one opened by Mr. Petrie and myself during the winter of 1848 the burnt bones were simply deposited in a hole scooped in the earth; a flagstone more than large enough to cover the cell was placed above it, and the earth heaped over all.

In the next rank may be placed those barrows which are from six to ten feet in height, and from twenty-five to thirty feet in diameter; one of these dug into by Mr. Petrie and myself, called the Black Knowe, was situated on a wet moor at the foot of the ward of Rhush, in Randal. It had evidently been formed with greater care than was usually bestowed upon these sepulchres; the mound was nearly semi-circular in outline, and had a covering of a layer of peat fully one foot in thickness, but whether a sward had been originally placed over the tumulus, or it was simply the growth of time, I am unable to determine, but incline to the former opinion. Beneath the peat we came to a very pure sandy clay without any mixture of stones; but on the surface of the clay flat pieces of stone, about the size of a man's hand, were plastered here and there, evidently for the purpose of keeping the mound in shape. We found no further difference until we came to the grave, the covering stone of which was six feet below the top of the tumulus. This stone was of no deter-

minate figure, and was without dressing of any kind, although much larger than the aperture of the cell. It was so clumsily placed that a little earth found its way into the grave before it was removed. When the covering-stone was lifted, which it required rather a strong man to do, the grave or kistvaen was seen to be eighteen inches long, one foot in breadth, and eight or ten inches in depth. The stone of this country has naturally a slaty pactice, and splits easily, so that it only requires dressing upon the edges; but this had not been done, the sides of the stones did not meet, and schoolboys in their play would construct a neater apartment. Upon an oblong stone which nearly fitted the cell were deposited an urn and burnt bones. The urn had been broken when the covering stone was placed over it, otherwise it was quite fresh and clean; it was of a dirty brick colour, of a very coarse clay, in which there were many bits of stone, and when newly burnt would not have had sufficient tenacity to have been held up by one side without breaking. The urn was about eight inches in diameter, and four in height, and of a simple basin shape. There was about a large handful of fragments of burnt bones and ashes, which had been first placed upon the stone, and the urn inverted over them; upon the outside the urn was banked up by very fine sand or ashes. This would prevent the escape of the contents, as well as keep it from sliding off the stone. Upon the whole there seems to have been but a small degree of skill exerted in proportion to the labour employed in the construction of this tumulus.*

The Rev. Charles Clouston in his Statistical Account remarks that "barrows or tumuli are particularly numerous in Sandwick. I believe there are more than one hundred, though it would be neither easy nor useful to count them. Eight of these situated upon the common have been opened during the last year. A minute description of each would be tedious, but a brief account of the most important, which I opened in company with most of the other office-bearers of the Orkney Natural History Society, must be interesting to the antiquarian. The first, which was the largest of a numerous cluster between Vog and Syking, was fifty yards in circumference, and about seven feet and a half high. It was formed of a wet adhesive clay. On reaching the centre, we found a large flag, which formed the cover; and

* Several other tumuli have been opened, which had much the same appearance. In some of these were found stone chests of about 15 or 18 inches square, in which were deposited urns containing ashes; in others of these chests were found ashes and fragments of bones without urns.

* In digging for stones in one of these tumuli was found an urn, shaped like a jar, and of a size sufficient to contain 30 Scotch pints (15 gallons English). It contained ashes and fragments of bones. The colour on the outside was that of burnt cork, and on the inside grey."—Old Stat. Acc. p. 459.

on raising it up, the grave appeared as free from injury, and the pieces of bone as white and clean, as if formed only the preceding day. At its end, which lay north-east by east, was an urn inverted, shaped like an inverted flower-pot, and at its other end about a pot full of bones unmixed with ashes, which had been burnt and broken small, none being more than two inches long and one broad, covered by a stone of an irregular shape about one foot across. It was sprinkled with a peculiar mossy-looking substance of a brown colour, and white ashes, which seemed from the smell, when burnt, to be animal matter. The surface of the urn was dark, not unlike burnt cork, and seemed to be rude earthenware, into the composition of which bits of stone enter liberally. It contained nothing that we could perceive, and soon fell to pieces; but I put them together with Roman cement, and it is now safe in the Society's museum, with part of the bones.

"The next in size of the group of tumuli was thirty-four yards in circumference, about six feet high, and contained six separate graves.* The two nearest the centre seemed the principal ones. A large flag rested against the covers of them on the east side, jutting up about a foot above them. It measured five feet long, four feet two inches broad, and three inches thick. The space under this flag was quite empty. On removing it and the two horizontal covers on which it rested, the two principal graves were exposed to view. The first was formed of a double row of upright flags on all sides except the south, next to the second, where there was only a single row, and small pieces substituted at the corners; the space inside was filled for nine inches with clay, and the corners of this and the second were also cemented with it. Between the cover and clay flooring was a vacant space about a foot deep, into which some fine sand had penetrated or fallen from the cover in wasting, and sprinkled the floor. On removing this, we found a small stone, which covered a cavity in the clay one foot in diameter and nine inches deep, containing the bones, burnt and broken as in the first tumulus, and some little pieces of charcoal. This grave was one foot eight inches square inside; the outside flags were six inches higher than the inner ones, and those on the west and east sides very thick. Outside they were supported by some lumpy stones and the clay.

"The second grave (which was one foot ten inches by one foot three inches across the middle, but far from square, and two feet deep,) was nearly one foot south of the former, and consisted of four flags, set up on a floor of flag, with a heap of bones similar to those in the first. The third was at the south side, close by the west corner of the second, and was very simple, being merely a cavity in the earth,

* See the accompanying Plan, IV.

covered by a stone on which we were treading; and being so low, without any upright flags about it, it escaped observation till we were about to leave the tumulus. It contained pieces of bone of a larger size than the former two, and a few pieces of a vitrified substance, like a parcel of peas with a vesicular internal structure, and of a whitish appearance, as if it were vitrified bone. The fourth grave lay on the east of the first, with a space of three feet between; internally, it was two feet ten inches long, by two feet three inches broad, the inner row of flags six inches below the level of the outer; nine inches below that was a small cover stone, and at the bottom six inches of peat ashes, with bits of bone. The fifth lay two feet south of the last, and was about three feet five inches by two feet three inches. It was formed by a single row of flags without any cover. On the top was six inches of clay, and below that about nine inches of ashes and bone. The sixth lay three feet from the north-west corner of the first, and was the rudest of all. It measured two feet by one foot two inches. All these graves lay with one end north-north-east, except the sixth, which was directed north-east. This resemblance between the fourth and first is worthy of notice,—that it also consisted of a double row of flags upon all sides except the south, next to the fifth, where it was single.”—P. 57.

In the fourth grade of bowl-shaped tumuli may be considered those whose circumference is bounded by a ring of rough blocks of stone, like the first course of a modern stone dyke. This prevents the earth of the tumulus from spreading, and preserves its shape. Many of these, which are almost flat on the top, may be seen on Vestrafiold, in Sandwick; they are about twenty feet in diameter and four in height.* Another variety of bowl-shaped tumulus is that having a ring of small upright stones standing around the barrow. I am only able to cite one instance, on Vestrafiold, where there are but one or two stones left, about two feet in height.

There is yet another variety of these tumuli, where upright pillars are situated upon the mound, of which the Knowe of Cruston was, and Stoneranda (Stone-round) is (both in Busa), an example.

* “I lately made excursions to St. Andrew’s and the farm of Wideford in this parish (St. Ola), and opened two graves at the former place, and three at the latter; they all appear to be of the same date. I opened one of the largest, which was of greater diameter than the one we explored in Rendal (the Black Knowe), but not quite so high. It had a *sort of circle or ring of burnt stones about a foot in breadth, and the thickness of one stone*, immediately within the edge of the base. In the centre, embedded in clay, was a layer of burnt bones mixed with charcoal, about three inches in thickness. There was no kist-vaen, nor any stones near the bones.”—G. P.

None of the tumuli previously described are remarkable for height; on the contrary, they are low and broad; nor does the interior arrangement constantly advance with their external decoration; for the Knowe of Cruston, although surmounted by a standing stone four or five feet in height, did not contain any urn, but only burnt bones in a common cell, and in those described by Rev. C. Clouston (*ante*) it is seen in one instance that the large family-barrow contained no cinerary urns, and in the other, that the bones were deposited in a hole at one end of the grave, while the *empty* inverted urn was placed at the other.

I have never heard of any gold ornaments, or stone or other implements, being found in Orkney, in the graves of those who burned their dead, though such may yet be discovered.



A Bronze Pin from Tumulus in Birza, Orkney.



Knitting-Sheath of wood from Links of Skail, Orkney, supposed to be of the last Century.

CHAPTER II.

It is generally known that the Orkneys are naturally divided into the north and the south isles by the island of Pomona,* which is also very appropriately called the mainland, for it is fully equal in size to one-third of the whole group; but its figure is very irregular; the eastern half is so deeply intersected by several large bays as to be in one place but a mile from sea to sea. The west mainland, that is, so much of the island as lies upon the north side of a line joining the Bay of Firth to the Bridge of Weith, is, on the contrary, bounded by nearly straight coasts, and may be roughly estimated as about ten miles in length and breadth. Parallel, and

* It is very singular that the Scandinavian name of this island should be so entirely forgotten. In the Orkneyinga Saga it is usually called Hrossey or Rossey, and it is so named in a map appended to Camden's Britannia; it appears to mean "the Island of horses."

near to the coasts, are ranges of hills of moderate elevation, from 200 to 500 feet, sufficiently high to exclude a view of the sea from a large and tolerably level area, and here the parish of Hana has the solitary distinction of not having the ocean on any side to form its boundary. This district or *hened*^a is in a great measure occupied by two large lakes, yet most unaccountably they are usually considered as but one, and both have been known by the same name, the Loch of Stenness, although their connection is only by means of a narrow ford about 120 yards in breadth; besides the sea occasionally ebbs and flows in the southern lake, and the water is salt, while the northern is tideless and filled with fresh water.

The two promontories dividing these lakes are known collectively as "Stenness" (Stone-ness), but individually as Stenness and Brogar. The latter name, which is applied to the northern point, is derived from the Scandinavian *bro* or *brú*, a bridge, and *gard*, an inclosure. Until lately stepping stones enabled the foot passenger to cross the ford dry-shod; but a sort of bridge-causeway now supplies a less adventurous mode of transit: this is the Bridge of Brogar.

This neighbourhood has been consecrated ground, or the holy land of the ancient Orcadians; for there are within the distance of two miles no less than two rings or circles with circumferential columns, two others without erect stones, four detached pillars or standing stones, besides about twenty bowl-shaped and conoid barrows, some of them of large dimensions, and presenting great diversity in their proportions and magnitudes; as well as the remains of cromlechs and tumuli too much destroyed to admit of their peculiarities being distinguished.

In the winter of 1848 I undertook a survey of these antiquities, wishing to leave a permanent record of their present state and position, while they were yet in tolerable preservation; but, although a labour of love, it was not accomplished without much difficulty, principally owing to the uncertain state of the weather and the distance of the locality from my residence. After a long ride, there was first to lay out the surveying poles, then shoulder my theodolite, and march from station to station through the most insinuatingly melting snow that I ever remember to have felt, often being obliged to leave my instrument and run for a quarter of a mile to gain a little warmth by the exertion. It was, however, sometimes exceedingly romantic to hear the wild swans trumpeting to each other while standing under the lee of a gigantic stone, till a snow-squall from the north east had passed over; but, could I have attuned my soul to song in such a dreary situation, instead of raving with Macpherson, my strain would certainly have been something in praise

^a *Hened*, jurisdiction, district, hundred.

"of the bonnie blythe blink o' my ain fireside." Occasionally there is some fine weather even in this inhospitable climate; but I can only remember the many nights, dark, bleak, and cold, in which I have been urging my easy-going quadruped over that weary road while the snow fell into my eyes upon any attempt being made to look a-head. At last, however, the survey was finished^a; with Mr. Robert Heddle, the dimensions and an outline figure of every stone in the Ring of Brogar was taken; and Mr. G. Petrie assisted me in measuring the diameters of the circles, trenches, &c. The General Plan was made by triangulating with staves, and a base measured by a land-chain on the level point of Stenness.

I shall now proceed to describe these antiquities in the order of their rank or development, commencing with the lowest in the series, the bowl-barrow. Around the great circle (Ring of Brogar) there are about ten of these barrows, of which the elevations are given in Plate XII.; they vary in height from eighteen inches to six feet, and in diameter from seven to eighteen feet. Far beyond the limits of the plan they occur in great numbers, and those described by Mr. Clouston, which are but two miles distant, will convey a notion of their structure and contents.

Close by the Ring of Brogar there is a ring or small barrow, about fifteen feet in diameter, but almost obliterated. There is a small standing stone still erect upon the circumference, and the stumps of two others may be seen at the angles of a square, so that it is very probable a fourth originally stood there to complete the figure.

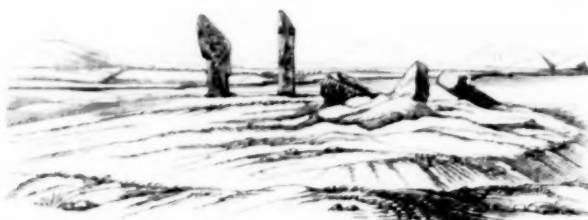
Just without the division dike of the parishes of Stenness and Sandwick, upon the shore of the south lake, there is a small ring,^b in good preservation, of great use when comparing these antiquities with each other, for it is a simple bowl-barrow, but distinguished by being inclosed within a circular embankment of the same height and material as the barrow. The barrow is forty feet in diameter, and not more than three feet in height, and is almost flat on the top. The trench is shallow, and about fifteen feet broad; not excavated, for the bottom corresponds with the natural surface. The ring-embankment (about five feet broad) is almost entire, except on the water side, where the peasants drive their carts over it to avoid the soft ground in the vicinity; it is to be hoped that the fortunate proprietor of this extremely ancient and interesting earthwork (for the common is in process of division) will take care to prevent its further injury. The diameter to the outer edge of the bank is ninety-four feet.

^a See General Plan, Plate XII.

^b This ring is marked upon the General Plan; and there is a ground plan and elevation in Plate XIV.

At a very short distance to the northward are the remains of two obscure contiguous circles,* which appear to be of the nature of cromlechs: they are formed by a ring embankment of earth or stones; the interiors of both, corresponding with the natural level, have indications of flag stones arranged in two parallel lines, between two and three feet apart. It is very probable that these were graves from which the covering and other stones have been carried away.

The lesser stone circle of Stenness, called here for the sake of distinction the Ring of Stenness,^b is a remarkable structure upon the low level point at the south



Ring of Stenness and Cromlech from the Northward.



Ring of Stenness from the Westward.

side of the Bridge of Brogar, and, though considerably dilapidated, still presents sufficient of its original form to determine its dimensions without difficulty. It is indeed rather a matter of surprise that so much of it should be left for the delight of the antiquary, when it is considered that this ground has probably been under cultivation for nine hundred years. It is stated in Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga that one of the earls of Orkney was stopping at Stenness about A.D. 970; and I believe the site of the *brú* was not far from where the church at present stands, at least tradition says the *palace* stood there.

The Ring of Stenness resembles in its earthworks the smaller one formerly

* Marked upon the General Plan.

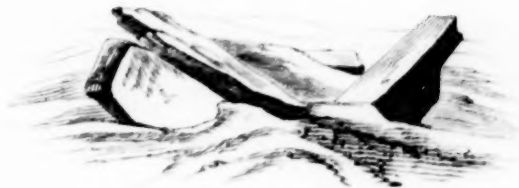
^b There is a ground plan and elevation of it in Plate XIV.

described, but is much larger, and is besides decorated with standing stones. It is formed by an interior raised mound, which is nearly or quite flat on the top, and slopes almost imperceptibly towards the trench; at the margin there are now three columns, two erect and one prostrate, and the stump of a fourth can be detected. From these it was found, on the assumption that the pillars were at equal distances apart, that twelve would complete the circle. The pillars are massive slabs of flagstone of their natural shape, and without dressing or carving of any kind. They stood in a circle whose radius is fifty-two feet, and about eighteen feet high.

This ring is peculiarly interesting from the presence of a Cromlech^a within the area, but it is not placed at the centre. Though the cromlech is overthrown, it is sufficiently perfect to understand its former shape. One of the legs or supporters remains *in situ*, and is an unturned block rising three feet above the ground; another leg of the table, of the same size and figure exactly, has fallen outwards, and lies upon its side, while the covering stone, which is a rectangular slab $9 \times 6 \times \frac{1}{2}$ feet in dimensions, partly rests upon the last; the other two legs have been taken



Cromlech, from the Southward.



From the Northward.

away. It may be here remarked in the instance of the only other two cromlechs known to exist in Orkney, that they also are overthrown.

^a In the old descriptions of Druidical (?) circles, there is generally mention made of an *altar* (cromlech) standing within them, either in the form of a stone table or a single upright pillar.

The ruthless plough has been driven by barbarous men over this enduring record of the thoughts and labours of an exterminated people, and even within this century some of the pillars have been destroyed to clear the ground. The unlucky tenant of the adjoining farm has exercised his "little brief authority," and a most unenviable immortality has attached to him in consequence, "for," says Mr. Peterkin,^a "one (of the standing stones) has lately been thrown down; three were in the month of December, 1814, torn from the spot on which they had stood for ages, and were shivered to pieces." As Mr. Peterkin speaks rather apologetically for the man, he is not to be suspected of exaggeration; yet this statement does not correspond with the plates in Barry's History, nor the drawings of the late Marchioness of Stafford. At this moment there are two stones erect, and one prostrate, but perfect; and in the drawings referred to there are but four erect stones; hence the tenant of Barnhouse could have broken up but one of these stones (exclusive of the Odin Stone), and one he prostrated.

The circumscribing ring, which is a raised earthwork of the same height as the included mound, can only be traced for one-third of the circumference, and this has led some persons to imagine that this structure was but a semicircle from the beginning, and I believe a fanciful theory has been founded on that presumption.^b

If ever this ring was completed, the massive and approximated pillars must have produced a magnificent effect, particularly if it contained the tombs of those whom men delighted to honour; but it may have happened that, as with some other great intentions, the design exceeded the means of execution; and this opinion gains support from a fact noticed by the intelligent and scientific minister of Sandwick. Upon the south side of Vestrafiold, which is about six miles to the westward of Stenness, the flagstone of this formation crops out at the surface in parallel ridges of several hundred yards in length, and from these enormous blocks may be detached without any excavation. There are at present several massive stones set free and ready for transport, and, if I am not deceived, their style is that pertaining to the Ring of Stenness rather than to the Ring of Brogar.

^a Notes on Orkney and Shetland, p. 20.

^b A very amusing account of the Stenness antiquities will be found in a paper on the "Tings of Orkney and Shetland," in vol. iii. of Arch. Scot.

Dimensions of the Ring of Stenness.

	FEET.
Diameter of circle on which the pillars are pitched	104
Do. to bottom of slope of interior Mound	162
Do. to inner foot of bank	198
Do. outer ditto	234
Height of Mound and embankment above the natural surface, about	3
Dimensions of easternmost pillars erect	$17\frac{1}{2} \times 6 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
Do. adjoining ditto, erect	$15\frac{1}{2} \times 4 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$
Do. next* ditto, prostrate	$19 \times 5 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$

The bottom of the trench corresponds with the natural surface.

The site of the Odin Stone^b was pointed out to me by a man who had looked through it in his youth; it stood about one hundred and fifty yards to the northward of the Ring of Stenness, but it does not appear to have had any relation to that structure, though it is probable that it was erected at the same era. All that can now be known of it must be learnt from Barry's or the Marchioness of Stafford's drawings, for the unfortunate tenant of Barnhouse *cleared* it away. The stone, which was of much the same shape as those still left, was remarkable from being pierced through by a hole at about five feet from the ground; the hole was not central but nearer to one side. Many traditions were connected with this stone, though with its name I believe them to have been imposed at a late period; for instance, it was said that a child passed through the hole when young would never shake with palsy in old age. Up to the time of its destruction, it was customary to leave some offering on visiting the stone, such as a piece of bread, or cheese, or a rag, or even a stone; but a still more romantic character was associated with this pillar, for it was considered that a promise made while the plighting parties grasped their hands through the hole was peculiarly sacred, and this rude column has no doubt often been a mute witness to "the soft music of a lover's vow."

Close to the east end of the Bridge of Brogar stands a single gigantic pillar^c of about the same size and shape as that marked *a* in the Ring of Stenness. There is no appearance of earthworks or structure near it, and I have remarked that these

* This is computed to weigh 10·71 tons.

^b "At a little distance from the temple is a solitary stone about eight feet high, with a perforation through which contracting parties joined hands when they entered into any solemn engagement, which Odin was invoked to testify." (Arch. Scot. vol. iii. p. 107.) This agrees with the description of Mr. Leisk; but Barry's plate would lead us to imagine that the height was at least double that given above.

^c It was called "The Watchstone."—Arch. Scot. vol. iii. p. 108.

bauta stones, of which I can reckon up about a dozen in Orkney, are not distinguished by having a tumulus or barrow near them.

A little way to the eastward of the Ring of Stenness, is a mound called "Big How," but of what nature I am unable to decide, and it would require considerable excavation to make out its details—its position is shown upon the plan: and at the north-west end of the Bridge of Brogar is a large dilapidated tumulus, which appears to be the ruin of an ancient stone building, perhaps a Pict's castle; close by it are two small standing stones.

But the most considerable of all the antiquities of this district, is the great circle of Stenness, or Ring of Brogar.* This is a deeply-entrenched circular space, with a



Ring of Brogar from the South-West

diameter of 366 feet, and containing two acres and a half of superficies. No peculiarity is observable in the topographical character of this place. The area is neither level nor smooth, for the natural undulations of the ground traverse the inclosure. Around the circumference of the area, but about thirteen feet within the trench, are single, large, erect stones or pillars, standing at an average distance of eighteen feet apart. These stones appear to be the largest blocks that could be raised in the quarry from whence they were taken, and are without dressing of any kind; hence, their figure is not uniform, and they vary considerably in size; the highest stone was found to be 13·9 feet above the surface, and, judging from some others that have fallen, it is sunk about eighteen inches into the ground. The smallest stone is less than six, but the average height is eight or ten feet. The breadth varies from 2·6 to 7·9 feet, but the average is about four feet, and the thickness one foot. No order can be traced in the relative size or figure of the remaining stones; small and large succeed each other indiscriminately. To mineralogists they are known as the flagstones of the old red sandstone formation,

* See the General Plan, and Plate XIII. for an enlarged Plan and Elevation.

and are supposed to have once been mud, which has been aggregated into sub-crystalline forms by molecular forces.

It appears that the number of standing stones, on the assumption that they were placed at nearly equal distances apart, was originally sixty, but there are now only thirteen erect and perfect; ten others are nearly perfect, but prostrate; and there are the stumps or fragments of thirteen more; in all thirty-six. So that twenty-four (if the above assumption is correct) have been entirely obliterated.^a

The trench around the area is in much better preservation than could have been expected from the lapse of years; the edge of the bank is still sharply defined, as well as the two footbanks or entrances (to the circle) which are placed exactly opposite to each other; they have no relation to the true or present magnetic meridian, but are parallel to the general direction of the neck of land on which the circle is placed. The trench is twenty-nine feet in breadth, and about six in depth, and the entrances are formed by narrow earth-banks across the fosse. It has been imagined, but without sufficient reason, that the earth or rubbish from the trench has been taken to raise the surrounding tumuli; but had these tumuli been coetaneous with the Ring of Brogar and the materials from that source, some order would have been observed in their position with regard to the great circle. Besides, as we certainly know that they are sepulchres, and are confident that their magnitude is in proportion to the importance of the individual or family they contain, it would follow that an unusual murrain had occurred among the mighty ones of the day, that so many should want sepulture while the Ring of Brogar was in process of construction.

There are now no indications of structure within the area nor has it been either smoothed or leveled: but it must be observed that not only has the peat or turf been cut for fuel, but every layer of soil has been removed, as fast as it has formed, to serve as manure for the infield. The general appearance of the country is sufficiently uninteresting; but a barren and desolate aspect, not natural to the place, is produced by the practice of paring the soil from the outfield,^b that is, from all the land lying without the inclosures; and the Ring of Brogar has had no sanctity with these barbarous depredators, as the broken and scarified turf will witness.

The surface of the area of the ring has an average inclination to the eastward; it

^a "The number of stones which originally formed the temple is supposed to have been thirty five, but this is uncertain; sixteen were standing in the year 1792, and eight had fallen to the ground."—Arch. Scot. p. 108.

^b As the division of the common is now taking place, it is probable this destructive practice will cease.

is highest on the north-west quarter, and the extreme difference of level was estimated to be six or seven feet: the circumscribing trench has also the same inclination, and it therefore could never have been intended to hold water. In winter, when the lower half is partly filled, the rain water is flowing over the brim before it has reached the foot of the causeways.*

About a mile to the northward of the Ring of Brogar is a large deserted quarry, quite capable of supplying all the pillars or standing stones for that entrenchment (the only man who has attempted to work there of late years gave it up, in consequence of finding the rock so hard and intractable); but it has also been stated by those whose opinion I have reason to respect, that the shore of the south loch, close by the hill dyke of Sykin, is the spot from whence the stones were taken; it is also possible that they were brought from the quarry on the south side of Vestra-field, mentioned in a former page.

Dimensions of the Ring of Brogar.

	FEET.
Diameter of circle on which the pillars are placed	340
Distance of pillars from edge of fosse or trench	13·2
Diameter to inner edge of fosse	366·4
Breadth of fosse	29
Diameter to outer edge of fosse	424·4
Depth of fosse—average	6·0
Distance of pillars apart—average breadth of causeways	17·8
Highest pillar	13·9
Lowest ditto	5·9
Average height	9·0
Broadest pillar, stump only remaining	7·3
Least breadth	1·6
Average ditto	5·0
Average thickness	1·0

* See General Plan.

The following are the dimensions of the pillars (see panoramic view),^a which are numbered on the assumption that there were originally sixty (thirty in each semicircle). The numbers begin from the south-eastern entrance, and pass towards the south :—

SOUTHERN SEMICIRCLE.				NORTHERN SEMICIRCLE.			
PILLAR.	HEIGHT.	BREADTH.	THICKNESS.	PILLAR.	HEIGHT.	BREADTH.	THICKNESS.
1 prostrate .	10·6	5·9		34 erect .	10·6	3·3	0·7
2 prostrate .	12·4	5·9		36 erect .	13·6	4·6	1·3
6 prostrate .	10·6	2·6		39 broken .	4·9	5·9	
7 prostrate .	11·2	5·3		40 stump			
8 prostrate .	12·5	4·0		45 prostrate .	7·9	2·0	1·3
9 prostrate .	12·5	5·3		46 prostrate .	9·2	2·6	0·9
11 erect .	11·2	4·0	1·3	48 stump			
12 stump .	0·6	2·0		50 erect .	11·9	4·0	1·3
13 erect .	8·6	3·3	0·3	52 broken .	11·9	5·9	1·3
15 erect .	7·9	1·6		53 erect .	8·6	4·6	0·7
16 erect .	7·9	2·6	0·6	54 erect .	5·9	2·6	0·9
17 erect .	8·6	4·0	1·3	57 erect .	8·6	2·6	1·6
18 erect .	8·6	3·3	2·0	58 prostrate .	10·6	4·0	
19 stump							
20 prostrate .	8·6	4·0					
22 prostrate .	10·6	4·0					
23 stump							
24 erect (the highest)	13·9	5·3	0·9				
25 stump							
26 broken .	5·9	5·9	0·3				
27 stump							
28 stump .		7·3					
30 stump							

We will now pass by the tumuli about the Ring of Brogar for the present, and proceed to the northward for a mile, when we come to the ancient quarry, where there are four or five bowl-shaped tumuli, perhaps the graves of those who have been killed by accident when working for the standing stones, or the facility for collecting a heap of rubbish may have induced their relatives to fix upon this locality, but this is an uncharitable conjecture. The land here rises to about seventy or eighty feet above the lakes, and is known as the Black Hill of Warbaster. Proceeding along the ridge for a quarter of a mile, we arrive at the Ring of Bâkan,

^a See the upper part of the General Plan, Pl. XII.

which seems to have escaped the notice of all those who had described the antiquities of Stenness, until we find it mentioned in the Rev. C. Clouston's statistical account of the parish of Sandwick; it may indeed be easily passed without attracting attention.

The Ring of Bùkan (in Plate XIV.) is a circular space surrounded by a deep excavated trench, thus far resembling the Ring of Brogar, but it wants the circumferential stones, and besides the interior shews evident marks of superstructure. Many stones of small size are apparently *in situ*, yet no order could be traced among them; one is erect, about three feet in height, and one foot square. A triangular-shaped block, making a comfortable seat, occupies the centre, while another, completely identical in size and figure, is prostrate upon the circumference of the ring. Even this deeply-intrenched spot has been ravaged by the plough, and the industry of the agricultural savage has no doubt been rewarded by as much grain as might fill his cranium, but certainly not his stomach. Within the area there is the appearance of five or six small tangential circles about six feet in diameter, and formed of earth; within these the stumps of stones are prominent; the whole is too obscure to admit of any statement concerning it to be made with certainty, but I conjecture that these compartments are the remains of small cromlechs long since destroyed, and that the triangular stone lying at the edge of the ring has been dropped there by the boors, who have found it too heavy to be transported further from its original position, which was near to its twin at the centre.

Dimensions of the Ring of Bùkan.

	FEET.
Diameter of internal area	136
Breadth of trench	44
Diameter to outer edge of trench	224
Depth of trench, about	6

Except on the north-east side, the bank is still sharply defined. This ring appears to have been completely isolated, and without any footway across the fosse; but the trench will not retain water, for the bottom remained dry in what was, even in this climate, called a rainy winter.

The remaining antiquities of Stenness to be described are the Conoid Tumuli. These have been purposely retained to follow the others from the belief of the writer that they are not Celtic, but the tombs of the early Scandinavians.* The reason for this

* In a large district or country, presenting great difference in topographical feature, it is possible that the antiquities of two co-existent races may be found together; but this is not likely to occur in a comparatively

opinion is soon stated: the bowl-barrows, so numerous throughout the Orkneys, are constantly found to contain the ashes (*bonâ fide*) of the dead; the conoid barrows are known to be the sepulchres of those who buried their dead entire, and usually in a bent posture. This alone shows a difference of race, although both might be living (or rather dead) at the same epoch; but the argument having most weight with the critical antiquary is this, that *silver* ornaments have been found in the tombs. Although this paper is intended to be but a dry record of fact, it would be negligent of the writer to describe as Celtic, or without some remark, a monument which he believes to belong to the Northmen. The Conoid Tumuli are few in number; but six exist at Stenness, where they are readily distinguished by their greater height in proportion to their base.

About one hundred yards down the Brae upon the south side of the Ring of Bôkan stands a large tumulus,^a just without the hill-dyke of the townland of Warbaster, in the south-west extremity of the parish of Sandwick, which was excavated last summer by Mr. Wall of Skaill, Rev. C. Clouston, Mr. Ame, the officers of Her Majesty's cutter "Woodlark," &c. It had previously been dug into by Dr. Wall of Skaill, who had trenched from the south-west side into the middle without finding any indication of structure. We now began by cutting a trench, three or four feet wide, from the south side towards the centre, and, not finding any thing remarkable, the hole at the centre was enlarged to six or seven feet in diameter, but the labour of the day was expended in a useless search.

This tumulus is made of much coarser materials than is usual with the bowl-barrows, there being but little earth in comparison with the many large angular pieces of stone, such as would be thrown from a quarry, or when making a drain; but I entertain no doubt of its being formed from the subsoil of the adjacent moor. This tumulus is seventy-one feet in diameter and ten or twelve in height: but it appeared much larger until submitted to actual measurement. On a subsequent occasion, when some labourers who had been making a road hard by were present, they declared it would take half a dozen of them a fortnight to raise such a heap.

We met again on the 31st of July, and the day was nearly expended in digging at the centre, but we came upon the natural surface without finding any grave. We learnt, however, that the ground had received no preparation previous to the

small group of islands like the Orkneys, where, according to the custom of the savage warfare of those times, the conquerors would most assuredly extirpate the conquered; thus Scandinavian rites and observances would at once supersede those of the Picts or Celts.

^a Marked upon the General Plan, to the reader's left.

formation of the tumulus, for the heath and moss which had then been growing was the foundation upon which it was erected. Dr. Wall now directed attention to a few moderately large pieces of flagstone that had been passed when trenching in, when a few strokes of the pick soon made it apparent that we had hit upon some structure, and in a little while we came upon a grave. This was placed about half-way between the centre and circumference of the tumulus, that is, about ten feet from the centre and four feet above the natural surface. The top stone of the grave was a large unsquared slab, not made to fit in any way, but overlapping the sides considerably; this was very carefully cleared to prevent the earth falling in upon its removal. On lifting off the top stone, the grave was seen to contain a human skeleton, which was lying upon the right side, with the legs doubled close up to the abdomen. The large bones of the arms and legs were nearly and the skull was quite perfect; some of the teeth had fallen out, they were much worn but otherwise good. The bones of the spine and pelvis had decayed; no remnants of clothes nor ornaments could be detected. The grave was conjectured to be that of a female of full age, from the small size of the bones (femur, $17\frac{3}{4}$ inches; tibia, $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches), the decidedly marked attachments for the muscles, and the worn teeth. Though I do not attach much importance to the circumstance, it is necessary to state that the grave was in the direction of the prime vertical (east and west), and that the skull was in the north-west quarter, with the face towards the east. The sides of the grave were neatly built, but no bottom slab could be detected; it was evident that the occupant must have been squeezed in, probably swathed in the native cloth of the country (*woodmal*). The capacity of the grave is $36 \times 27 \times 18$ inches.

After our curiosity was satisfied, the grave was re-covered and closed up. This finished our operations for the day; but a short time afterwards this tumulus was again explored by a party from the "Woodlark," when it was considered advisable to commence operations exactly opposite to where we had been working before; accordingly a trench was begun in that quarter, and almost immediately a grave was found. It appeared to be of a ruder description than that previously described. The walls or sides were formed of single upright flags, and the covering stone, which had fallen in, had disturbed the contents. The grave contained nothing but the displaced bones. These had belonged to a large man, but on a comparison with the graceful proportions of my companion^a it was found the latter had undoubtedly the advantage in stature. Although this grave was

^a Rev. C. Clouston.

placed opposite to the former, and at nearly the same distance from the centre, it was six or seven feet higher up in the tumulus, and not more than one foot beneath the surface. In the lapse of years, the rain and wind acting upon so steep a mound of earth, must have much reduced its height, and consequently have brought the grave nearer to the surface; in stormy weather pieces of stone the size of a man's fist are set in motion by the wind.

A cut was now made upon the east side, perpendicular to a line joining the graves already found, when another was quickly discovered. It was at nearly the same level with the last, perhaps a foot higher, and slightly nearer the centre; it was but one foot beneath the surface. This grave was still smaller than either of the others. The covering stone had fallen in; the sides, less than a foot in height, were formed by two placed stones upon each other. Only a few bones were seen; they had belonged to some young person, perhaps twelve or fourteen years of age.

We had good reason to imagine that a fourth grave would be found opposite to the last, but the very large quantity of earth thrown on that side from the interior of the tumulus discouraged any attempt to search for it.*

The peculiarities of this tumulus are, 1. that no object should occupy its centre, which is contrary to former experience; 2. that the graves should be placed at the cardinal points of the compass; but this must be regarded as accidental, for at the time this tumulus was erected the deviation of the compass-needle was very different to what it is now; they must therefore be considered as placed in a *circle* in the

* "A tumulus containing three stone chests was opened in the parish of Sandwick, by Sir Joseph Banks, in the presence of Dr. Solander, Dr. Van Tiech, and Dr. Lind, on their return from Iceland in 1772. In one of these chests or coffins was found a human skeleton lying on its side with the knees bent; in the hollow of which was found a bag which appeared to be made of rushes, and contained a parcel of bones bruised small, and also some human teeth." It was supposed by Sir Joseph Banks and Dr. Solander, that this bag contained the remains or ashes of his wife, or of some near relation, after burning. (?)

"In the second of these chests was found a skeleton in a sitting posture, as if seated on the ground, and the legs stretched out horizontally. To keep the body erect, stones were built up opposite to the breast as high as the crown of the head. The whole was covered with a large stone.

"In the third chest was found in one end the bones of a human body thrown together promiscuously; in the other end, a quantity of chestnut-coloured hair, covered with a turf, and under the hair about four dozen of beads, flattened on the sides, lying as if on a string, about the middle of which was a locket of bone, and underneath the beads a parcel of bruised bones like to those found in the bag in the first chest. When the hair was first touched, it appeared rotten, and the beads friable; but when exposed to the air, the hair was found to be strong and the beads hard. The beads were black, but it could not be discovered what they were composed of."—Old. Stat. Acc. p. 459. I think there is some account of these explorations in the Transactions of the Royal Society.

tumulus; it appears to have been a family tomb for father, mother, and child; and 3. that the bodies were not incinerated, but interred in a bent posture.

Several bowl-barrows are near, and scattered about the moor are many lumps of *cramp* or vitrified stone, some of which are built into the hill-dyke of the adjoining townland of Warbaster.

A large conoid tumulus (6) fifty feet in height, and twenty-nine feet in diameter, stands 150 yards to the westward of the Ring of Brogar.^a It has been explored at some former period, and it is not improbable that this is the one to which Wallace alludes when he says that "in one of these hillocks, near the circle of high stones at the north end of the Bridge of Stennis, there were found nine fibulæ (armillæ) of silver, of the shape of a horse-shoe, but round." From the drawing they appear to have had the same form as those figured in plate vii. of Arch. Index, and probably met the same fate.

A short distance to the northward of the Ring of Brogar, and near to, but not at, the shore, there is another tumulus of peculiar form.^b It may be aptly compared to the shape of a plum-cake, for it is circular, and rises nearly perpendicular for five feet, when it becomes almost flat on the top, or rather is surmounted by a very depressed cone. Its diameter is sixty-two feet, height nine feet. This has never been explored, though I believe the gentleman upon whose property nearly all these antiquities are situated, and who is also a zealous antiquary, proposes to do so shortly.

The only example of the elliptical or long barrow existing in Orkney (that I am aware of) occurs upon the shore of the North Loch, 100 yards to the eastward of the Ring of Brogar. It measures 112 feet in the direction of its major axis, while its minor is but sixty-six feet, that is, it is twice as long as it is broad.^d The level ridge on the top is twenty-two feet, and its height twenty-two. The west side is so steep as to be difficult to clamber up. On the opposite side it has been dug into, but not recently, and it may be that from this one the fibulæ mentioned by Wallace were obtained. There is a fine spring of water at the foot of the tumulus upon the loch side, and not unfrequently in summer a group of hungry antiquaries may be seen gazing with fixed attention not into the musty recesses of a kistvaen, but the still more interesting interior of a provision-basket. All these large hillocks are covered by a short green turf, which renders them picturesque and pleasing objects.

But the most remarkable tumulus in Orkney is situated a mile to the north-east

^a For its elevation see the General Plan.

^c David Balfour, Esq. of Balfour.

^b Ibid.

^d See General Plan.

of the Ring of Stenness, and is called *M'eshoo* or *Meashowe*.^a This is a very large mound, thirty-six feet in height, and ninety-two in diameter, and is of a bluntly conical outline. The mound occupies the centre of a raised circular platform, which has a radius of eighty-six feet. This is surrounded by a trench twenty feet in breadth, and a circular bank probably inclosed the whole. Many attempts had been made to explore it, as there are several small heaps upon its sides; but at last sufficient force and perseverance was brought to work, and a huge mis-shapen mass upon the east side shews the explorers were successful.^b Unfortunately no inventory was published of its stores; and such will too generally be the case, so long as the possession of a metal ring or bracelet is liable to be hunted for by an official (like a kitty-wake by the *Skoutie-allan*) till the precious bait is disgorged. The law of treasure-trove fuses nearly all antiquities of gold or silver; they find their way to a watch-cobler, and thence to a crucible. It is a mere fiction to assert, that either Queen, Government, or nation can derive any pecuniary benefit from the few articles that are occasionally turned up; in fact, neither of these parties ever see them; and the only way to prevent their conversion is to let it be known that they are the property of those who find them, and that the lucky individual is to get the largest amount of sterling money that the articles will fetch in open market. The more they cost the purchaser, the greater will be the chance of their ultimate preservation.

Such is the distribution of the antiquities in the immediate neighbourhood of Stenness, of which the writer, at the risk of being tedious, has endeavoured to render an exact account. Their written history, as may be supposed, is meagre enough. The *Orkneyinga Saga*, presumed to be compiled in the thirteenth century, does not mention or refer to Stenness. In the *Saga of Olaf Trygvesson* it is said, "*Havard var þá ó Steinsnessi í Rossey; þar var fundi oc Bardagi peina Havards, oc ei langt ade Jarl fell, heiter nú Havards teigr,*" which my friend Professor Munch thus translates: "*Havard was then at Stenness, in Rossey; there Havard and the other (Einar) met and fought, and in a short time the Earl fell, which (place) is now called Havard's teigr.*" *Teigr* is thus explained: Cultivated ground of indefinite size, inclosed within a turf or stone dyke, is a *tún*, or town-land. The *tún* is often occupied by several families, who annually re-divide by lot the arable land between them, and, for greater fairness, the good and bad land is divided into many small

^a Its elevation is marked upon the General Plan.

^b "An artificial mound, with a large trench thrown up at the foot of it, said to have been raised for archers to shoot at. Some of Oliver Cromwell's soldiers are reported to have dug tolerably deep into the mound; but it is added, they found nothing but earth."—*Arch. Scot.* p. 122.

pieces or shares, and any of these is a *teigr*, and may be called after the present possessor, as Willie's *teigr*, or Magnus' *teigr*, &c. It is very probable that Earl Havard was buried beneath one of the Stenness tumuli.

The first direct notice of the stones of Stenness is in "Descriptio Insularum Orchadiarum anno 1529, per me Joan. Ben, ibidem colentem," where he says, "Stenhouse is another parish, where there is a great lake twenty-four miles in circumference. There, in a little hill near the lake, were found in a sepulchre the bones of a man, which indeed were joined, and were in length fourteen feet, as the reporter stated, and a coin was there found under the head of that dead man; and I, indeed, saw the sepulchre. There, near the lake, are high and broad stones, of the height of a spear, in circumference half-a-mile." The reporter seems to have been guilty of the very common fault of exaggeration.

In Wallace's History of Orkney, published in 1700, at p. 58, we find, "At Stennis, in the mainland, where the loch is narrowest, in the middle, having a causey of stones over it for a bridge, there is, at the south end of the bridge, a round, set about with high smooth stones or flags, about twenty feet high above ground, six feet broad, and each a foot or two thick. Betwixt that round and the bridge are two stones standing, with that same largeness with the rest, whereof one has a round hole in the midst of it; and at the other end of the bridge, about half-a mile removed from it, is a large round, about one hundred and ten paces in diameter, set about with such stones as the former, but that some of them have fallen down; and at both east and west of this bigger round are two artificial (as it is thought) green mounds. Both these rounds are ditched about." There is a figure of one of these circles appended, but is purely imaginary.

In "A brief Description of Orkney, Zetland, Pightland Firth, and Caithness, by John Brand," published at Edinburgh in 1701, it is stated, "At the Loch of Stenness, in the mainland, in that part thereof where the loch is narrowest, both on the west and east side of the loch, there is a ditch, within which there is a circle of large and high stones erected. The larger round is on the west side, above 100 paces diameter. The stones, set about in form of a circle within a large ditch, are not all of a like quantity and size, though some of them, I think, are upwards of twenty feet high above ground, four or five feet broad, and a foot or two thick; some of which stones are fallen, but many of them are yet standing; between which there is not an equal distance, but many of them are about ten or twelve feet distant from each other. On the other side of the loch, over which we pass by a bridge laid in the manner of a street, the loch there being shallow, are two

stones standing, of a like bigness with the rest, whereof one has a round hole in the midst of it ; at a little distance from which stones there is another ditch, about half a mile from the former, but of a far less circumference, within which also there are some stones standing, something bigger than the other stones on the west side of the loch, in form of a semi-circle, I think, rather than of a circle, opening to the east, for I see no stones that have fallen there save one, which, when standing, did but complete the semi-circle. Both at the east and west end of the bigger round are two green mounts, which appear to be artificial ; in one of which mounts were found, saith Mr. Wallace, nine fibula of silver, round, but opening at one place like to a horse-shoe."—p. 43.

In vol. iii. of *Arch. Scot.* there is a rude woodcut from a drawing, and extracts from a description of the stones of Stenness, communicated by the Rev. Dr. Henry, in 1784. In the drawing we have an amatory couple exchanging vows at the shrine of Odin, but unfortunately the Odin stone is drawn standing upon the east instead of the west side of the Stenness Ring. There are eight standing and two fallen stones in the Stenness Ring, which forms an exact semi-circle, and the cromlech is removed from the north side to what is intended to be the centre. Upon the cromlech is a kneeling damsel supplicating for the power to do all that is wanted from her by her future lord, while he is standing by, and seems to be rather intoxicated, but whether from love or wine is not to be determined from the drawing. I quote the following account, which I believe to be extremely exaggerated. "There was a custom among the lower class of people in this country, which has entirely subsided within these twenty or thirty years, when a party had agreed to marry, it was usual to repair to the Temple of the Moon, where the woman, in presence of the man, fell down on her knees and prayed the god Woden (for such was the name of the god whom they addressed on this occasion) that he would enable her to perform all the promises and obligations she had made and was to make to the young man present ; after which they both went to the Temple of the Sun, where the man prayed in like manner before the woman. Then they repaired from this to the stone north-east of the semi-circular range ; and, the man being on the one side and the woman on the other, they took hold of each other's right hand through the hole in it, and there swore to be constant and faithful to each other. This ceremony was held so very sacred in those times, that the person who dared to break the engagement made here was counted infamous, and excluded from society."—p. 119. In the description of the before-mentioned drawing, the Ring of Stenness is called "the semi-circular hof or temple of standing stones, dedicated

to the moon, where the rights of Odin were also celebrated:" but my witty friend, Mr. Clouston, is of opinion that it was only the lunatics who worshipped here. The Ring of Brogar is called "the Temple of the Sun:" unfortunately, the Ring of Bùkan, which was of course the Temple of the Stars, seems to have escaped notice, or we might have learned of some more ante-nuptial ceremonies performed therein.

Principal Gordon, in "Remarks made in a Journey to the Orkney Islands" in 1781, gives the following sensible account of the Stenness antiquities. "From Kirkwall I went to Stromness, and in my way thither visited the semicircle and circle of stones near the Lake of Stenhouse. This lake is of fresh water, and runs into the sea at Stromness. It extends for about ten miles south-east; at Stenhouse is almost divided into two separate lakes by a neck of land, where the water is so shallow that it may be passed at any time, even when the tide flows.

"From this neck of land the lake runs north-west for about six miles, leaving an intermediate space of dry ground, which, from one-eighth of a mile, widens to about a mile towards the manse of Sandwick.

"The semicircle stands opposite to the place where the lake begins to wind to the north-west. The stones have been originally seven, four of which are still standing, and seem to be about fourteen feet high; one, however, is eighteen complete; their breadth about five feet; their thickness varies. This semicircle has been formed with some degree of art; for, were we to form it into a complete circle, the diameter would be one hundred and four feet, and, upon examination, the diameter of the semicircle as it was at first designated is exactly fifty-two, a clear proof that the planners of this semicircle were not unacquainted with mathematical proportions.

"At some distance from the semicircle to the right stands a stone by itself, eight feet high, three broad, and nine inches thick, with a round hole on the side next the lake. The original design of this hole was unknown till, about twenty years ago, it was discovered by the following circumstance: a young man had seduced a girl under promise of marriage, and she, proving with child, was deserted by him. The young man was called before the session; the elders were particularly severe. Being asked by the minister the cause of so much rigour, they answered, You do not know what a bad man this is, he has broke the promise of Odin. Being further asked what they meant by the promise of Odin, they put him in mind of the stone of Stenhouse with a round hole in it, and added that it was customary when promises were made for the contracting parties to join hands through the hole, and the promises so made were called the promises of Odin.

"The complete circle stands upon the intermediate space betwixt the two branches of the lake, and this space or promontory, being a rising ground which forms at last into a plain of some extent, is seen at a considerable distance. There are sixteen of the stones standing, eight more are fallen to the ground; the original number is uncertain. Their height differs from nine to fourteen feet above the ground. The diameter of the circle is 366 feet. Round the circle is a ditch thirty-five feet broad, and from nine to fourteen feet deep: round the ditch, at unequal distances from one another, are eight small artificial eminences. The entrance is from the east, with an opening of equal size to the west. The altar stood without the circle to the south-east: to the left of the circle looking eastward, you perceive a solitary stone, and two or three more such in a direct line with it on to the semicircle. There is no inscription upon any of the stones either of the circle or semicircle.

"Different reasons have been assigned by different people for the circular and semicircular form of the Scandinavian ^a temples, for such they certainly have been, as appears from the explication given above of what is called in Orkney the promise of Odin. Some have pretended that the semicircular temple was in honour of the moon, and the circular one in honour of the sun; others that the semicircle and circle were emblems of the different phases of the moon. Pocock bishop of Ossory, who visited Orkney several years ago, found out in the different stones composing the circle and semicircle a very minute astronomical description of the various motions of the sun, moon, and planets, but these fancies have no foundation, as far as I could see, either in the arrangement of the stones or in the Scandinavian mythology. It does not appear from the Edda of Iceland, where we have a very full account of the Scandinavian divinities, that either the sun, moon, or stars had any place among them. I do not pretend to give a better reason for the circular or semicircular shape of these temples than what has been given by others. Indeed, it is impossible to give any good one at this distance of time; however, we see that in different nations the circular shape was a favourite one in building temples; witness the Rotunda at Rome, and many others on a smaller scale in other parts of the heathen world."

It may be expected that the writer of these remarks should offer some conjecture concerning the age and purpose of these interesting monuments of antiquity, and indeed it would be difficult after having been so long engaged with them to avoid forming a theory on the subject; and it may at once be stated that he considers the

^a I need scarcely remark, that there is not the slightest evidence of these circles having been made by the Northmen.

mental cromlech like that represented in plate i, fig. 10, of Akerman's Archaeological Index, is not to be determined.

Another ruin of a cromlech of a far more complex character, called Holy Kirk, stands upon the brow of Vestrafiold, which Mr. Clouston describes "as a curious collection of large and ancient stones; and a gentleman residing in that neighbourhood recollects one of them, now prostrate, supported by those that are still perpendicular." It would be well if this gentleman would put his recollection upon record, for Mr. W. Wall and myself puzzled for more than an hour over these remains without being able to divine its plan: there appeared to have been either two or three covers originally.

A very interesting but obscure remnant of antiquity exists upon the south foot of Vestrafiold, which I believe must be classed with Celtic remains: it is a large irregular inclosure, approaching to a square in outline, and fenced by large flags where they have not been carried away. It is stated to be 800 yards in circumference. A water-course runs through the area, and there are indications of interior sub-division by ranges of flags. No reason can be detected for choosing such a site; the greater part of the area I should imagine has always been very swampy; on the north-west side the line of demarcation runs up and along a rather steep brae (perhaps twenty feet higher than the average level). The great size of the inclosing flags, uselessness for keeping out cattle, &c., and the barren piece of land, which has never been of any agricultural value, are the proofs of its antiquity, and I commend this inclosure to the notice of practical antiquaries. The Dwarfie Stone of Hoy, of which there is a drawing and description in Barry's History of Orkney, is probably a sepulchral monument of the Pictish period; and I am informed by Professor Munch that there is a romantic story in the elder Edda, which occurs in *Hoy*, but the name is so commonly given to *high* islands by the Northmen, that we cannot be certain that it refers to one of the Orcadian group.

The round tower and church of Egilsey are in all probability the erection of the christianized Picts; and at the Brough of Birsá the foundation of such another church and cylindrical tower are to be seen. The Brough of Deerness is also a station of great antiquity; and in several of the islands there are the ruins of old churches which would, I believe, be of considerable interest to the ecclesiastical antiquary.



Glass Beads dug out of a moss near Caldale, parish of St. Olaf, June 1845.

CHAPTER III.

WE have now to consider a Class of Antiquities deserving much greater attention than they have hitherto received. I allude to those structures which the general traditions of the North of Scotland have ascribed to the Picts. These may be divided into Picts Castles and Picts Houses; but, though the first term may be allowed to pass without much argument, the propriety of the second may by some be considered to be hardly substantiated by the known facts.

The Pictish Broughs may be generally described as circular towers of sixty feet in diameter, and forty or fifty in height, and are either formed of one cylindrical wall of great thickness in which small chambers or cells are left in the interior of the wall, or of two concentric walls, the interspace being formed by flagstones into circular galleries, to which there is a communication by means of a winding staircase. Much information concerning these broughs may be gathered from Pennant's *Scottish Tour*, Cordiner's *Remarkable Ruins of North Britain*, Hibbert's *Shetland*, &c.; but I shall limit my remarks to the little that is known of them in Orkney.

In Orkney the site of a Picts castle may be generally known by the name of "Brough" being bestowed upon the place, and a grassy hillock most frequently points out the exact spot where it has stood; this term does not however apply exclusively to an artificial elevation, but includes every place of defence. The prefix "bur" is a contraction of "brough," as Burwick in South Ronaldsey, and in Sandwich, where the ruin of the brough at either place may be seen. Burra, formerly Borgarey, means the castle island; Burgher in Evie is the place of the castle; and at Burroston, in Shapinsey, Mr. Balfour informs me, are the remains of extensive entrenchments and fortifications. The position of the Pictish broughs is generally not peculiar for natural strength; they are either built along the sea-shore, as in Evie, &c. &c. or upon a small island or point in a lake; but we do not find them upon those natural defences which are seen along the coast, where a small piece of land is separated by a chasm from the main, as at the Broughs of Deerness, Biggin, &c., or upon an easily defensible peninsula, as at Burrow (Brough) Head in Stronsey, though at all these places the remains of a wall or a ditch may be traced upon the landward side.

Though nearly all the Pictish Broughs in Orkney are greatly dilapidated, good service might yet be done by clearing away the rubbish which surrounds the original tower, and I am here enabled to give plans of two which have been partly disinterred; one of these, situated upon an isthmus in the northern part of South Ronaldsey, has given the name of Hangs-eil^a to the place, that is, "the isthmus of the hillock;" but it is now corrupted into Hoxa. Principal Gordon, in his *Journey to Orkney* in 1781, describes it as "what the Orkney people call a Pictish fort. This fort has been of a circular form, with a wall round it, and perhaps two, the one surrounding the other at the distance of perhaps three feet. Some remains were still to be seen of this double wall. The building is certainly the work of a rude and consequently early period. It does not appear that any kind of cement has been used to tie the stones together. They are laid one upon the other in their natural state, rough and unpolished, with little regard to art or symmetry. Its extent, as far as I could guess, did not exceed twenty feet in diameter. The outer wall enclosed a considerable part of the small eminence on which the fort stood. This eminence has certainly been surrounded formerly by sea, and perhaps at no very distant period was still so at high water. For to the north-east of the eminence there is to this day a small lake of sea-water, which is only separated from the sea by a beach of sand and small pebbles cast up by the sea, and the ridge itself is not twenty feet broad. At the foot of the eminence, to the north, is a small bay or landing place, and on a point of land on the north of the bay, facing the eminence, there has been another fort of the same kind with the one I have now described. I was told there were many such forts in the different islands. Some of these I saw: their situation and structure have been exactly the same with the above-mentioned one. They are all upon a rising ground close to the water's edge, on small points of land projecting into the sea or lake nigh which they stand."^b

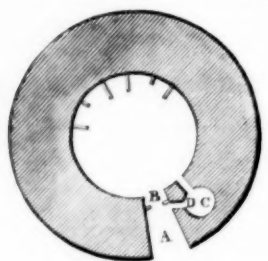
Since the above was written, the brough has been partly excavated, and has yielded very interesting results, as may be seen by the following account which my friend Mr. Robert Heddle has favoured me with:—"The How of Hoxa, or Hangseid, is a small hillock of considerable steepness, situated on the narrow neck of land which connects Hoxa Head with the main island of South Ronaldsey. This isthmus is washed on the south by the waters of Widewell Bay, while, on the other side, an artificial beach of rounded stones skirts the shore, and has evidently existed in connection with the neighbouring fortalice now to be described.

^a This name goes far to prove that the place was already a ruin when the Scandinavians arrived here.

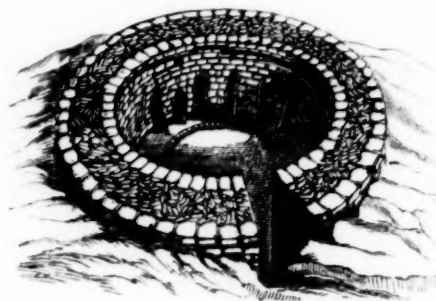
^b Arch. Scot. vol. i. p. 257.

"On the summit of the hillock abovementioned, late excavations have exposed the remains of a circular building apparently of the same class as the Tower of Mousa in Zetland. Of the walls but eight feet of elevation now exist; but their immense thickness, and the quantity of stones found in the rubbish, show that the original height must have been very considerable.

"The interior diameter of the ruin varies from twenty-nine to thirty feet, while the thickness of the walls is no less than fourteen feet, giving a sectional diameter of fifty eight feet. The ground-plan below will give an idea of the great proportional thickness of the building. The entrance has been drawn from description, having been destroyed to make room for an atrocious green gate. The building is composed of two concentric walls, the interspace being, however, as far as we could learn, entirely filled with rubbish and loose stones. Unless the small apartment at the entrance be accepted as such, no appearance of a chambered or spiral internal structure, similar to that displayed in the borg of Mousa, was observed. From the thickness of the wall, it is, however, far from improbable that such may still exist; but a structure of yesterday's perpetration, erected on the top of the old inside wall, and the replacement of the rubbish upon the rest of the building, effectually prevents the requisite search.



Ground-plan of Picta Castle.



View of same.

"The plan of the entrance, from description, was somewhat as represented at A. The passage was much contracted at B, by two slabs of stone set upright on the earth. Within the wall, and opening towards the interior of the edifice, was a chamber C of small size, communicating with the passage by a neatly constructed slit D, wide enough to admit the convenient insertion of a spear, or similar weapon, into the person of any one who might wish to make good an entrance at B: no vestige of this ingenious decoy has been allowed to remain. The old wall rises inside to a height of from six to eight feet. From the accumulation and replace-

ment of *débris* on the outside of the structure, nothing can be said of the external surface of the wall, which in no part rises above the surrounding soil.

In consequence of the erection of the new wall, a little inspection is necessary in order to perceive where the antique leaves off. In the "View" this is shown by a dark line.

Round the interior circumference of the wall are set upright flag-stones from three feet and a half to seven feet in height. Of these only six now remain, fixed at a distance of six feet from one another; but from the fact of one or two similar slabs having been removed, and broken pieces existing among the *débris*, we may presume that the remaining portion of the wall formerly exhibited the same appurtenances. In two parts of the building, at the level of the heads of these stones, the wall has been constructed so as to form two recesses, but no hint of their use can be gained from the study of one example; their ruinous condition will not permit the observer to remark more than the fact of their existence.

Between the bases of each pair of upright flagstones was found a corn-crusher of primitive simplicity. Each consisted of two pieces of sandstone, one slightly hollowed on the upper surface, the other smaller and horizontally convex below. These implements were buried in rude boxes composed of flagstones set together, exactly resembling the coffins or kistvaens in which burnt bones are usually found when exploring tumuli. For what purpose they were sepultured in such an honourable manner, we cannot pretend even to conjecture. They are various in shape and size, being, however, more or less oblong. The lower stones are between eighteen inches and two feet in length, while the upper ones, which may be grasped in the hand, do not exceed half that dimension. I enclose sketches representing the various forms of these implements. The largest is the only one found here on the fabrication of which any pains seem to have been bestowed, it being of a regularly oval shape, and hollowed in a careful and equal manner.

One or two stones of a form much resembling that of a modern mortar were also shown us; and, as one was accompanied by a pestle, most probably they have been used in the same way. One is about seven inches in length, by six inches in breadth, with a depth exteriorly of four inches and a half. Though in the one there is the form of a spout, there is no groove through which anything could be poured.

At the left side of the sketch of the interior of the tower may be observed two upright stones built in the wall. These have a lintel and a door-sill, and have all the appearance of having been doorposts. They do not project in the least from the

building. Below, and to the right hand side of those stones, a step projects, which may have rendered ingress or exit more easy. This doorway is now closed up, as it was when first found.

Leaving the How, we walked round a neighbouring hill. On its side we were shown many rude dykes which had been exposed when cutting off the peat from the surface: they stretch over the island in several directions. From the shape and appearance they still retain, and from the indubitable fact that they saw the light of later days only when the turf was removed, there can be no doubt that these rugged boundaries were built before the growth of peat in this island, or perchance when the first surface of that material had been, like its successor, entirely pared away. Near this spot, a man was actively engaged in opening tumuli, with no antiquarian interest, but with the view of employing the stones thus found to the erection of a farm-stedding. He had, as usual, turned up the coffins made of slabs of stone, with their accompaniment of burnt bones, and in addition, a corn-crusher of exactly the same shape as the largest mentioned in the preceding page. This circumstance would seem to assign the same date to these tumuli as to that of the neighbouring How. Here also we observed in the rubbish two stones of a rather peculiar form. Both had on their surface evident marks of having been used for tying cows or horses to; but the purpose of burying them is not so clear. They were worn exactly as a rope wears a post, and in that direction of a strain such as would be applied by an animal of considerable size. Nothing else of interest occurred.



Stones from Etonalsay.

In 1825, Mr. Peterkin sent a comb, part of a deer's horn, and some fragments of a skull, from a Pictish brough, which had given the name of Burgher to a property in Evie; and some years afterwards Mr. Gordon, the late proprietor, made considerable excavations, and found a skeleton, with some bracelets, &c.^a This must have been the second grave situated among the ruins of the brough; but there is no reason to suppose them to have had any other than an accidental relation to the place. I had some conversation with the man employed by Mr. Gordon, and who was present when the second skeleton was found; he assured me the grave was placed promiscuously among the ruins. There must have been some fancy among the early Northmen for burying in the Pictish broughs (which, if in ruins, would be ready-made tumuli), for in Caithness, articles of the Scandinavian period have been frequently taken from them. The Brough of Burgher is, as usual, of a circular form,

^a In the possession of the Earl of Zetland.

and sixty feet in diameter; upon one side the wall is still fourteen feet high, and is about five feet thick: the inner concentric wall is of the same thickness, and separated from the outer by a distance of seven feet, the interspace being formed into numerous chambers, as may be seen by reference to the Plan.

Another ruined Picts' castle stands upon the isthmus which connects Lamb Head with the mainland of Stronsey: like all the rest, it is circular, and contains many cells within the thickness of the wall. One of these can be entered from the top, when it is found that, in addition to the usual form of the cells, there is a raised bench at the further end; and, as so little is known of the architectural arrangements of the Picts, the plan and section of these cells, drawn by Mr. R. Heddle, will be a useful addition. At this brough, there yet remains the ruin of an ancient pier, which is, I believe, coeval with it.^a

Nearly every strong hillock in Orkney is called a "Picts house;" but a broad distinction must be made between the Pictish brough, and those structures for which the name of Picts houses must be reserved, and these again must be divided into two kinds, viz., the superficial, or those built upon the natural surface, and the subterranean, or those excavated beneath the surface.

A very good example of the first kind discovered at Quanterness is given by Barry in his *History of Orkney*, and I have constructed the plan and elevations from his measurements,^b for the place is now so nearly filled up with stones that I was only able to slide about half-way down into one of the chambers: sufficiently far, however, to get an idea of the character of the interior. He describes it as "situated on a gentle declivity under the brow on the north side of Wideford Hill, and a little more than a mile west from the road or harbour of Kirkwall. Externally, it bears the form of a truncated cone, the height of which is fourteen feet, and the circumference at the base 384; it stands alone at a distance from the shore. Internally, it consists of several cells or apartments, the principal one of which is in the centre, twenty-one feet six inches long, six feet six inches broad, and eleven feet six inches high, built without any cement, of large flat stones, the one immediately above projecting (slightly) over that below, so as gradually to contract the space within as the building rises, till the opposite walls meet at the top, where they

^a There are two relics of antiquity not mentioned in the old account (of Delting). One of these is the remains of a wet dock or harbour at Burravoe (Brough-vaag), which, from its proximity to the Pictish castle that stood there, must have been built as a place of security for such small craft as belonged to it.—*Stat. Acc. Shetland*, p. 57.

^b Plate XV. fig. 3.

are bound together by large stones laid across, to serve as it were for keystones. Six other apartments, of an exactly similar form, constructed of the same sort of materials and united in the same manner, but of little more than half the dimensions, communicate with this in the centre, each by a passage about two feet square on a level with the floor; and the whole may be considered as connected together by a passage of nearly the same extent from without, which leads into the chief apartment. So far as can now be discovered, there does not appear ever to have been either chink or hole for the admission of air or light; the earth at the bottom of the cells, as deep as it could be dug, was of a dark colour, of a greasy feel and of a fetid odour, plentifully intermingled with bones, some of which were almost entirely consumed, and others had, in defiance of time, remained so entire as to show they were the bones of men, of birds, and of some domestic animals. But, though many of them had nearly mouldered into dust, they exhibited no marks of having been burnt, nor were ashes of any kind to be seen within any part of the building. In one of the apartments, an entire human skeleton, in a prone attitude, was found; but in the others the bones were not only separated from one another, but divided into very small fragments."

A gentleman who was present shortly after this Picts house had been examined, informed me that the skeleton was of small size, apparently of some young person; and I regard its presence there to be altogether unconnected with the original intention of the structure. It is from the sum of all the evidence that a correct conclusion must be arrived at, and it is very rare indeed to find human remains within these buildings; but, just as the hillock formed by the ruin of a Pictish brough has been the chosen site for sepulture in the early Scandinavian period, this Picts house may have been selected for that purpose, if (which is not improbable) it was not used for the concealment of the body rather than the sepulture.

Another Picts house of the same style and character was examined by Mr. G. Petrie in the autumn of last year^a (1849), and I am indebted to him for the following observations.

"About half-way up the western declivity of Wideford Hill, and overlooking the beautiful Bay of Firth, stands a green knoll, contrasting pleasantly with the surrounding heather; but, being on a steep and unfrequented part of the hill, it seems hitherto to have attracted little notice. In October, 1849, my attention was directed to it by Dr. Duguid, who had accidentally observed the knoll, and having visited the spot, I subsequently employed a couple of men to make a section into it, and super-

^a See plan and elevations, Plate XV. fig. 4.

intended the operation, which was both laborious and tedious, from the large stones and great quantity of clay used in the construction of the building.

"The Tumulus, which is of a conical shape, stands on a steep slope of the hill, and is about 140 feet in circumference around the base, and forty-five in diameter. The work was commenced by making a cut, six feet in breadth, upon the north side, and after removing the layer of turf on the top, the stones and clay were cleared away in the direction of the highest part of the tumulus. On penetrating about half-way through it, and six feet below the top, a stone was found placed on edge, about eighteen inches long and nine inches thick, and on removing it and another of smaller dimensions, a hole about a foot square was discovered, being at the top of the cell marked D in the accompanying plan. It was now evident the structure was of the description so generally known by the appellation of a Picts house. Having enlarged the opening, one of the labourers descended to explore the cavity, which was found to be a chamber or cell (D) five feet nine inches in length from north to south, four feet eight inches in width, and five feet six inches in height. On the west side of the cell, a small opening or passage was found, appearing to communicate with another chamber, but it was so blocked up with stones and rubbish that the man could not get into it. The excavation on the top was therefore resumed, and after working for an hour or two, on removing the large stone marked *m* in the elevations, an opening into the chamber A was effected. This chamber was nearly full of stones and rubbish, heaped up under the opening at the top, marked *i*, and intermixed with the rubbish were the bones of the horse, cow, sheep, swine, &c., and some which were supposed to be those of deer. I was particularly careful in examining the stones and rubbish thrown out from the interior of the chamber, but without finding anything remarkable.

"When cleared out, the chamber A was found to be of an irregular oblong shape, ten feet long, five feet wide in the middle, and seven and a half feet high from the bottom to the lower edge of the stones, marked *l l*, having an opening (*i*) at its top extending about twenty-one inches higher, and covered at its upper extremity with the layer of turf which forms the outer covering of the tumulus.

"At the north end of A is a passage (*e*) leading to the cell C; the cell is five feet seven inches long, four feet wide, and six feet high. On the east end of C is the mouth of a passage which is in all probability the eastern entrance of the structure, but it was found unsafe to enter it, from its dilapidated state. The passage *h* communicating with the cell D is on the east side of A, while at the south side is another passage (*a*) leading to the cell B, and on its west side a fourth passage

appears to have formed an entrance to the building from the west side of the tumulus. The cell B is six feet long, three feet seven inches wide, and six and a half feet high.

"The cells are so constructed that the walls gradually converge, closing in on all sides towards the top, which in the main chamber (A) is seven feet long and two feet wide, and in the other three only about a foot square. The top of A is covered by stones set on edge, and lying flat alternately, while B and C appear to be roofed by stones placed on edge, similar to what was found at the cell D before described.

"The passages are about fifteen inches in height, and twenty-two in breadth; the western passage *h* in chamber A, and the passage *g* in cell C, have not yet been traced to their extremities.* All the cells were free from rubbish except A, and the only things found in them were a few bones of domestic animals. The stones and

* "The weather has been so bad since I received your letters, and my own health not very good, that there has been but one day that I could avail myself for a further exploration of the Picts' house. We commenced on the west side on a level with the base, and as nearly opposite to the western passage (*b*) as possible. On paring off the turf and removing some of the stones and clay, we came to what proved to be a piece of wall exactly opposite to the inner end of the western passage. The wall is five or six feet in height from the edge of the base; and, as there appears to be a corner or angle in the wall, I am led to believe that the opening or mouth of the passage may be there, but it got so dark that we were obliged to 'strike work.' The wall appears only to run for about five feet to the northward. From the peculiar position of this Picts house, and the nature of its site, I do expect to find a continuous wall around it. I dug a few feet around its upper edge, and found it *faced up* with flat stones to about eighteen inches in depth beneath the surface; I then came to stones projecting at right angles to the upright ones, but had not time to ascertain whether they formed the top of a wall or not.

"The body of the tumulus cannot be said, as you suppose, to be a confused heap of stones and earth, but is made up of stones built generally with considerable regularity; in some cases without clay, and in others with more than a due proportion.

"The opening at the top (*l*) is a regularly-built hole, and particularly attracted my attention from its resemblance to the top of a chimney. The roof was otherwise continuous, and the opening extended above, as shown in the Plan. The top of the hole was on a level with the stone structure, and was merely covered with a layer of turf." Subsequently Mr. Petrie informs me, "I have now got the Picts house explored as far as it can be done, unless the whole be demolished. I have succeeded in tracing the western passage to its opening at the western extremity. There is a wall of about two feet in height surrounding the building; this wall follows the rise of the hill, and in this way always maintains the same height. The passage to the eastward appears never to have been completed, as it only extends for six or eight feet, and then terminates. A thorough and careful investigation convinces me that a sufficient quantity of stones has been quarried out of the side of the hill to erect the building, and that in the hollow or cavity thus formed the building has been made. I found the face of the rock projecting into the building, and to within a few feet of the cells."

—G. Petrie.

rubbish with which A was nearly filled had the appearance of having been poured down through the opening (*i*) at the top ; it is not easy otherwise to account for the rubbish being found in the chamber, as no part of the structure had fallen in with the exception of the passage *g* before referred to, the materials from which could not have reached the chamber A ; and we are led to believe that some erection of a more temporary nature has at one time stood on the top of the tumulus, and that its ruins have been precipitated through the opening into the apartment beneath.

"A site for the structure has been scooped out of the side of the hill, and the height, from the bottom of the cells to the top of the tumulus, is about twelve feet. There is no appearance of any sculpture upon the stones composing the structure, nor were any human bones discovered in or near the building."

Another specimen ^a of this class of Picts house was excavated by the officers and crew of H. M. cutter "Woodlark," at the request of Thomas Traill esquire, the enterprising proprietor of the Isle of Papey Westrey. This is situated upon the highest part of the holm of Papey, a small green island, which rises gently from the west side towards the east, when it terminates abruptly in a perpendicular cliff about sixty feet in height. The Picts house is twenty or thirty yards from the edge of the cliff, and, contrary to usual experience, is a mound of elliptical form ;—the largest diameter being about one hundred and fifteen, and the shorter fifty-five feet, and the height is ten feet above the natural surface.

The mound was apparently circumscribed by a low stone wall, two or three feet in height, at least such was traced for a short distance upon each side of the doorway. The entrance was by a long, low, narrow passage *b*, *z* (thirty-two inches high, twenty-two broad, and eighteen feet in length) ; it entered upon a very long but narrow main-chamber (B) of an oblong square figure, from which, at either end, is a small square chamber (A and C) cut off by a wall running across. In the middle chamber (B) are the entrances to six smaller chambers or cells, and in each of the end-chambers are three more cells ; thus there are five upon the sides, and one at each end, making twelve in all. The sides of the main entrance are made by a smoothly built wall, the stones of the ordinary size now used for the purpose, but it is roofed by large flagstones, most of which are placed *on edge*, while some are horizontal ; the lintel over the inner end of the passage is a large square block, four feet in length, two feet and a half in breadth, and about a foot in thickness.

The middle chamber (B) is forty-five feet in length, and on the floor is five feet

^a See plan and elevation, Plate XVI.

in breadth; the side walls, which are of unhewn stone without any cement, rise perpendicularly for five feet, when they gradually approximate (but still preserve a smooth surface), until, at the height of nine feet from the floor, they are within two feet eight inches of each other (see elevation). The roof-stones had fallen in, and had filled up the chambers with the rubbish, but it was easy to perceive from the angle of inclination that the internal height was either ten or eleven feet, when flagstones set on edge, with perhaps two or three apertures for the admission of air—this being the usual arrangement—completed the roofing of the structure.^a

The end chambers (A and C) are not symmetrical; the northern (A) is nearly square, about seven feet in length and five in breadth; but the southern (C) is more oblong, being twelve feet in length and not quite five in breadth.

When the rubbish was cleared out of these chambers, it was found that the floor was covered for an inch or two with fine white sand, and beneath it six inches of a very tenacious clay: this serves to keep the place dry, and is an attention to cleanliness and comfort which was little to be expected; the clay is purely mineral, and of the usual clay colour. No implements or organic remains were found in the excavation excepting a few bones of sheep and rabbits, evidently quite recent; but on the side wall near the entrance, and about six feet from the floor, there is a neatly-engraved circle about four inches in diameter; there is also another stone with the appearance of having two small circles, touching each other, engraved upon it; but it is so common to find geometrical figures upon the Orkney flags, from a semi-crystallization of the pyrites which they contain, that I am unable to decide whether those seen in the Picts house are natural or not.

It will be difficult to convey an idea of the rudeness of the construction of the little cells or chambers which surround the main apartments. The doorways to enter them are upon the level of the floor, and are only twenty inches or two feet in height, and the breadth from eighteen to twenty-four inches.

The cells are something like a bee-hive, or sugar loaf in outline. They are only separated from the main chamber by a wall which is but a single stone in thickness; but as the smooth side is always turned outwards, it follows that the wall of the cell is as rough and uneven as can well be imagined on that quarter, while the other sides begin to approximate, almost from the ground course, to form the roof by the rudest jumble of masonry.

Two of the cells (H and K) of the middle chamber are double; all the rest are single. The single cells are of an irregular oval at bottom: some of them would

^a Mr. Traill remembers when part of the roof was entire.

hold two, and others three or four men, but it is not to be supposed that they were ever used to live or sleep in; they average between four and five feet in length, and three in depth, exclusive of the entrance, and the height varies from three feet and a half to five feet and a half.

The double cells are much the same as if two single cells were separated by an interior stone wall, as will be seen by reference to the plan. In that marked K, the interior aperture or entrance is but ten inches wide, owing to a pointed stone projecting partly across it, and indeed, when taking the dimensions of this cell, I was particularly careful to avoid disturbing the crazy supports, not being ambitious of an antiquarian martyrdom. As for the ventilation of these cells, it is to be observed that there would be no want of such as the middle chambers might afford, for the candle by which I was endeavouring to read off "that horrid yard measure" could be plainly distinguished through the chinks of the wall.

When speculating upon the probable use of this extraordinary structure, it must be borne in mind that it is situated most conspicuously upon the highest part of a very small island; it could not therefore have been intended either for concealment or defence, as nothing would have been easier than to have buried the inmates in the ruins of their hiding place; the most reasonable supposition is that they were the temporary habitations of a nomade people.

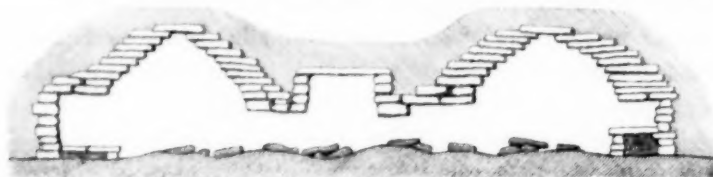
A Picts house, evidently of the kind described above, is referred to by the Rev. C. Clouston in Stat. Acc. Orkn p. 55. "During last summer, a man who built a habitation for himself between this and Isbuster, in Birsay, found what seems to have been a Picts' house, in a *knowe* from which he took the stones. It consisted of a chain of four circular cells, connected together by passages too narrow and too low ever to have formed an abode for men. It seems more probable that the rubbish above the cells was the ruins of their residence, and that these were used as cellars or places of security.

"This building was unfortunately demolished before I heard of it; but the following dimensions which I had from recollection are probably nearly correct. Cells four feet in diameter and four feet high; passages two feet wide, two and a half feet long, and three and a half feet high; walls one foot thick, or more, according to the size of the stone, covered with large flags, the lowest across the passage and the highest across the middle of the cell, with one between."

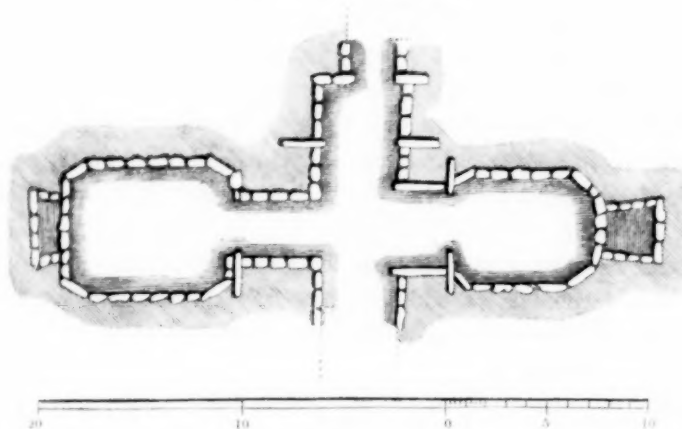
Another class of Picts house much more rarely met with is characterised by being subterranean wholly or in part. One of the simplest form was accidentally discovered upon the Links of Pierowall, in Westray, (see Plate XVII.) about a year ago. The

Links are remarkable for showing the great depth of sand which has been removed by natural causes, for a *shard* or sand hill is left upon the highest part, which is sixteen feet in height; and it is evident that subsequent to the excavation of this Picts house this body of sand has been deposited, and afterwards removed.

In this place great numbers of graves of the Scandinavian period have been found, some of them containing arms, brooches, combs, &c., and bauta-steins, now prostrate, may be seen in many places. Subjoined are the notes of Dr. Randals; and it is near these graves that the Picts house is situated. It consists of a single subterranean chamber, communicating with the surface by a short steep passage.



Picts' Castle at Lamb Head, Stromsey.



Chambers, showing the Benches, &c.

The chamber—the floor of which is nine feet below the level of the surface—has been excavated through the clay, and, for the last two feet, through the rotten sandstone; hence the sides are not formed, as at Savrock, by stone walls, but by the natural rock.

One-half of the roof is covered by two large flags, *y, z*; these are supported by short pillars, which are either single stones or square blocks piled upon each other to the requisite height, and flags (*b, c, h*) are placed perpendicularly against the sides

of the chamber to prop up the inner edges. One of these flags is of great size, for the length is nine feet, and breadth about six; the second is nearly as large.

The roof on the opposite side of the chamber is commenced by oblong square blocks projecting from the wall to the pillars, as may be seen by the diagram; flagstones are then placed upon these. The roof was probably completed by a single large flag resting upon those before mentioned, and a trilith at the doorway or entrance.

The floor of the passage rises very abruptly; the sides are rudely built, and about two feet and a half in height. The roof is formed by flags placed scalarwise, by which means the roof is raised equal to the thickness of each succeeding stone. Within this passage, a hollowed stone, or quern, was found—an implement very usually met with in these structures. The floor was covered with a layer of sand; but there were no indications of bones or ashes. We dug down upon the entrance to the passage, in hope of getting a clue to other chambers, but without success, as all trace of structure was lost when the passage reached the surface. There was no accumulation of stones or rubbish about this Picts house.^a

Some years ago, a subterranean chamber was accidentally discovered at Savrock,^b about a mile to the westward of Kirkwall, and by the sea shore. The coast here is generally low, but at Savrock it rises to a small cliff, between twenty and thirty feet in height, so that the position could not have been chosen for concealment. In the hope of tracing the entire plan of this structure, the crew of H. M. cutter *Woodlark* were employed in excavating here in the winter of 1848, and Mr. Petrie and Mr. R. Heddle also lent a very ready assistance.

The principal and only chamber (A) at the Picts house of Savrock^c is an excavated hole, of which the floor is nine feet below the natural surface of the ground. It is of an irregular pentagonal figure, and may be roughly stated to be nine feet in diameter, though it measures eleven feet across where it is widest. The height of

^a When excavating the Picts house at Pierowall, a Shetlander who was present informed me, that he had been in some underground passages at Voe, near Sumbrough, in which a man could crawl about till he lost himself, and I also heard of a place of the same kind at Walls, Shetland.

^b "In the spring of 1826, while removing some large stones which impeded the operations of the plough, near the foundations of a chapel in Overbister, in Sanday, a long subterraneous passage was discovered, which terminated in a circular cavity. The bottom and sides of this passage were formed of the solid rock, as well as the cavity at its extremity, which has likely been intended for a well (?). The top or roof of the passage was carefully covered with flagstones, and above was the natural soil. The entrance to the passage was by two steps cut in the rock. The length of the passage was nineteen feet and a half, height three feet, width about one foot nine inches; diameter of the well three feet; from the roof to the bottom of the well, three feet six inches. Several small pieces of decayed oak were found in the passage. The well (?) contained a very little water and mud."—Stat. Acc. p. 141.

^c See Plan, &c. in Pl. XVII.

the inclosing walls varies from three feet to four feet six inches. The space within the chamber is very much reduced by the method taken to form the roof, which is by placing stone blocks or pillars (five in number, two and a half or three feet high, and one foot square) from six to eighteen inches from the walls. Triangular flags are then laid with one angle resting on the pillars; other flags, projected a little forwards, rest upon these, and so on, till by continued over-lapping, a rude conical-shaped roof is formed, which, at the centre, would be five or six feet in height.

A large lintel, five feet in length and eighteen inches square, rests upon two pillars at the entrance of the chamber; from thence the passage B, I, G extends in a straight line for thirty feet; then, turning a little to the right, it continues for twelve feet further, to I—forty-two feet in all; but it is only perfect for twenty feet, to F, where it is two feet seven inches in height and breadth. The roof is level, and formed by oblong-square flags, butting against each other, and reaching from side to side. The floor of the passage is quite level for twenty-five feet, when it rises to pass over a natural elevation of the rock, and then again sinks to nearly its former level.

A little without the entrance to the main chamber (A) another passage (C, D, E) branches off at nearly right angles to the principal one. Its floor, which is formed by the native rock, is raised at the entrance (C) two feet above the level of the floor of the long passage; it then rises rather abruptly for a few feet, when it again becomes horizontal.

The roofing of this passage is accomplished by the roof-stones (flags) being laid horizontally across the passage, but the under side of the upper stone rests upon the upper edge of the lower, and in this manner the roof vaults over the undulations of the rock.

The passage C, E, which is not quite straight, is twelve feet long, and the roof is perfect for half that distance; the passage is rather smaller than the main one at its entrance (C), and it gradually decreases in width to about eighteen inches, when it is abruptly terminated (at E) by a flagstone placed perpendicularly across it. My fellow-labourer, Mr. R. Heddle, was very industrious in this quarter, and, undeterred by the broken roof-stones, some of which were only suspended by one end, he earthed himself till only his boots were visible; we had great hopes of finding a new chamber here, and it was with some surprise that on a future day we were brought to a full stop by the upright flag, which we were now inclined to believe formed the door of the entrance to the building.

The excavation of the main passage, or rather of what had been the main passage, was a very laborious and disagreeable work, for the continued wet weather had

made the ground extremely muddy, and the rubbish, &c. had to be thrown up from three to nine feet. We followed the course of the walls from F to I for twenty-one feet, when they ceased in what appeared to be another chamber (K, J, I); we also found what had been a passage (H, *h*) branching to the left; but the quarrymen had been there before us, and the walls were almost entirely destroyed.

It will be seen by reference to the Plan, that at our furthest limit we were met by a perpendicular wall about six feet in height; beneath this, at I, there appeared to be the entrance to another subterranean passage; the roof-stones had fallen in, and it would require a cut down some four or five feet behind the wall to determine whether it is a passage or not.

A few important facts, bearing upon the probable use of the Picts house, were elicited in the progress of the excavation, the most remarkable being the enormous quantity of the bones of domestic animals scattered about the place; those of the sheep were certainly the most numerous, and it was interesting to observe that the breed at that time must have been of the same kind as the hill-sheep of the present day. The skulls of cattle were also numerous, and there were some that appeared to be those of horses; there were also the head and several pieces of the horns of a deer; and a large bone of a whale. A great quantity of shell fish must also have been consumed upon the spot, and from these it would appear that the taste of former times very much resembled that of the present, for the periwinkle decidedly formed the staple or bulk of the mass, though the shells of all the edible mollusca were present, such as the oyster and scallop, neither of which are plentiful in Orkney; the common whilk, the purpura, and the limpet; the latter certainly not much esteemed, any more than at present. These shells formed, in some places, a layer six inches in thickness, though they were also scattered generally through the rubbish. At *h* a very bright, brick-red clay was seen which would even now be no despicable pigment, and was probably the result of fire upon the spot, for coal or charcoal may also be seen there; but where is the gallant who would not rather believe it to be a cosmetic, from the toilet of some Pictish beauty?

We were also fortunate in finding examples of the rude state of the arts among the people who dwelt in this extraordinary place; for, besides an antler, which had evidently been cut from a horn, three bone implements turned up in the course of our work. One of these, formed apparently from the thigh bone of an ox, is of a nearly triangular or spear-point shape, six inches long and two inches broad at the base, where it has been ground flat towards the end; the sides are also slightly levelled by grinding or cutting. Upon the upper or convex side, at half an inch

from the base, are some deep notches, apparently for the reception of a lashing, and about the middle of the bone on the same side are a few shallower cuts. I cannot believe it to have been a spear-point, as the bone curved upward considerably, but imagine it to have been the handle of a chisel, to which the cutting blade of stone or metal was lashed.

Another implement of the same dimensions as the last, has likewise had notches at its lower end, but differs in being nearly flat, and in having a deep *sinus* on one side for the reception of the thumb. (?) It is also ground smooth upon that side, and it altogether fits the hand with great convenience.

A third, shorter and broader ($5 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in.), is nearly flat, with the remains of notches on the nearly convex side, and is not ground to a point. The drawings of my friend Mr. Jamieson convey a better idea of them than any written description. It will be generally conceded that they are the handles of rude chisels.

The impalpable ash of fuel could be very generally detected around and among the *débris* of this Picts' house, and in many places it formed a cement by which large lumps of earth, thickly studded with periwinkle shells, could be lifted from the soil.^a

These subterranean buildings appear to be by no means uncommon in Orkney; in the Calf of Edey are the ruins of some circular chambers, and another was found at Marwick, which, from the description, was of the same plan as that at Pierowall (p. 130). A lady^b distinguished for her researches in natural history informs me that, when a child, she distinctly recollects "going down some small steps near Crantit, Kirkwall, into two apartments, from which there was a long subterranean passage, leading in the direction of Kirkwall. In one of the rooms there appeared to be the remains of whitewash, and, if I am not mistaken, there was a small chimney and marks of soot."

At Skara, near the house of Skaill, in the west mainland, there is a Picts' house which has not yet been explored, though at a slight preliminary excavation there was found a small ruinous chamber. But this place is remarkable for an immense accumulation of ashes, several feet in thickness, plentifully mixed with shells and the horns and bones of deer and other animals, but principally of sheep.^c A great

^a "In South Yell, Shetland, there are a few Pictish buildings, and some *dwellings* of the Shetland aborigines, in which last have been found some stone adzes and knives, with drinking cups, lamps, and hammers of the same material."—Stat. Acc. p. 87.

^b Mrs. Moffat.

^c "Under the head of antiquities may be mentioned those circular ruins commonly called Picts' houses. That they were at one period inhabited seems probable from the quantity of shells still found around them."—Stat. Acc. of Evie, p. 201.

many relics have been procured at various times from the *débris*,^a among which I confess my interest to have been most excited by a genuine Pictish plate. This extremely necessary article of domestic economy, in whatever state of civilization, is a circular disk of slate, quite flat, and chipped very regularly round the edge: it is about half an inch thick, of the same size as our common plates, and when I saw it, had lately been used as such. Mr. Wall says, "There were several thin slates, very perfectly rounded;" and I can vouch for there being a great number of broken ones—these accidents happening in every family.

It will not be so easy to assign a use for about two dozen oyster shells, which were nicely stowed away in a kistvaen, or loose stone-box, every one being pierced through the middle with a hole as big as a shilling. Oysters are not common in Orkney, though formerly taken at three different places; they now only occur at Deer-sound and Firth, and the latter place is eight miles from Skaill.

Another great curiosity is a large tusk of a wild boar, its presence taking us back to a very early period; the horns of the red deer were also gathered from the *débris*; these must have soon become extinct, for there is no tradition or record of their ever living in these islands, though one headland still bears the name of *Deerness*.

Several manufactured articles occurred among the ashes. One is "a piece of bone, oblong and flat, remarkably like a bit of brown soap nearly rubbed away;" as one end is ground to an edge, it may have been an instrument for scraping or cutting. It is $2.5 \times 1.2 \times 0.1$ inches.

A bone was supposed to be the leg-bone of a fowl or goose, but Professor Goodsir pronounced it "the metatarsal or metacarpal bone of a lamb, from which the inferior articular surface has separated, owing to the youth of the animal," was also found. The shaft of the bone is divided upon the front side, by seven deep notches, into nearly equal parts; whether it is a rude measure of length, or a calendar of the days of the week, or answers some other purpose, is undetermined. It is 4.4 inches long and 0.4 inches broad at the narrowest part.^b

We have little difficulty in finding a use for five other bone implements; they are pins in different states of elaboration.

That represented in the first drawing is by far the largest and most ornamental. It is "the outer half of the lower portion of the left metatarsal bone of an ox, of

^a These have been beautifully drawn by Mr. D. Wilson, F.S.A. Scot., to whom I am indebted for much valuable assistance.

^b There was one white bead found, long-shaped, apparently of glass, besides horse-teeth and the bones of cattle and sheep.

small size." The articulation has been ground into a semicircular head, from whence it tapers to a point. On the front side there is a rude carving, formed by transverse notches and scratches, meeting at a right angle at the medium part of the pin; it is 5·5 inches long, and 1·1 inch at the broadest part.

Another is a smaller pin, distinguished by being pierced with a very well-formed hole or eye at its upper end; it was perfect when first found, but has since been broken by accident. This implement is nicely polished throughout; it is 3·5 inches long, and the circular eye is 0·1 inch in diameter.

A much ruder and smaller pin, made from "the lower end of the metatarsal bone of a sheep," the articular portion forming the head of the pin; it is 2·9 inches long, and 0·5 broad at the head.

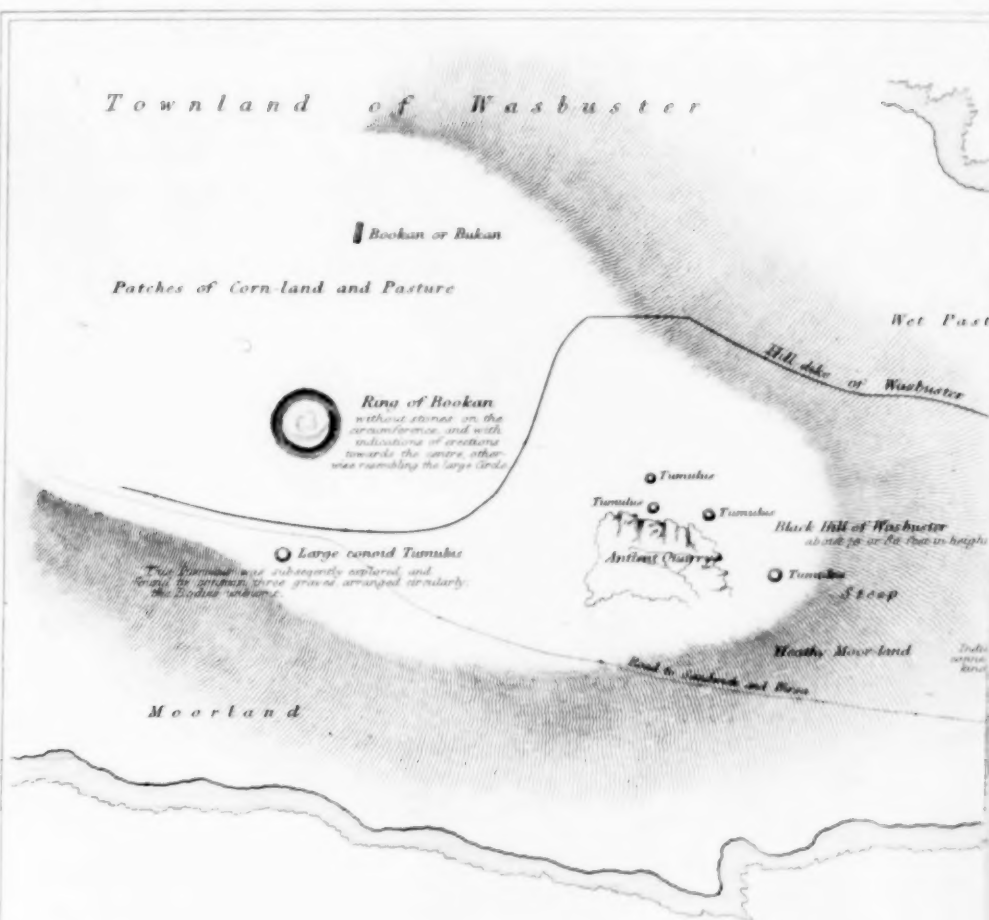
Another is a rude piece of bone, apparently in process of manufacture, and of which I can say no more than that it is exactly like what Mr. Wilson's accurate drawing represents it to be; and the same remark applies to the broken implement.

I now conclude this sketch of the Orcadian antiquities, in which I have received the most liberal assistance from my friends, not only by the loan of interesting specimens, but also from the ready manner in which they undertook to make drawings of them to illustrate the subject. During last winter the trunk containing the original manuscript and such drawings as I could collect was stolen from the North British Railway, on my journey to London; but, though this has in consequence doubled my labour, the friendly aid I have experienced from all quarters has added materially to my information.

The object of this paper is to put the archaeologist in possession of a store of facts which are free from certain sources of confusion from their occurrence in an isolated district. In Orkney it is believed we have neither Roman nor Saxon element to interfere with our investigations; and from the industry of the northern archaeologists we have so much information of the manners and customs of the Scandinavians from the tenth century, that we are in no danger of confounding their (the Scandinavian) antiquities with the Celtic.



Townland of Wasbuster



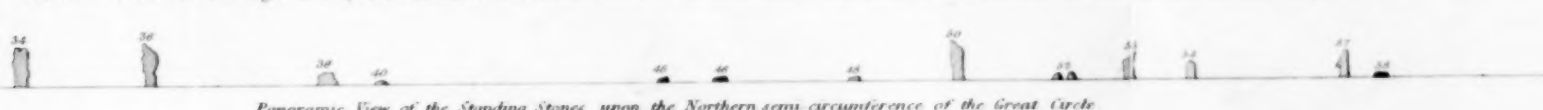
GENERAL PLAN
of the
ANTIQUITIES OF STENNESS
ORKNEY.

1849.

3 10 15 20 Chains 1/2 Mile

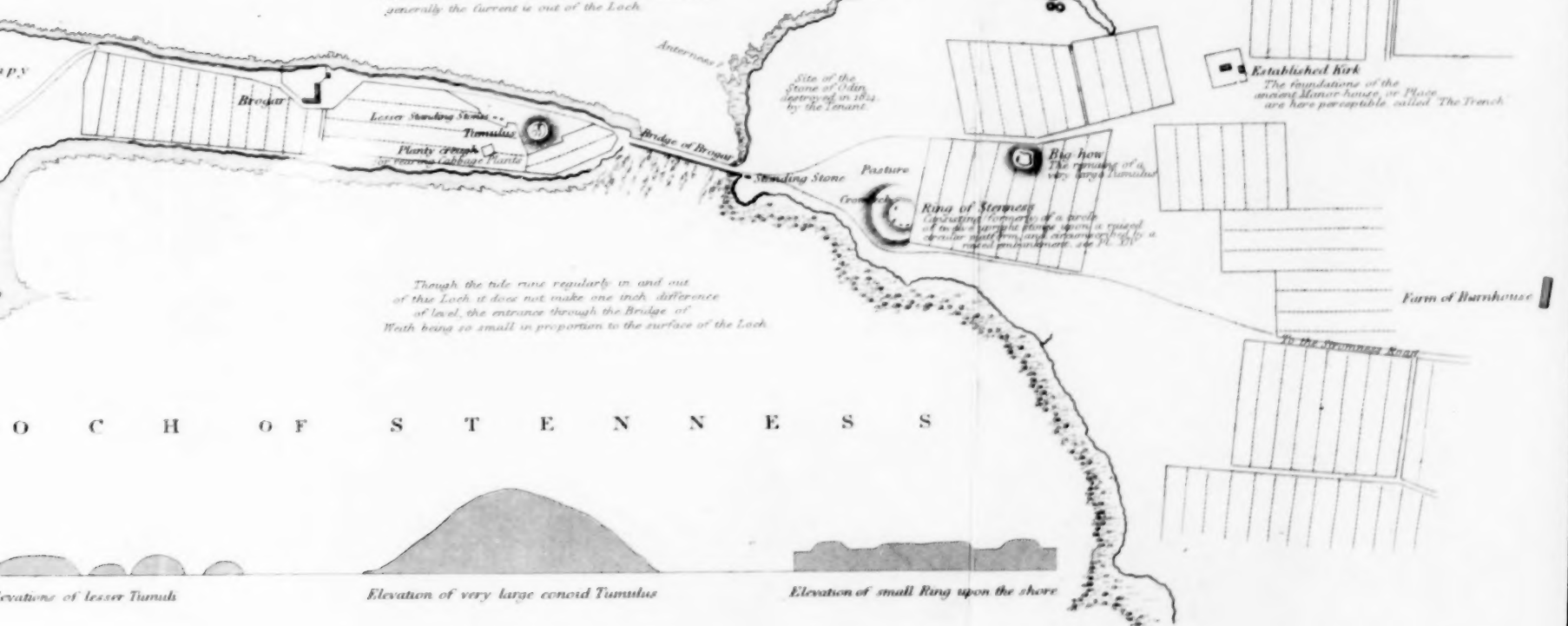
Elevation of elliptical Tumulus through may





H O F H A R R A

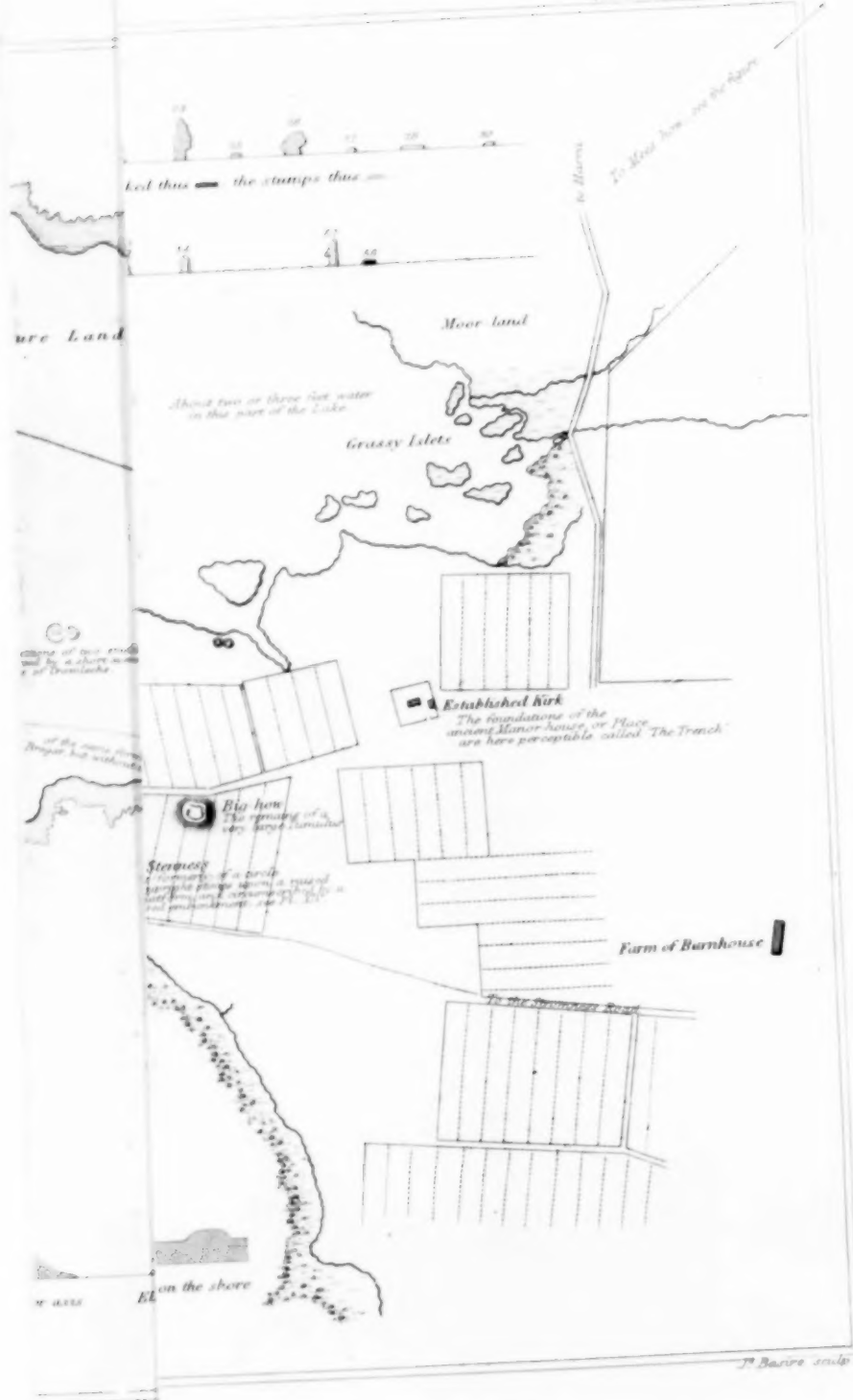
In summer, in very dry weather the brackish water from the south Loch occasionally flows into this, but generally the current is out of the Loch.



Elevations of lesser Tumuli

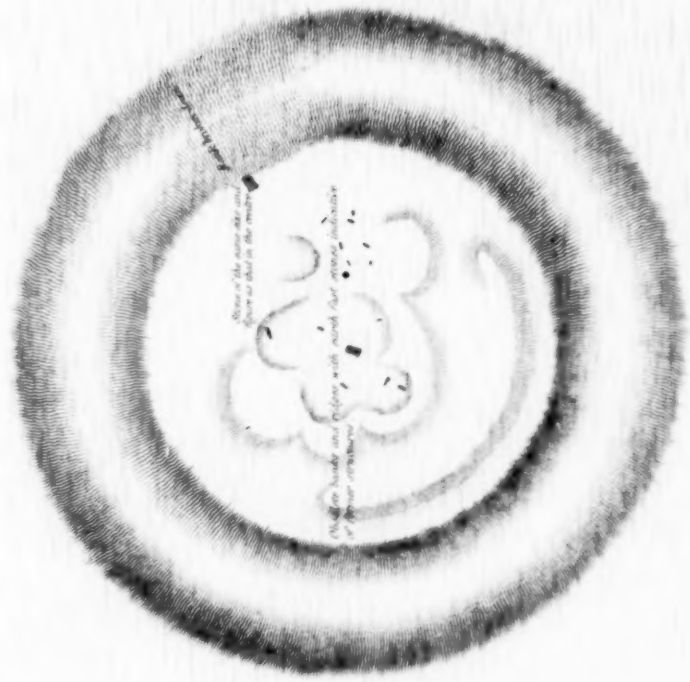
Elevation of very large conoid Tumulus

Elevation of small Ring upon the shore



*Ring of Brogar, Stenness, Orkney 1849*

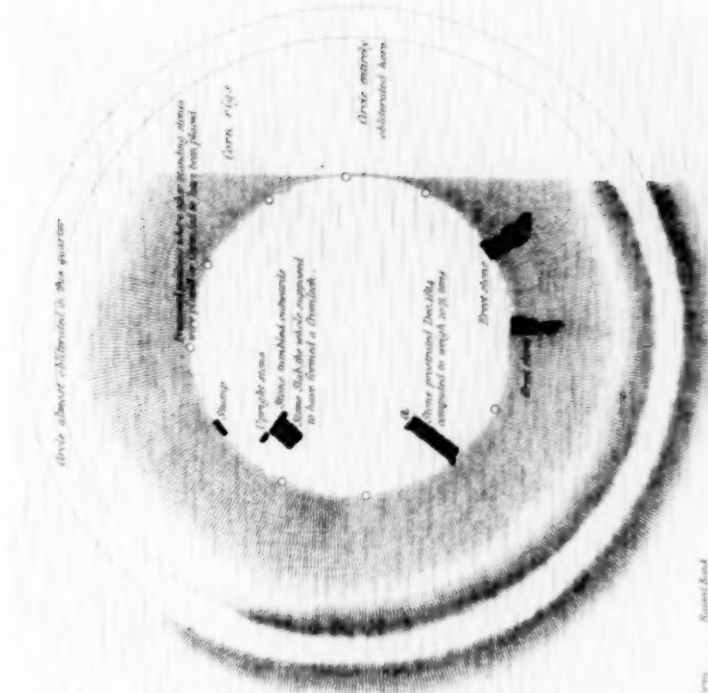
Shank's Head
Shank's Head
Shank's Head



Ring of Bucken

Shank's Head
Shank's Head
Shank's Head

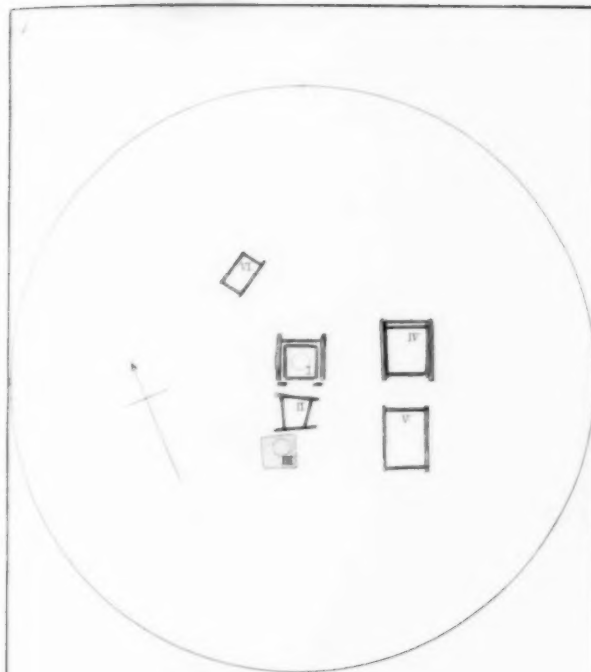
Shank's Head
Shank's Head
Shank's Head



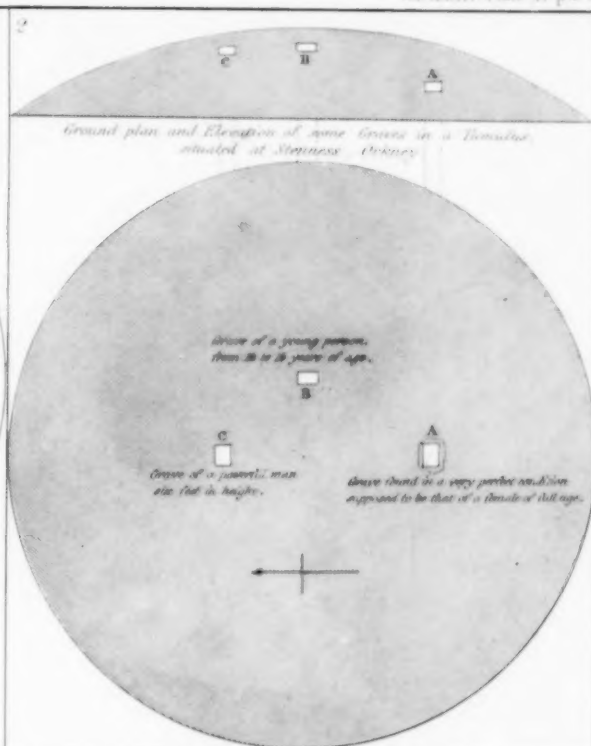
Ring of Stenness



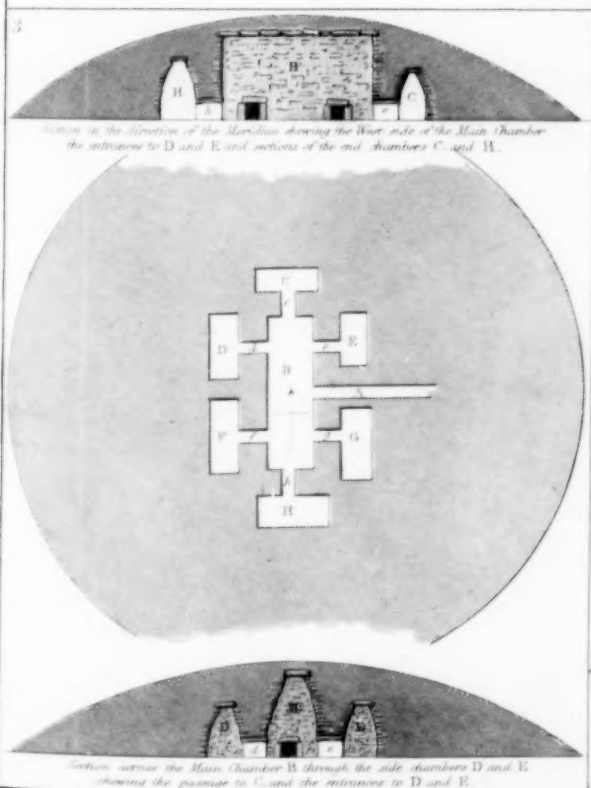
Small Ring situated near the shore marked a spot the general Plan



Plan of Graves in a Tumulus near Lekan, Orkney.

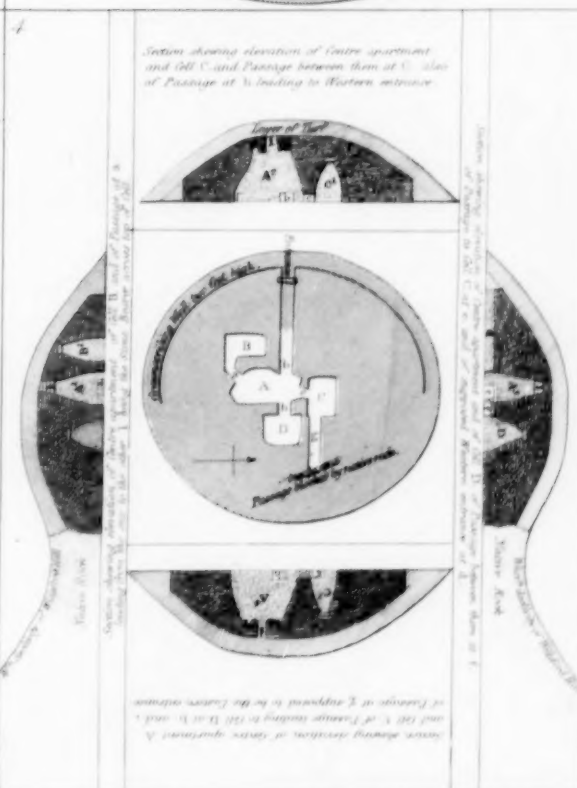


Ground plan and Elevation of some Graves in a Tumulus situated at Steiness, Orkney.



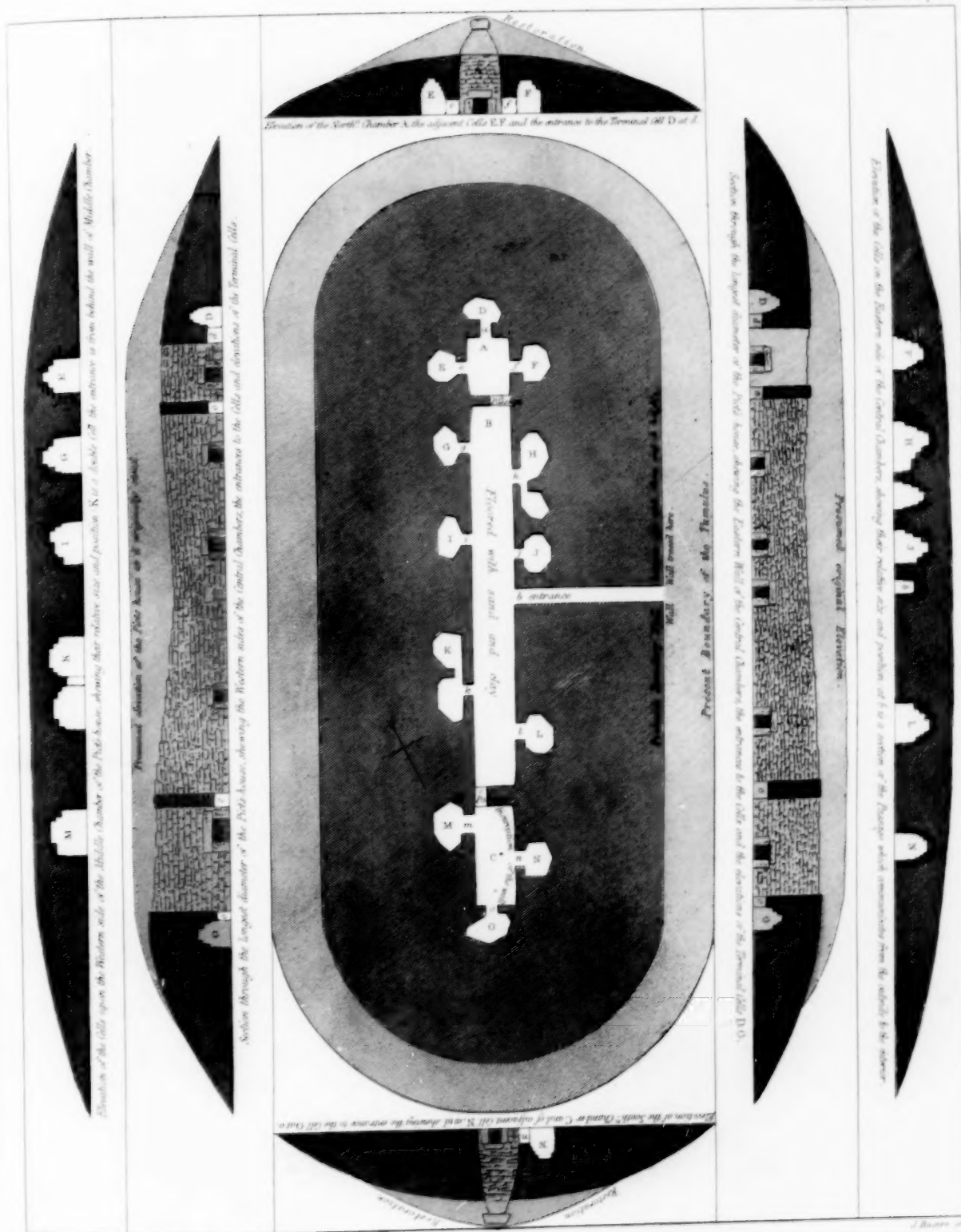
Section across the Main Chamber B through the side chambers D and E showing the passage to C and the entrance to D and E.

Plan and Elevation of Peck's House at Quanterness.



Section showing elevation of Centre apartment and Cell C and Passage between them at C, also of Passage at E leading to Western entrance.

Plan of Peck's House at Wideford Hill.

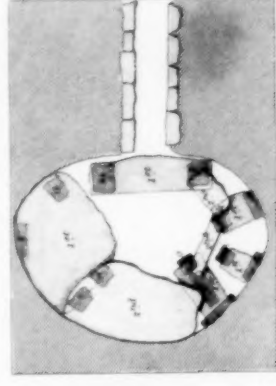


Plan and Sections of a Pecks House upon the Holm of Papey Westrey, North Isles Orkney. Examined in the Autumn of 1843.

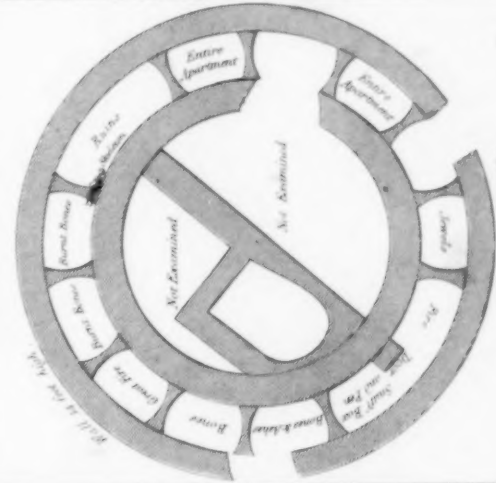
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1844.



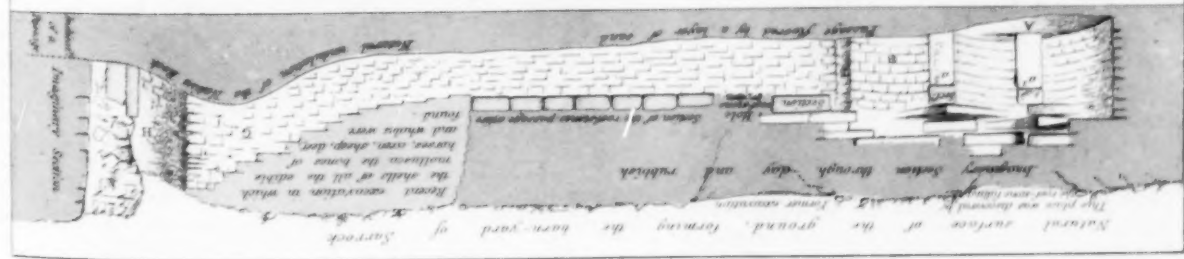
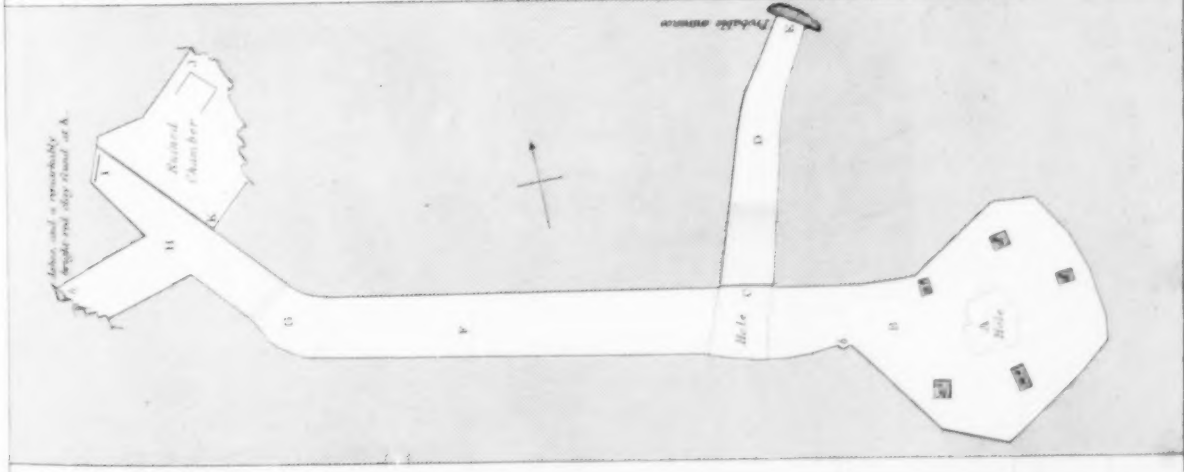
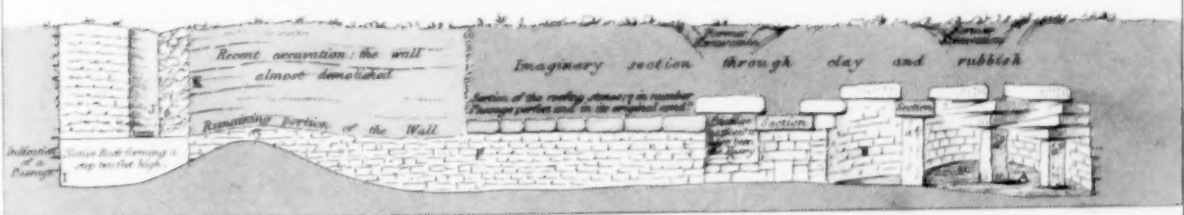
Natural embankment of logs & stones
Section showing the last outside and the greatly inclined gallery by which it is entered



Plan of the first and second versions of the roof tower
Plan & Section of subterranean Pele House situated on the Links of Harwell



Ground Plan of a Pele Castle at Burgher in Erie
Partially reconstructed by Mr Gordon of Burgher



Ground Plan and Elevation of both sides of a Pele House at Sarroek near Kirkwall, Orkney

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 25 April 1882

XIV.—*Sir Walter Raleigh, his Character, Services, and Advancement; with new Particulars of his Life: in a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq., V.P., to FREDERIC OUVRY, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read March 13, 1851.

I AM far from thinking the following new particulars regarding Sir Walter Raleigh of much value or importance, excepting as they tend to explain and illustrate the character and actions of a man, who not only fills a prominent place in our history, but who is one of the chief ornaments of our literature. If we contemplate him as a politician, a soldier, or a navigator, we must admit at once his merits, his services, and his discoveries; but we are also to look upon him as one of the earliest, as well as one of the purest and most graceful of our poets, and, as a prose writer, remarkable for the originality of his thoughts, for the extent and variety of his knowledge, and for the vigour, clearness, and beauty of his style.

Moreover, the severity and admitted injustice of his fate, and the lamentable contrast between his early prosperity and his later sufferings, invest his memory with an interest that perhaps, in an equal degree, belongs to no other individual in the annals of our country. The grandeur and extent of his projects called forth all the energies of his mind, and their melancholy results required all the exercise of his philosophy.

It is on these accounts that, through a series of years, I have thought no pains thrown away in collecting the minutest materials for his life; and, although few men of his time have enjoyed the advantage of so many biographers, I apprehend that I can still add something to the general stock of information, which will be worth the attention of such as may hereafter undertake the duty of condensing into one narrative all that relates to the varied and, in many respects, strange and romantic incidents of Raleigh's career.

In making this contribution I shall tax your patience as little as possible; but, while I seem to dwell on comparatively insignificant details, I need hardly request you to reflect on so obvious a truism, as that matters are great or small, trifling or

important, in reference to the person to whom they relate ; and that what would be utterly unworthy of observation, if it belonged to a private individual, is of weight and moment when it applies to a man who saw so many strange vicissitudes, who was the favourite of Elizabeth, and the victim of James the First, the patron of Spenser, and the author of "The History of the World."

I shall have most to claim your forbearance when I advert to documentary evidence ; and it must be borne in mind that, in all cases like the present, documentary evidence, if it be somewhat tedious, is, at all events, least questionable, and therefore most satisfactory. When I can do so without injury to the result, I shall endeavour to abridge and compress it ; and I shall divide my subject into separate Communications, in order that upon one theme I may not too long trespass on the attention of the Society.

Where I have nothing new to produce, I shall pass over the period without observation, and for this reason I say little of the youth and early services of Raleigh ; but it appears to me, that hardly sufficient stress has been laid upon the indisputable fact, that in 1576 he was at least resident in the Middle Temple, if indeed he were not then studying the law. Some of his biographers notice the circumstance, but others pass it over in entire silence, and in this way it is treated by the writer of a very able and elaborate article in vol. lxxi. of the *Edinburgh Review*, devoted solely to the events of Raleigh's life : nevertheless, the fact is so important as almost to establish that the bent of his genius, at a very early age, triumphed over the circumstances in which he was placed. At all events it may be thought to shew, that he had been destined by his parents for the legal profession, although his spirit of enterprise, personal courage, and early predilection for adventure, led him rather to take up arms, first in France and afterwards under Sir John Norris in the Netherlands. The verses he wrote in 1576, in praise of Gascoigne's Satire, are expressly headed "*Walter Raleigh, of the Middle Temple, in commendation of the Steel Glass ;*" and, although it has been the custom to speak disparagingly of these stanzas, it cannot be denied that they run with practised facility, that the sense of the writer is clearly conveyed, and that neither in thought nor expression can they be fairly considered common-place. Their superiority is, I think, very evident, when they are compared with the other contributions of the same kind which precede Gascoigne's poem ; and this, perhaps, is the justest mode of forming an estimate of their merits. As the earliest known production of Raleigh's muse, they at least deserve to be noticed with respect.

At the time Raleigh was serving in a military capacity under Norris, he had several companions in arms, like himself, of a literary turn, and some of them dis-

tinguished poets, such as his friend Gascoigne, Whetstone, Rich, Breton, and Churchyard. Most of these had been present at various actions before young Raleigh could have arrived in the Low Countries; and it is not at all impossible that Gascoigne had been the means of inciting him to abandon the law, and to seek his fortune as a soldier. The fact that Raleigh and Gascoigne must have served under Sir John Norris at the same date, viz. in the year after the Steel Glass was printed (although Gascoigne died in England in October 1577,) has never been mentioned, that I am aware of. Raleigh was no doubt one of the three hundred Englishmen who, according to Churchyard (who was an eye-witness, and published an account of the expedition in 1602,) marched to Antwerp for the assistance of the States in July 1577.^a

The ordinary sources of information speak of this incident as having happened, not in 1577, but in 1578; but, as regards Raleigh, the fact is that in 1578 he accompanied his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in an unfortunate expedition to America. He returned in 1579, and must have been in England at the period when an account was made out (for what purpose does not appear) of moneys due from particular persons who had been fined. It is not any where stated for what reason the fines were imposed; but a list of them is preserved in the State Paper Office, thus headed:—“Here ensueth the names and the summes of the fines charged uppon such as are, by order of the most honorabell Lordes of the Council, appointed to paie the same.” The first name in this enumeration is that of Raleigh, in the following form:—

“Walter Raleigh ———— iij^{li}: hath paid.”

The words “hath paid,” which were added afterwards, show that the fine, for whatever cause it had been inflicted, had been discharged by Raleigh; but the statement is only dated 1579, without the addition of the month, so that we cannot tell to what the part of year it applies, and I believe it is not known precisely when Sir Humphrey Gilbert returned from his first unsuccessful voyage to the western hemisphere. The sum in which Raleigh was fined was larger than that of two companions in the same list, William Bawdin, and John Penwarren (both Cornish or West of England names), the first of whom paid 2*l.* 10*s.* and the last only 2*l.*

Some of the biographers of Raleigh tell us, that “in 1580, the Pope having

^a See Churchyard's “True Discourse Historical of the succeeding Governors in the Netherlands,” &c. from 1565 to 1598. London, imprinted for Mathew Lownes, &c. 1602, p. 28. It is somewhat remarkable that the name of Raleigh does not appear in this narrative; but he was much junior to Churchyard, Gascoigne, and Whetstone, and younger even than Rich and Breton: he therefore, no doubt, held a subordinate

incited the Irish to rebellion, Sir Walter had a Captain's commission under the Lord Deputy, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton ;^{*a} but the exact date is not given, and I am able to shew that on 13th July 1580, the sum of 100*l.* was entered as paid to Edward Denny, the cousin of the Lord Deputy, and the like amount to Walter Raleigh, on account of the charge of 200 soldiers they were then employed to conduct from London to Ireland. The item runs thus :—

rank. A copy of this tract, now before me, has several blanks filled up in MS. ; and what renders it more remarkable is that at the back of the Table of Contents are written twenty lines by Churchyard, celebrating the lives and deaths of Sir John Norris and Sir Philip Sidney : they must have been composed by the veteran soldier and rhymers subsequent to 3d Sept. 1597, because Sir John Norris died on that day. They are well worth preserving, and I insert them, precisely as they stand :—

ON SIR JOHN NORRIS AND SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

What greater guerdon can we give to Norris his hie name,
Then that it shall, while time shall last, have ever-during fame ?
In Portingall, in royall France, and eke no lesse in Spaine,
In Nederlands with hie renowme, in Ireland and Britaine,
He lawrells wonne for Victories with manye a grieslye wound.
His lawrell crowne can thunder stroke nor lightning ere confound.
The thrones of Kings may bee cast downe by Time, alike to all,
But under stroke of balefull Time his fame shall never fall.
It is of that immortall stuffe which ever must remaine,
When brazen Towres and marble Tombes doe prove themselves but vaine.

With him renowned Sidney, too, shalbe recorded hie,
Who over death, victorious still, hath wonne the victory.
Unequall'd in the royall Court, or field with martiall power,
When Death him strucke with bullet foule, Death was not conquerour.
Now to what loftyer height of fame can these great worthies clime,
Victorious over enemies, victorious over Time ?
Though age and sickness me assaile, I feele againe returne
The ardent fires wherewith erewhile I did full fiercely burne.
Why could not Churchyarde die with them, he still doth sore complaine,
Not creepe into his lonesome grave made welcome by his paine ?

TH. CH.

The old versifier, who thus feelingly laments his age and sufferings, only survived the publication of his historical tract two years.

^a Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. xxv. p. 501. P. F. Tytler, speaking of this period, says merely, " Raleigh's military experience now entitled him to promotion, and we find him commanding a company in Ireland." *Life of Raleigh*, 12mo, 1844, p. 26.

"To Edward Deny—C^h; and unto Walter Rawley—C^h; having the charge of the two hundred souldiers sent from London into Ireland, in prests . . . CC^h."

The words "in prests" mean that the money was advanced to them beforehand; so that, if Denny and Raleigh had been in Ireland earlier in the year 1580, it appears that on the 13th July (for the exact date is here inserted) they were in London, and two hundred pounds were paid to them, to bear the expense of conveying a body of soldiers to Ireland from the metropolis.

It is possible that this advance had been made to Denny and Raleigh (who were both at Castle del Ore at the time of the massacre of the garrison, by order of Arthur Lord Grey) prior to the 13th July; but such is the date of the entry of payment: the fact of the employment of Raleigh on this service has, however, never been noticed even by Tytler, his last, if not his best biographer, who had constant access to the documents in the State Paper Office, although he has hardly made so much use of them as might have been expected.

The period of Raleigh's return from Ireland has not yet been ascertained, but from a manuscript long since placed in our national depository, Harl. Coll., No. 1644 (with a reference to which I was favoured by my friend Mr. Peter Cunningham), we are able to establish that, at all events, it took place anterior to the 29th Dec. 1581; and that he was entrusted with letters from the Lord Deputy, probably to the Queen herself, for the conveyance of which he had a warrant from Sir Francis Walsingham for the payment of 20*l.*; a large sum for such a service, recollecting that it would amount to more than 100*l.* of our present money. The memorandum in the original document is precisely in the following form, and contains all the known particulars.

"Item. Paid to Walter Rawley, gent. upon a warrant signed by M. Secreterie Walsingham, dated att Whitehall, xxix^o decembre 1581, for bringinge Letters in poste for her Majestees affaires from Corke, in Ireland, the some of . . . xx^{li}."

It is the more interesting to fix the date of this event, because, according to Fuller, Raleigh owed his introduction and advancement at Court to a piece of what we may, perhaps, call chivalrous loyalty displayed towards the Queen just afterwards. Whether the story of his spreading his "new plush cloak" before her feet be or be not true, it seems likely that he was immediately indebted for his introduction to the notice of Elizabeth to the circumstance that, in 1581, he had been selected by Arthur Lord Grey to be the bearer of letters from Ireland; and the large amount of Raleigh's reward may, possibly, have proceeded from the bounty of the Queen, struck, we may speculate, by the handsome appearance and gallant bearing of the

young soldier. In 1577 Churchyard had been paid only 12*l.* for conveying letters from Brussels ; but, on the other hand, Gascoigne, in the year preceding, received 20*l.* as the bearer of dispatches from Antwerp.*

In 1582 we meet with the names of Walter Raleigh and his brother Carew Raleigh in a catalogue of persons who, having adventured money or commodities with Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his first voyage, were to be "free of trade and traffic" (whatever the expression may in this case mean), although they were not inhabitants of Southampton. The share Raleigh had taken in that unfortunate expedition has been already adverted to, and in this document we meet with other names of distinguished parties to the undertaking. "The Lord North" stands at the head of the list, and he is followed by "Mr. Edmonds of the Privy Chamber," Sir Mathew Arundell, Charles Arundell, Esq., Sir Edward Horsy, Sir William Morgan, Sir John Gilbert, Sir George Peckham, Adrian Gilbert, Esq., and "William Weymouth, merchant;" all of them individuals celebrated for their exploits, for their navigations, or for the substantial encouragement they gave to foreign discovery and plantation. Beyond Gilbert and Raleigh we have not, I think, hitherto had the means of knowing who aided in the expensive efforts to fit out the fleet for western discoveries; and in this point of view the document above referred to is of some value.

This list, made out in 1582, at once brings us to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's second voyage, in which Raleigh had a share; but, owing to a disease which broke out in his ship (a fact which has been doubted), it was only able to accompany the squadron for a short distance. It sailed from England in the summer of 1583, and, like the former experiment of the same kind, and under the same commander, it had a most disastrous issue. Of the four ships which ultimately formed the expedition, only one, the *Golden Hind*, returned to this country; and the little vessel of ten tons, in which Sir Humphrey Gilbert had insisted upon shipping himself, doubtless because it was the most dangerous service, foundered at sea with every soul on board. He had the reputation of being a most unfortunate seaman, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he obtained the royal permission to undertake this new adventure. We may conclude that Raleigh did his utmost with persons in power to accomplish the ardent wishes of his half-brother; and it is to be borne in mind, that Sir Humphrey Gilbert was, at that very time, the holder of an unexpired patent for discovering and appropriating new lands.

* See Cunningham's "Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels" (printed for the Shakespeare Society in 1842), Introduction, p. xxxi. At this date such seems to have been a usual mode of distinguishing and rewarding meritorious officers.

Nevertheless, he found that he could not easily overcome the reluctance of the Queen that he should depart, and very possibly the fact that, in the first instance, young Raleigh certainly intended to accompany him, had its influence on her mind.^a On this subject a highly interesting and well-written letter, from Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Secretary Walsingham, has been preserved; it was transmitted early in 1582-3; and he thus modestly urges his claim to what, in fact, he might under his patent have asserted as his right. Raleigh may, I think, clearly be traced in the composition, but the whole is in the autograph of his relative.

“RIGHT HONOURABLE,

“Whereas it hath pleased your honor to let mee understande that her Majestie, of her especiall care had of my well doinge and prosperous successe, hath wished my stay att home from the personall execution of my intended discovery, as a man noted for noe good happ by sea; for the which I acknowledge my selfe so much bounde unto her Majestie, as I know not how to deserve the leaste parte therof, otherwise than with my continuall prayer, and most faythfull and forward service duringe lyfe.

“And now, to excuse my selfe, and satisfye your honor touching the objections made of my staye, it may please you to be advertised that, in my first enterprise, I retourned with great losse, because I would not my selfe, nor suffer any of my companie to doe any thinge contrary to my worde given to her Majestie and your selfe; for, yf I had not farr preferred my credit before my gayne, I needed not to have retourned so poore as I then did.

“And touching this my last stay at Hampton, it hath proceeded by south-west wyndes, of God's making and sending, and therefore not my fault or negligence; but, yf I were guiltye of delaye, the principall charge is my owne, and noe losse to any other; for my adventures, as I had them for the most parte in wares, so I have them still, without any losse to anye of them. And, in truthe, the outrage of this winter hath been a common hyndrance to all men of this realme southwarde bounde. Yea, and the wyndes so contrarye, that it hath driven shyppes from the Yles of the Asores uppon this coste, without spreading any sayle at all; a thinge, I thinke, never herde of before. And the Kinge of Portingale, beeing at the Tercera, could not in all this tyme recover the Maderaes. How farr impossible, then, had it ben for mee to have performed my journey this winter, your Honor can judge, dwelling so farr to the northwardes of the place intended to be discovered.

“And seeing the Queenes Majestie is to have a fyfthe of all the golde and

^a Raleigh ultimately (perhaps by royal command) remained in England. Caley, i. 31; Tytler, p. 41.

sylver there to bee gotten, without any charge to her Majestie, I trust her Highnes, of her accustomed favor, will not denye me libertye to execute that which resteth in hope so profitable to her Majestie and crowne.

"The great desyre I have to performe the same hath cost mee, first and last, the selling and spending of a thowsande marke land a yere, of my owne getting, besydes the scorne of the worlde for conceaving so well of a matter that others held so ridiculous, although now, by my meanes, better thought of.

"If the doubte be my want of skill to execute the same, I will offer myselfe to be apposed by all the best navigators and cosmographers within this realme. If it bee cowardlines, I seeke no other purgation therof than my former service done to her Majestie. If it be the suspition of dayntines of dyett or sea sicknes, in those both I will yeeld my selfe second to noe man lyving, because that comparison is rather hardines of body, than a boste of vertue. But how little account soever is made either of the matter or of mee, I truste her Majestie, with her favour for my twenty-eight yeares service, will allow mee to gett my livinge as well as I may, honestlye (which is every subjectes right) and not to constrayne mee, by my idle abode at home, to begg my bred with my wife and children ; especially seeing I have her Majesties graunte and lycense under the great seale of Englande for my departure, withoute the which I would not have spent a penny in this action, wherein I am most bounde to her Majestie for her great favor, which of all thinges I most desyre ; and take comfort in protesting, that noe man lyving shall serve her Majestie more faythfully and dutifully during my life, with all the good fortune that God shall bestowe on mee.

"And thus, I trust, I have satisfyed your Honor of all my intentes and proceedings, leaving your Honor to the tuition of the Almightye. From my house in Redecrosse streat, the 7th of February, 1582.

"Your Honor's most humble,

"H. GYLBERTE."

Hence it appears, for the first time, that Sir Humphrey Gilbert was ready to sail as early as 7th Feb. 1582-3 (for the year was not then considered to end before 25th March), and between that date and June 1583, when he did actually quit England for America, he was employed in overcoming the reluctance of the Queen on the only ground avowed ; viz. that he was "a man noted for no good hap by sea." The more we read the above letter, the more confident we feel, from its general style, and especially from the eloquent self-vindication towards the close, that Gilbert was assisted in the composition of it by the great talents of Raleigh. His letter to

Gilbert, on transmitting to him, in March before his departure, a gracious token from the Queen, representing "an anchor guided by a lady," was long since printed, and has been often reprinted.

The melancholy result of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's second attempt, and the consequent loss of all that the adventurers had risked, did not discourage Raleigh from renewed exertions on his own part, although at this time not contemplating to engage personally in any fresh voyage of discovery. We may not unfairly conclude that his reason was, not any evaporation of his spirit of enterprise, but reluctance on the part of the Queen to be separated from her new favourite. Nevertheless, Chalmers, without qualification, asserts, that Raleigh himself "set sail for America, and took possession of a place to which Queen Elizabeth gave the name of Virginia."^a This statement is altogether unfounded; and Tytler, and Southey, more correctly inform us that Raleigh did not go in the fleet, but appointed Captains Amadis and Barlow to command it. These and other biographers have been compelled to content themselves with stating generally, that in 1584 Raleigh obtained a patent for the discovery of unknown countries; but I have in my possession an official copy of the instrument itself, which gives the most precise information upon the point.

It bears date on the 26th March, 1584, and is entitled—for it will be seen presently that the wording is important—"The Letters Patents graunted by the Queenes Majestie to Mr. Walter Raleigh, Knight, for the discovering and planting of New Lands and Countries; to continue the space of sixe yeares and no more." It will be remarked that this title distinctly settles a point not hitherto ascertained. Chalmers tells us, that Raleigh "upon his return," from an expedition in which, it has been shewn, he never embarked, was "elected Member of Parliament for Devonshire, and soon after knighted:" Tytler fixes the knighthood after Raleigh's ships had come back from Virginia;^b and Southey, with more vagueness, not thinking precise dates of much value in a merely popular biography, after mentioning on one page the return of Amadis and Barlow, tells us on the next that Raleigh had been already knighted by Elizabeth.^c The truth is, as we find indisputably from the title of his patent of 26th March 1584, that he was knighted before it was granted; for he is there styled, with a reduplication not then by any means unprecedented, "Mr. Walter Raleigh, knight." Had he been recently knighted, we can easily imagine that his rank might have been accidentally omitted, and we shall find hereafter that Walsingham does actually omit it in one of his letters; but if Raleigh had not been

^a Biographical Dictionary, vol. xxv. p. 502.

^b Life of Raleigh, p. 49.

^c Lives of British Admirals, iv. 230, 231.

knighted on 26th March, 1584, it is most unlikely that such a title would have been gratuitously conferred upon him by the persons who made out the official instrument which passed under the Great Seal of England.^a We are, therefore, warranted in asserting that this honour was bestowed by the Queen upon Raleigh at least a year anterior to the period usually assigned to the event; and consequently considerably nearer to the time when, if Fuller's tradition may be trusted, he ingratiated himself with Elizabeth by an act of well-timed gallantry.^b This, it will be admitted, is not an unimportant point in the history of Raleigh's advancement.

It would be a waste of time to enter here into an examination of the various clauses of the patent obtained by Raleigh (perhaps, on condition that he did not himself take part in the enterprise,) because I am not writing his biography, but merely correcting a few mistakes, and making some additions to the published accounts of his life. The title, as we have seen, states that it was only to remain in force for six years; and another provision in it was (like that in the previous grant to Sir Humphrey Gilbert) that one-fifth of all the gold and silver discovered should belong to the Queen. In other respects Raleigh was allowed a sort of feudal monarchy over all the unknown countries in which he should plant settlements. Recollecting the charges long subsequently brought against him, it may be material to add, that in the latter part of the instrument he is expressly forbidden to rob or spoil, not only the Queen's subjects, but the subjects or settlements of sovereigns with whom she was at peace and amity.

A letter from Sir Francis Walsingham to Lord Treasurer Burghley, dated about three months after the patent, viz. on the 17th June, 1584, which has escaped the notice of Raleigh's biographers, and, I believe, of all who have incidentally touched upon his rapid progress at court, shews how careful Elizabeth was at that early date of her favourite's pecuniary interests. This too was in direct opposition to the strong remonstrance of her Secretary, who had excited her high displeasure by the part he took in behalf of certain merchant adventurers, who, it would seem, had trenched

^a The original draft, preserved in the State Paper Office, tallies in every respect with the copy of the instrument in my possession. An instance of an opposite kind occurs in 1585, where Raleigh is spoken of only as "Mr. Raleigh," in the indorsement of a commission, while in the body of it he is invariably called either "Sir Walter Raleigh," or "Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight."

^b Worthies, i. 262. It was not unsuccessfully (in all senses of the word) imitated in our own day. When Queen Victoria returned from opening the new Hall of Lincoln's Inn, she had to pass down the steps covered with carpeting, but with a small interval before she reached the carriage. To cover this interval an Irish student stripped off his gown, and laid it under her Majesty's feet.

upon Raleigh's patent rights. The commencement of the same letter affords additional proof, if it were wanted, of the watchfulness of her Majesty in her own money matters, and of her anxiety to take the full benefit of all attainders that contributed to replenish her purse. As it is short, I quote it in its own terms:—

“ MY VERY GOOD LORD,

“ Yesterdaye I shewed her Majestie the note of the lands growing by the attainders of Arden and Sommervyll, who at that tyme willed me to praye your Lordship, that the lyke note might be sent unto her of the landes of the Lord Paget, Charles Arundell's, and Mr. Charles Pagette's; as also suche landes as are given unto her by the attaynder of Francis Throgmorton.

“ Yesterdaye I moved her Majestye for the release of the merchantes adventurer's shypes, which by no meanes she will assent unto, otherwyse than by compounding with Mr. Rauley. When I shewed her the great inconveniences like to insue thereby, her Majestye dyd, in a sorte, charge me as an incorager of the merchauntes to stande in the matter; whereof I sought, as I had just cause, to cleare my selfe, and herein dyd greuously offende her. I finde by her she is determynd to overthrowe that companye, and to rayse up the Staplers, as also to restore them of the Stylyard to their former lybertyes.

“ I am sorrye to thinke of the dangerous inconveniences lykely to insue by these strayne courses, but I see no hope of redresse. God dyrect her Majestyes harte to take an other waye of counsell, to whose protection I commyt your Lordship, most heartily takyng my leave at the courte, the xvij of June, 1584.

“ Your Lordship's to commaund,

“ FRA. WALSYNGHAM.”

Here we see Sir Francis Walsingham inadvertently calling *Sir* Walter Raleigh, as he unquestionably was at this date, only “Mr. Rauley,” and incurring the grievous displeasure of the Queen for taking part with merchant-adventurers against him. Nothing can well be plainer or stronger, although it does not appear to what the dispute particularly referred. Her Majesty insisted that they should make composition with the individual whom she had so recently advanced to honour, and to whom she had granted such exclusive and, no doubt, profitable privileges. The Arden, whose name is introduced by Walsingham in the opening of his note to Lord Burghley, was Edward Arden (the relative of Shakespeare's mother), according to Stowe, executed on the 20th December, 1583. We have seen that Charles Arundell (also mentioned) was one of the undertakers in the first voyage of Sir

Humphrey Gilbert, and the other names are those of individuals, the incidents of whose lives or deaths are well known.

I shall not run the hazard of tiring your patience by carrying this subject farther at present; and, having traced Raleigh from his studies at the Middle Temple in the year 1576, through his military services in the Netherlands, and in Ireland, to his knighthood in the early part of 1584, and to his sudden elevation in the favour of Elizabeth, I shall reserve other topics to a future communication.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

TO FREDERIC OUVRY, Esq. F.S.A.

XV.—*Additional Information respecting the Life and Services of Sir Walter Raleigh,*
in a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, V.P. to WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER,
Esq. F.S.A.

Read May 15, 1851.

IN my recent letter to Mr. Ouvry of notes, memoranda, and documents, containing new materials for a Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, I brought the incidents with which he was connected down to the year 1584, when, as I established, he had received the honour of knighthood. I now continue the subject, and request you to be the medium of communicating what follows to our Society. The particulars, as in the former instance, are many of them minute; but, I apprehend, they are all of them more or less important, in reference to the character and conduct of a man who was highly distinguished in so many capacities, as a politician, a courtier, a soldier, a navigator, a poet, a patron, a philosopher, and a historian.

It is a fact not noticed by any of Sir Walter Raleigh's numerous biographers, that early in 1585, the year after the Queen had shewn him so special a mark of her favour, he was selected by the Privy Council, in association with Sir Thomas Henneage, to investigate a matter of considerable delicacy, and to make award in a cause which involved a serious imputation upon the Lord Mayor of London. Alderman Pullison, then at the head of the corporation, had appropriated to his own purposes the sum of 85*l.*, placed in his hands for the purchase of the freedom of an Englishman, who, having been captured by the Moors, was then a slave in Barbary. The original decision of Raleigh and Henneage, formally subscribed by both of them, has been preserved, and after a detail of particulars, into which it is not necessary to enter here, it calls upon the Lord Mayor to refund the money he had mis-applied. This document serves to shew the eminent position Raleigh at this date filled at Court, and the confidence reposed in his judgment and impartiality. The result certainly did not redound to the credit of the highest civic authority, at that date engaged in frequent intercourse with persons of rank about the person of the Queen; but we find that he continued, notwithstanding, the discharge of his magisterial duties.

It is known that Raleigh was a distinguished, and distinguishing, patron of literature anterior to the period of which we are now speaking; and in the State Paper

Office is deposited a brief Memorandum which, it may seem, was made by some author who calls Raleigh "my master," and possibly relates to a work recently published. I have not yet been able to trace either the writer or his book, but it is not improbable that it was in print, not only from the number of copies mentioned, but from the individuals to whom those copies were presented, one of them being Sir Walter Raleigh, and another Sir Philip Sidney. I never had an opportunity of inspecting the autograph of Spenser, although it is said that specimens of it exist in Ireland, if not in this country; but he was greatly celebrated as a poet from 1579 to 1585, and was well known to both Raleigh and Sidney, and it would give a remarkable interest to the following unsigned and unaddressed note, if at any time hereafter it should be shown to be in his handwriting. It has no title nor date, but is marked on the outside "16th Nov. 1585."

"My dutie remembred, myselfe would have come craving pardon of your wourship, for that my wife this presente is very extreme sycke. Accordinge to my dutie and promis, made before the honorable Mr. Secreatorie, I have sente the booke which I had from Mr. William Hearle, and the names hereunder, to whom I have delyvered copies :

"To my Mr, S^r Walter Ralegh, knight, one booke.

"To Mr Frauncis Knollis, one booke.

"To Mr Cope, my L. Tresorer's Gent. Usher, one booke.

"To a gent. that serveth S^r Phillipp Sydney, sometymes of the Temple, one booke.

"And to M^r Neale, of the Temple, one booke."

This is the whole of the paper, and, after all, it may relate to some official document, and not to a printed volume: unquestionably the mention of his sick wife renders it less likely that it should have come from Spenser, although the date of his marriage, whether first or second, has never been ascertained. That the note was from Spenser, or from any other author, I only put as a mere point of speculation; but that Raleigh was in some way concerned in the transaction is indisputable, and with that view I have quoted it.

About this period, or somewhat earlier, the threats of the Spaniards induced the public authorities to look, not only to the defences of kingdom, but to those who, in case of danger, might become her defenders. On the 5th January, 1585-6, a list of "The names of Sea Captayns" was made out, and among them we read four belonging to the immediate family of Sir Walter Raleigh: viz.—

"Sir Walter Rawleighe, Knighte.

"Carew Rawleyghe, Esquier.

"George Rawleyghe, Gent.

"John Rawleyghe, Gent."

In the same enumeration we meet with Sir John Perrott, the natural son of Henry the Eighth, Sir Richard Grenville, and Barnaby Rich, the poet and prose writer, of whom we for the first time hear in a naval capacity. He began life as a soldier, published several books connected with the land service, and was employed in France, Flanders, and Ireland. Here we see, as was not then unusual, that he was also considered qualified to command a ship, and enjoyed the honour of having his name enrolled with men like Sir Richard Grenville and Sir Walter Raleigh.

It appears that a naval expedition was contemplated in the latter end of 1586, and on the 30th October in that year was prepared a catalogue of ships of war belonging to the Queen, to which Lord Burghley added, in his own hand, the name of "the Ark Raleigh," which had been omitted. The fact is that this large vessel, of 800 tons and 430 men, had been built at the expense of Sir Walter, and she is included in an extant "estimate of the charge of sending twelve of the Queen's ships to sea in warlike manner," dated 31st January, 1586-7. At this date, therefore, "the Ark Raleigh" had been bought by the State, and we learn from a document of May, 1592, the precise sum paid for it, viz. 5,000*l*. What is more important, in relation to Sir Walter Raleigh, is that the Queen took this ship at that price in part payment of a larger debt which Sir Walter had contracted on various unstated accounts: he was, in consequence, allowed so many tallies from the Exchequer as amounted to 5,000*l*. and, in point of actual money, was no richer for the sale. It was doubtless this fact which induced Lord-Treasurer Burghley to add "the Ark Raleigh" to the enumeration of the Queen's ships in October, 1586. Thus we see that Raleigh, like the Earl of Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, the Earl of Essex, and most of the other favourites of Elizabeth, became largely indebted to Her Majesty not long after their advancement in her royal favour. It is a circumstance that might have been expected, but that has not, I apprehend, hitherto been recorded.

How long before the period of which we are now speaking the Queen had conceded to Raleigh some large pecuniary privileges in connexion with wine licences does not precisely appear; but from the subsequent letter, signed by himself, and with the postscript entirely in his own handwriting, it is evident that he and his

friends, in March 1587, had prevailed upon her Majesty to extend the term specified in the original grant. Tytler erroneously states, that this concession by the Queen was "an augmentation to Raleigh's patent for wines," and he fixes the date of it after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, and as a reward for the services of Raleigh at that juncture; but the fact is that the concession was the renewal of a lease previously granted, and that this renewal took place full a year and a quarter before the Armada made its appearance on our coast. To whom Raleigh's letter was addressed we are not able to state, owing to the omission of the address; but the receiver of it was required to act solely upon the writer's distinct assurance, that the Queen had given her consent.

"S^r,—Whereas the Quenes Ma^{tie} hath heretofore given unto me, by her Letters patentes, authoritie to graunte Licenses for the sellinge of Wynes by retayle; her Highnes pleasure is to revoke and make voyde the same, and by new Letters patentes to regraunte unto me the auctoritie and benefytt thereof for a farther terme of yeres. Wherefore, I pray you hartely to peruse the drafte which this bearer, my servante, shall bring unto you, and sett your hande thereunto, redie for her Highnes to signe, and I wilbe redie to requyte your courtesie. So, hopeinge your carefull dealinge for me, accordinge to my requeste, I bid you hartely farewell. This 8th of March, 1587.

"Your lovinge Frende,

"W. RALEGH."

"S^r,—Majesty her sealf cummaunded mee to acquaynt yow with the booke, and therefore yow shall not need to doubt; for you may take knowledg of her plesure by thes my letters, beseechinge yow to frinde me so much to make expedition herein, and yow shall cummaunde mee in what I may stand yow in steede."

It is very evident that Raleigh was extremely anxious to obtain the Queen's signature at once to his grant, lest she should either change her mind upon reflection, or lest the Lord Treasurer, Secretary Walsingham, or some other ancient and careful counsellor, should step in with their remonstrance against such a concession. In a letter from Lord Burghley to Walsingham, dated a month after the preceding, he speaks of the manner in which he had supported certain suits by Raleigh and the Earl of Cumberland; but his interference on that occasion had probably related to a joint expedition they were fitting out for sea; and there is good reason to believe that Raleigh's renewed patent for wine licences was too hastily passed ever to be submitted to the cautious and experienced judgment of the Lord Treasurer. It

seems to have been a matter arranged entirely between the Queen and her favourite. The letter to Walsingham, in which Lord Burghley mentions Sir Walter Raleigh and the Earl of Cumberland, has never been printed; and, as it relates to them, and to his lordship's own family affliction in the unhappy marriage of his daughter with the Earl of Oxford (the same peer who had had such an intemperate quarrel with Sir Philip Sidney in the Tennis-court), I may, perhaps, be forgiven for inserting it here, as a curious and interesting domestic relic. I quote it from the original:

"S^r,—Although I am sure that yow will not omitt any convenient tyme to move hir Majesty to assent that hir Majesties gift to my Lord of Oxford, of Edward Jones lands and goods, might be perfected, yet I was so vexed yesternight, very late, by some grevoos sight of my poore daughter's affliction, whom her husband had in the afternoone so troobled with wordes of reproch of me to hir, as though I had no care of hym, as I had to please others (namely S^r Walter Raleigh and my Lord of Cumberland, whose bookes I had speedily sollicitod to pass), as she spent all the evening in dollor and weapyng. And, though I did as much as I could to comfort hir with hope, yet she being, as she is, great with child, and contynually afflicted to behold the misery of hir husband and of his children, to whom he will not leave one farthing of land, for this purposs I can not forbear to renew this pitefull case, praying yow to take some tyme to have hir Majesties resolut answer.

"And for your instruction, to inform hir Majesty of the vallor of the gift, I do send yow a bill conteanyng the trew state thereof, and I can prove that ther hath bene layd out above one hundred pounds by the Erle's sollicitor, at my request, above the one hundred and twenty pounds for the charges of sondry inquisitions and commissions to serch out the truth of the thynges sought with great labor to be concealed, which mony I feare must fall to my lott to paye.

"No enemy I haue can envy this match, for therby nether honor, nor land, nor goodes, shall come to the children, for whom, being three alredy to be kept, and a fourth lyke to follow, I am at chardg even with sondry famylyes in sondry places for ther sustentation; but if ther father was of that good natur as to be thankfull for the same, I wold be less greved with the burden.

"And so I will end an uncomfortable matter, this v. of May, 1587.

"Yours most assured,

"W. BURGHELEY.

"If her Majesty will have Jones wiff considered, it may be provyded that she shall have an annuitie of xxx^{li}. p. annum."

The Edward Jones, named in the preceding letter, whose forfeited property the Queen had promised to the Earl of Oxford at the instance of Lord Burghley, had been recently executed with Ballard, Babington, and others; and we may here see the manœuvres resorted to by the courtiers of that day to enrich themselves at the expense of the victims of justice. The Lord Treasurer's apprehension, that the Queen would be anxious to take care of the widow of the unfortunate sufferer, forms an unusually amiable trait in the character of Elizabeth.

Returning to Raleigh, and to his fortunes, we learn from a document in the State Paper Office, headed "The Names of all the Vice-Admirals in Englande," that in 1587 he was Vice-Admiral of the two important maritime counties of Devon and Cornwall, and that Sir John Gilbert, his half-brother, was his deputy in the first, and Edward Seymour, eldest son of the Earl of Hertford, in the last. The same list of Vice-Admirals includes the Earls of Derby, Leicester, and Pembroke, Lord Cobham, and Sir Christopher Hatton, so that Raleigh took rank with all these.

It seemed almost certain, therefore, that when a Council of War was appointed to consider the best mode of resisting the threatened invasion by Spain, Raleigh would be named one of its members. It has been stated by some historians, and by the last biographer of Raleigh, that this council of war met on the 27th Nov. 1587;^a but, as early as July in that year, measures had been taken, by the Lord Treasurer in particular, to obtain the advice and assistance of the ablest military and naval commanders of the kingdom, and they actually drew out a project for the defence of the realm, which bears the following introduction, by way of title:—

"The Lord Treasurer in Councell having willed Mr. Treasurer of the Howshold to joyne with the Lord Gray, and call S^r John Norris, S^r Thomas Leighton, S^r Richard Bingham, S^r Walter Raley, S^r Frauncis Drake, S^r Roger Williams, and Mr. Raph Lane, and, upon consultation together, to sett downe such meanes as are fittest to putt the forces of the realme in order to withstand any invasion, the project was sett downe by them as followeth."

To this succeeds the project itself, as prepared by these celebrated and experienced officers; so that, if the date given upon the document, July, 1587, be correct, as we have every reason to believe it is, there is no doubt that such a Council of War had met at least three months before the period commonly assigned.

^a Tytler's *Life of Raleigh*, p. 71. Camden gives no date, but says merely that "Arthur Lord Grey, Sir Francis Knolles, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, and Sir Roger Williams, knights and excellent soldiers, were made choice of to consult about the best way of managing the war at land."—Kennett, ii. 543.

From various sources I derive some new and not uninteresting particulars regarding the employment and services of Sir Walter Raleigh, at this busy and anxious period, as Vice-Admiral of Devonshire and Cornwall. I find that, in an account headed "Extraordinarie Paimentes out of the Receipt, from our Ladie daie, 1587, until Michaelmas following," occurs a large item, of no less than 2,000*l.* (equal perhaps to 10,000*l.* of our present money) issued to Sir Walter Raleigh, "to be employed (as the paper expresses it) accordinge to her Majesties direction." That direction, no doubt, applied to the service in which it appears, by a letter from himself to Lord Burghley, Sir Walter was engaged in December, 1587: viz. that of raising 2,000 foot and 200 horse, in the counties over which he was placed, to join the army for the general defence of the empire. I cannot discover the slightest notice of this valuable letter in any account of Raleigh, but I am afraid that it is too long for insertion here. It is in his autograph, and is written to the Lord Treasurer in the most free and confidential terms, complaining of the difficulties and obstructions the writer experienced, especially from the magistracy. "These men make doubt (Raleigh observes) that your honor's instructions alone are not sufficient and safe warrant for their discharge, and that if any refuse to contribute, they see not by what they should be inforced, with a thousand dilatory cavillations." Nevertheless, Raleigh transmitted to Lord Burghley "an Estimate" of the manner in which the 2,000 foot soldiers were to be raised in Cornwall, with the nine several captains under whom they were to serve, in the subsequent form: it is an important document as regards general military preparations, and an interesting one as regards county history, if only from the names it comprises. It is indorsed, in Raleigh's hand, "Order for the 2,000 men in Cornwall," and is entitled—

"Order for the putting in reddines of the 2000 footemen, accordinge to your honor's directions.

"Two thousand men, under captayns, to repaire to the Court, or elswher, att my lord's directions.

" Sir R. Grenvill with his band of	.	.	.	.	300
Richard Carew with his	.	.	.	.	300
Sr John Arundell with his	.	.	.	.	200
Mr Bevill with his	.	.	.	.	200
The Provost Marshall, John Wray	.	.	.	.	200
Thomas Lower with his	.	.	.	.	200
Tristram Ascote with his	.	.	.	.	200
John Trelany with his	.	.	.	.	200
John Reskener with his	.	.	.	.	200."

To the above enumeration the following note was appended by Raleigh:

" Wee haue apoynted 4 waynes to each hundred, and vittles for fourteen dayes, and wee accompt to mount the one half on hacknies for expedition: wee provide tooles for 200 pioners, as well for our own incampinge as to serve her Majesty in her camp reall. Also, wee have ordayned a cornett of horsmen to be in reddines, if your honors shall command the same, to be added to these 2000 footemen; and if I shall not be cummanded down my sealf, I have thought good to direct Sr Richard Grenvill to have the conduction of this regiment to bringe them to the campe, wherafter your honors may dispose of the charge as it shall best like your wisdomes.

" Your honors humblie at cummand,

" W. RALEGH."

The Spanish Armada, as all are aware, was defeated and dispersed in the end of July and in the beginning of August, 1588; and, as Raleigh's share in the triumph is matter of history, it is needless to add anything upon the subject here. After the wreck of so many of the enemy on the coast of Ireland, there was an intention on the part of the Privy Council, not merely to send troops thither under Sir Richard Grenville, but to employ Raleigh also in that part of the kingdom. Upon this point the following historical document has been preserved, and has hitherto escaped observation. It is the hasty draft of an official letter to Sir Richard Grenville, then acting for Raleigh in the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and is indorsed with the date of the 14th September, 1588.

" Right trusty and welbeloved, we grete you well. Wher we have some occasion offred to us, by reason of certen shippes, parte of the Spanish Armada, that coming about Scotland are dryven to sondry portes in the west of Ireland, to put in redynes some forces to be sent into Ireland, as farder occasion shall be gyven us, which we meane to be shipped in the Ryver of Severn, to passe from there to Waterford or Cork, we have thought mete to make choice of you for this service followyng. We require you, that upon the north cost of Devon and Cornwall, towards Severn, you make stay of all shipping mete to transport soldiors to Waterford, and to gyve chardg that the same shippes be made redy, with masters, marynors, and all other maritym provisions nedefull, so as upon the next warning gyven from us, or from our Counsel, they may be redy to receave our said soldiors, which shall be three hundred out of Cornwall and Devon, and four hundred out of Gloucester and

Somerset shires. We have also some further intention to use your service in Ireland with the shippes aforesayd, wherof Sr Walter Raleigh, Knight, whom we have acquaynted therewith, shall inform you, who also hath a disposition for our service to pass into Ireland, ether with these forces, or before that they shall depart."

The fact was that the discomfiture and destruction of the enemy had been so complete, that it was not found necessary to incur the expense of sending to Ireland the 700 men, or the two officers named in the foregoing royal letter. It is true that Sir Walter Raleigh was not long afterwards in Ireland, perhaps upon some public employment, as well as for the arrangement of his private affairs; and among matters "to be propounded to the Counsell" in February 1589-90, we meet with the mention of "a Letter from Sir Walter Raleigh in favour of Teague." It was on the occasion of this visit that Sir Francis Allen wrote to Anthony Bacon, on 17th August, 1589, in these remarkable words, which I quote from the original, preserved at Lambeth, because Birch does not give them precisely as they there stand. "My Lord of Essex hath chassed Mr. Raully from the Court, and hath confind him in to Ireland. Conjecture you the rest of that matter." At this date a coolness, if not a quarrel, had occurred between the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh; but, although it may have temporarily interrupted, it does not seem by any means to have entirely stopped, the flow of the tide of royal favour towards the latter. Upon this point the following passage, from one of Anthony Bacon's undated letters at Lambeth, is material: "Sir Walter Rawley having ben almost a yere in disgrace, as I thinke you have herd, is yett hoveringe betwene feare and hope;" but we, nevertheless, find him acting as Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall and Warden of the Stanneries in 1591, when the subsequent warrant was addressed to him, which has come down to us in the handwriting of Lord Burghley.

"To Sir Walter Raleigh, Leutenant of Cornwall.

"We grete you well. Uppon request made by our cousin the Erle of Essex, that in place of other comen soldiers now sent into France, there might be sent out of Cornwall or Devonshyre forty mynors, we have consented thereto; and therefore we will and require you, by virtue of your office of Warden of the Stannery or as Lieutenant of Cornwall, to cause forty mynors to be chosen and prested, whereof one to be mete to conduct the rest, and to send them in some vessell to Depe to our said cousyn, and for the charges of the levy, prest, and transportation of them by sea, you shall be satisfyed by warrant of our Treasurer of England."

A striking proof of the continuance, or at all events of the renewal, of the Queen's favour to Raleigh was afforded very soon afterwards. The ordinary biographical authorities tell us that he obtained a grant of the manor of Sherborne in the year 1594,^a but it is indisputable that Elizabeth had bestowed it upon him at least two years earlier. Among the Domestic Documents in the State Paper Office is preserved the following "Copy of Her Majesty's Letter to the Deane and Chapter of Sarum, for confirming the Lease made by the Bishop of Sarum to Her Majestie," which lease she had transferred to Raleigh, as is obvious from the contents of the paper, in which the Queen uses very peremptory language, in order that her "well-beloved servant," Sir Walter Raleigh, might not be kept longer from the advantage of the royal gift.

"Trusty and welbeloved, we greete you well. Upon our pleasure declared to the Bishop of Salisburie that now is, he hath yeilded to gratifie us with a lease, made to our self, of certain lands, parcell of the manor of Sherborn, in our countie of Dorset, belonging to his bishoprick, which we required of him to the behoofe of our welbeloved servaunt Sir Walter Ral[eigh], knight. And albeit the same appeareth now not to proove so beneficiall as our purpose was to our said servaunt, by reason of the reservations for divers thinges, the bisshopes provisions, and of the whole rent reserved unto him, and that the parcelles are remaining on lease for divers yeares yet unexpired, we are nevertheles pleased to accepte of the same lease, and to remayn satisfied therewith. And for the further assurance unto us, and so consequently to our said servant, we will and require you, fourthwith, upon the receipt of these our letters, to assemble yourselves in chapter, and in due manner to proceede to make a confirmation of the said lease under your chapter seale, in such sort as is requisite, and may be most effectuall to our said servaunt. Your ready conformities wherein, which we looke for aforehand at your handes, we will take in very thankfull part. Geven under our signet, &c. xix^o Januarij, 1591, in the xxxiiijth yeere of our raigne."

Thus her Majesty, having prevailed upon Dr. Coldwell (not Caldwell, as in

^a "The next year (1594) he was so entirely restored to the Queen's favour, that he obtained from her Majesty a grant of the manor of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, which had been alienated from the see of Salisbury by bishop Caldwell, and was doubtless one of those church lands for accepting which he was censured."—Chalmers, *Biogr. Dict.* xxv. 504.

Tytler says "that Raleigh's efforts in Parliament procured his partial restoration to the royal favour is evident, from his obtaining at this time a grant of the manor of Sherborne, Dorsetshire."—P. 128.

Chalmers), made Bishop of Salisbury in 1591, to relinquish so valuable a source of revenue, and to grant a lease of the manor of Sherborne to her, which she had assigned to Raleigh, called upon the unwilling Dean and Chapter forthwith to confirm the act of the new bishop, notwithstanding the property was not, for various reasons, so valuable as she had intended, and as her "well-beloved servant" had hoped. This incident certainly does not look as if Raleigh were at all in disgrace at the time, and there is no doubt, in spite of what has often been stated to the contrary, that he did not incur the Queen's displeasure until afterwards, when his unfortunate intrigue with Elizabeth Throckmorton became matter of notoriety.

Upon this interesting point of Raleigh's personal history I have something new to advance, as well as upon some of the more prominent events of his after life; but I am afraid of trespassing too long upon the attention of the Society, and must reserve these particulars for a future evening. At present I content myself with having brought Raleigh's history down to the beginning of 1592.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

TO WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, Esq. F.S.A.

XVI.—*Continuation of New Materials for a Life of Sir Walter Raleigh: in a Letter from J. PAYNE COLLIER, Esq. V.P., to JOHN BRUCE, Esq., Treasurer.*

Read June 5, 1851.

My intention in this, and in my two preceding papers on the same subject, has not been, and is not, to give any thing like a new biographical account of Sir Walter Raleigh, but merely to touch upon some points, which, I think, have not been sufficiently illustrated; to correct and settle a few dates; and to add various matters that have either been unknown to, or have been passed over by those who have professed to write the life of this most deserving, but not less unfortunate, favourite of Elizabeth. I make this statement now, because, as I am informed, my purpose has been a little misunderstood; since it has been thought by some, that I was aiming at more than I pretend to accomplish. I merely furnish additional materials to those who may hereafter be disposed to treat the inquiry in detail and upon system. I recommence where I left off in my last; and beg of those who may think matters of the kind not so apposite to our ordinary inquiries, to remember that Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the founders of our Society, and on that account only, if he had no other claims, would merit the utmost interest we can take regarding him.

The discovery of the intrigue between him and the daughter of Sir N. Throckmorton took place in the summer of 1592; and a note from Sir Edward Stafford to Anthony Bacon, among the MSS. at Lambeth, N^o. 648 (which has been quoted by Birch, but not exactly as it stands in the original), contains the following remarkable passage upon this painful subject. "Yff (says Sir Edward) you have anye thinge to doe with Sir Walter Rawley, or any love to make to Mrs. Throgmorton, att the Tower, to-morrow you may speake with them, yff the countermande come not to night." The date of this communication is 30th July 1592, and hence it is clear that the two offenders were then in confinement, under the severe displeasure of the Queen; and the subsequent interesting extract of a Letter, which bears only the date of 1592, without the month or day, in my possession, must have been anterior to it: it is entirely occupied by the topic which engrossed the attention of the

whole Court, and which seems to have occasioned the utmost perturbation, not only in the royal mind, but in that of every body about the Queen's person. It does not appear to whom the following was addressed, nor by whom it was written, the concealment having probably been designed, in consequence of the peril to which it might then have exposed the parties.

"S. W. R., as it seemeth, hath beene too inward with one of her Ma^{ties} maides: I feare to say who, but if you should guesse at E. T. you may not be farre wrong. The matter hath only now been apparent to all eies, and the lady hath been sent away, but nobody believes it can end there. S. W. R. hath escaped from London for a tyme; he will be speedily sent for, and brought back, where what awaiteth him nobody knoweth, save by conjecture. All think the Tower will be his dwelling, like hermit poore in pensive place, where he may spend his endlesse daies of doubt. It is affirmed that they are marryed; but the Queen is most fiercely incensed, and, as the bruit goes, threateneth the most bitter punishment to both the offenders. S. W. R. will lose, it is thought, all his places and preferments at court, with the Queen's favour: such will be the end of his speedy rising, and now he must fall as low as he was high, at the which manie will rejoyce. I can write no more at this time, and do not care to send this, only you will hear it from others. All is alarm and confusion at this discovery of the discoverer, and not indeed of a new continent, but of a new incontinent."

The interest and curiosity of this letter, as regards Raleigh and Elizabeth Throckmorton, will be obvious; but it is valuable in another respect, since it contains a quotation from a very celebrated anonymous ballad, which, so far as our information at present goes, was first printed in the year after the transaction in reference to which it is above cited. A song beginning

"Like hermit poore in place obscure,
I meane to spend my daies of endles doubt,"

is contained in the "Phoenix Nest," 4to, 1593; and the general character of the composition, and the manner in which a portion of it is introduced into the preceding letter, and applied personally to Raleigh, might lead to the conclusion that he in fact was the author of it. I own that I am myself inclined to this opinion; but it would lead us too far out of our way, were I to extract the poem itself, and to state fully my reasons for thinking it not improbable, that it ought hereafter to be added to the productions of Raleigh's muse.

The imprisonment of Sir Walter and Elizabeth Throckmorton (if indeed she were not then Lady Raleigh) in the Tower, has of course been mentioned by all the biographers; but I do not find that any of them state the precise period of their discharge. Anthony Bacon had a correspondent about the court of the name of Colman, and on the 12th September 1592, he wrote to inform Bacon of "the great booty taken by the Earl of Cumberland and Sir Walter Raleigh's ships" at Plymouth; and on the 23d of the same month, he sent another letter to him containing the following passage, which is quite decisive upon the point:—

"Sir Walter Ralye is discharged from the Towre, and shewed hym selfe two daies in London: he is now gone westward, to looke after his portion of this great gotten wealthe."

Though nothing is said of his lady, we may imagine that, after the principal offender had been set at liberty, though, as is known, under charge of Mr. Blunt as his keeper, she would not be detained in the Tower; and here we see that, after giving open evidence of his freedom during two days in the metropolis, Raleigh had gone to Plymouth to look after the huge prize, the *Madre de Dios*, which had been captured from the Spaniards by his ships, and by those of his partner in the enterprize.

In the State Paper Office is preserved a letter from Sir Walter Raleigh, without date, but which must have been written by him while he was a prisoner in the Tower. It is not easy to understand some parts of it, especially such as refer merely to naval affairs (it is addressed "To the right honourable the Lorde High Admiral of England"), but other portions, which are personal, are very intelligible, and not less interesting. It is not necessary for me to quote the whole of it here; although, were I employed upon a memoir of Raleigh, instead of merely touching upon some points of his history, I would not omit a word that proceeded from his pen. Among other things he says,

"I was yesterday advertised from a man of myne, cumminge from the coast of Britanye, that there are twentye shippes of war, that lye between Silley and Ushant to take up our Newlandmen, and to watch for any prizes that shalbe sent home: if any of the shippes in the narrow seas weare sent for a tyme, or some other course taken, it weare most necessarye, or else we shall lose all, and be a scorne to all nations. But wee are so much busied with the affairs of other nations (of whos manytangled troubles there will never be an end) that wee forget our owne affaires, our profit, and our honor."

Thus, in the midst of his own sufferings and anxieties, while a close prisoner, he was directing his attention to the interests and character of his country, and as a naval commander suggesting to the Lord High Admiral the best means by which the former could be promoted, and the latter sustained. He afterwards turns to his own unhappy condition in the following pathetic terms:—

“ I must humblye thanke your Lordshipp for your most honorable care of mee in this unfortunate accident; but I see there is a determination to disgrace mee, and ruin mee, and therefore I beseech your Lordship not to offend her Majestye any farther by seuing for mee. I am now resolved of the matter, and only desire that I may be stayd no one howre from all the extremitie that ether lawe or precedent can avowch. And if that be too litle, would God it weare withall concluded that I might feed the lions as I go by, to save labor, for the torment of my mind cannot be greater; and for the boddye, would others did respect them seelves as much, as I valew it at litle! And so, with my humble dewtye and thankes, which I cannot expresse, I leave your Lordshipp to God.

“ Your Lordshipp’s poore kinsman, to do you service for ever,

“ W. RALEGH.”

The lions to which he wished his miserable body to be thrown were, of course, those kept in the Tower, where Raleigh, like “ a prisoned eagle,” was himself confined. He must still have been there, not expecting, probably, so speedy a release as he experienced in September 1592, when he drew up the following formal document, entirely in his own hand-writing, appointing a person of the name of John Meere (with whom he afterwards had violent legal disputes) to act as his deputy in the manor of Sherborne: it affords another decisive proof that he was then not only in possession of that property, but was executing many important rights of ownership, although some of his biographers have assigned to the Queen’s original grant a date considerably posterior.

“ Know all men that I, S^r Walter Raleigh, Knight, Capitaine of her Mat^{ties} Gard, and Lord Warden of the Stanneries of Devon and Cornwall, doe hereby aucthorise John Meere, my man, to take, cutt, and cary away, or cause to be cutt downe, taken, and caryed awaye, all such maner of trees growinge in my manor of Sherborne, or else where within any other my manors or lands in the hundreds of Sherborne or Yedmister, in the county of Dorset, when he shall think convenient; to be employed to my necessarie use in my castell of Sherborne, as to hym I have gyven dyrection; whom I have appointed as well keeper of the same castell and

to demand and keepe the kayes of the same, as also to be overseer of all my woods and tymber within the sayd hundreds, that no spoyle be made therein, or of any fesaunts or other game of the free warren whatsoever, within the same. Moreover, I doe authorise him hereby also to receave to my use all knowledge money, dew unto mee by my tenautes within the sayd hundreds. In witnes whereof I, the sayd Sr Walter Raleigh, have here unto put my hand and seale the xxviiijth daye of Auguste, in the xxxiiijth yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, Defender of the Faythe, &c.

“W. RALEGH. (L.S.)”

Of this period a remarkably characteristic letter from Sir Robert Cecill to Sir Thomas Henneage has been printed by one of the latest of the biographers of Raleigh,^a but so incorrectly that I am almost tempted to copy the whole of it here; but I must content myself with a sentence or two, which I transcribe from the original. The Lord Treasurer's son had been dispatched with other commissioners to the west of England, to take care of the Queen's share of the cargo of the great Carrack, the *Madre de Dios*, already mentioned, and he wrote from Dartmouth on 21st September, 1592, in these terms:—

“Assoone as I came aboard the Carick, on Wednesday at one of clock, with the rest of her Ma^{ties} Commissioners, within one half howre Sr W. Raleigh arrived with his kepar, Mr Blunt. I assure you, syr, his poore servants, to the number of 140 goodly men, and all the mariners, came to him with such showts and joy, as I never saw a man more trobled to quiet them in my life. * * * The meeting betweene him and Sr John Gilbert was with teares on Sr John's part. * * * I do grace him as much as I may, for I find him mervailous greedy to do any thing to recover the conceit of his brutish offence.”

This “brutish offence” was, probably, in Cecill's opinion, much more the displeasure Raleigh had excited in the Queen by his conduct towards Elizabeth Throckmorton, than any moral crime Sir Robert was likely to discover in it.

The authors of the various Lives of Sir Walter Raleigh represent, that having been returned to Parliament, he became an active member in the Session which terminated in the Spring 1593; but it seems evident from a passage in a private letter from Lady Raleigh to Sir Robert Cecill, dated in February 1593-4, that at

^a Life of Raleigh by Mrs. A. T. Thomson. 8vo. 1820. Appendix.

that period her husband contemplated some naval expedition to the westward, doubtless to America, which she was most anxious should be impeded: she says, "I hope, for my sake, you will rather draw Sir Walter towards the east, than help him forward toward the sun-sett, if any respect to me, or love to him, be not forgotten * * *. Therefore, I humbly beseech you, rather to stay him than further him." I quote from the Additional MSS. in the British Museum (No. 6177), copied from the original at Hatfield; and it is the more important because it affords the earliest hint (not hitherto noticed) of the project of Sir Walter Raleigh to fit out an expedition for Guiana. This was, as nearly as possible, a year before he actually sailed with his small fleet from Plymouth for the purpose of discovering El Dorado, and penetrating the continent of South America by the mouths of the Orinoco.

Lady Raleigh appears to have been devotedly attached to her restless, impatient, and enterprising husband, and must have parted from him, on the voyage in question, with the deepest sorrow. Of her anxiety to obtain any intelligence regarding him there is extant proof (if indeed it were wanted), in a letter to her from a merchant of the name of Martin White, who, under date of 20th May, 1595, wrote to her with tidings he had received from the Canaries, stating, that after lying off the port for three days, and obtaining fresh water, Raleigh pursued his voyage on the 6th March. We know from Sir Walter himself, in the printed narrative of his expedition, that he arrived off Trinidad on the 22d of that month. To that narrative we shall advert more particularly presently.

In the mean time it is necessary to notice that during the absence of Raleigh, and indeed almost as soon as he had quitted England, proceedings were instituted in Chancery against the Earl of Huntingdon, to enforce the payment of Lady Raleigh's portion, which that nobleman retained in his hands. Although this is a new fact in Raleigh's history, it is not one upon which it seems expedient to dwell here at any length; but the Harleian MS., No. 6997, contains a draft of a letter from Lord Chancellor Puckering to the Earl of Huntingdon upon the subject, which goes into the whole case, and contains a passage, which seems to show that Arthur Throckmorton, the brother of Lady Raleigh, had either then, or previously, in some way questioned the marriage of his sister. Sir John Puckering observes,—“Then that Counsellor said, that if Mr. Throgmorton stood to be further satisfied concerning his sister's marriage, that would not be abydden, but would be taken in great offence.” It does not appear, however, that Arthur Throckmorton did seek to be further satisfied; and we gather from a note from him to the Lord Chancellor, preserved in the same MS., that both he and Lady Raleigh were anxious that Sir Walter might have the use of the money. The whole transaction is obscure, and

we are not aware of the existence of any document giving the result of the proceeding. All that is certain is, that Lady Raleigh was entitled to some portion, in consequence of the death of her mother, which the Earl of Huntingdon withheld, and that a suit was commenced in Chancery to compel payment of the money for the use of Sir Walter, who, as Arthur Throckmorton states, had "fallen into extremity," owing to disappointment in the receipt of it.

The copy of the licence granted by Queen Elizabeth "To our servant Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, Warden of our Stannery and Lieftenant of our County of Cornwall," (so indorsed by Sir Robert Cecill,) before the commencement of his voyage to Guiana early in the spring of 1595, is an important historical record, but it is too long for insertion here. It authorises Raleigh to fit out two ships and two pinnaces, and to possess and enjoy, to his own use, such goods and merchandizes, treasure, gold, and silver, as he might take by sea or land, paying to the Queen and her officers "such customs and duties as appertaine:" it was under this warrant that Raleigh sailed, and it was of this expedition that he published an account directly after his return, under the title of "*The Discoverie of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a relation of the great and golden citie of Manôa, which the Spaniards call El Dorado.*"

All the known copies of this tract bear date in 1596; but it is an interesting point connected with it, that such was its popularity, and such the demand for it, that it went through two editions immediately. I have never met with a copy of the first edition, excepting that in my hands and one other, but any person who is able to compare the two will perceive in a moment that the second edition was corrected in many places, most likely by the author, and that the typographical variations are innumerable: there are more than a hundred of the latter in the Dedication only, although, both impressions being the work of the same printer, the type is extremely similar, but by no means identical. The whole substance of the work is the same in each; and it is a point of some interest, that, between the date of the appearance of one edition and of the other, whatever the interval may have been, Raleigh did not see reason to alter a single position he had laid down, or to qualify a word he had written. The importance of this circumstance will be perceived at once, when we bear in mind how the statements contained in Raleigh's "*Discovery*" have been at various periods impugned.

Camden informs us that Raleigh was in disgrace with Elizabeth even up to 1595, when he commenced the voyage to Guiana;^a and it is to be remarked that the Queen,

^a *Annals in Kennett*, ii. 584.

in her warrant on that occasion already referred to, does not call him her "trusty" or her "well-beloved servant," terms usually employed, but merely her "servant;" and we know that on his return he did not, as might have been expected, repair to Court to throw himself at the feet of her Majesty, but retired at once to Sherborne. Two letters from his uterine brother, Sir John Gilbert, addressed to him there, have been preserved, but have never been quoted, the one dated 17th January, 1596, and the other 16th March following, so that Raleigh's residence in seclusion on his estate was of some permanence. The first of these communications, neither of which it is necessary to cite at length, conveyed information (on the authority of a Frenchman who had arrived at Exeter from Spain) that Philip II. had dispatched forces to Guiana, since Raleigh had been there, and had held out great encouragement to settlers in that part of America. The second of Sir John Gilbert's letters adverts to the Spanish preparations against England, and adds, besides, that 1400 soldiers, and six vessels, carrying men, women, and children, had actually sailed for Guiana from one of the southern ports of the Peninsula.

To this period is to be assigned an original letter from Raleigh to Lord Cobham, which is also quite new, and contains some matter worth recording, in relation to Raleigh's prospects and circumstances in the year 1596: the date is ascertained by the fact that the writer mentions in it the recent death of Lord Hunsdon. Raleigh was then at Weymouth, and he says,

"I am reddey now to obey your commandments. If you will come to the Bathe, I will not fayle you, or whatsoever your Lordship will use me in in this worlde. I will now looke for the Lord Henry of Northumberland, who, I think, will be here shortly, knowing my returne; and I doubt not but he will meet us also at the Bathe, if your Lordship acquaynt hym with the tyme. It is best, if your Lordship purpose it, to take the end of this moneth att farthest. I hear that the Lord Chamberlayne is dead; if it be so, I hope that your Lordship may be stayed uppon good cause: if it be not so, I could more willingly come eastward then ever I did in my life."

Hence we see how desirous Raleigh was "to come eastward," by which he must mean from Sherborne to the Court in London, an expression the more noticeable, because the above is the first letter Raleigh is known to have written subsequent to his return from his voyage. The postscript is a curious one, and adverts to his man Meere or Meeres (before spoken of) with whom Raleigh was at this time at law respecting Sherborne, and who had been supported in his misconduct by Viscount Byndon, towards whom Raleigh seems to have been influenced by peculiar

enmity. It is so remarkable and characteristic, that I cannot refrain from quoting it precisely as it stands.

“ My Lord Viscount hath so exalted Meere’s sutes against me in my absence, as neather Mr. Serjeant Heale, nor any else, could be heard for me to stay trialls, while I was out of the land in her Majesties service, a right and curtesy afforded to every begger. I never busied mysealf with the Viscount, neather upon his extortions, or poysoning of his wife, as it is here avowed and spoken. I have forborne hym in respect of my Lord Thomas, and chiefly because of Mr. Secretory, who, in his love to my Lord Thomas, hath wisht mee to it : but I will not indure wrong at so peevish a foole’s hand any longer. I will rather loose my life ; and I think that my Lord Puritan Periam doeth think that the Queen shall have more use of roggs and villaynes than of mee, or else he would not, at Byndon’s instance, have yielded to try actions agaynst me, being out of the lande.”

Not long afterwards we find Sir Walter Raleigh again in a public employment of great importance, for he commanded the fourth squadron of the fleet which sailed from England for Cadiz in June 1596, the whole armament by sea and land being under the orders of Lord Charles Howard and the Earl of Essex. This new demand for Raleigh’s active services is unquestionably to be taken as a striking tribute to his talents and to his experience ; for even at this period he had not been by any means restored to the favour of the Queen, who never admitted him to her presence, and refused to allow him to discharge the duties of Captain of the Guard, although retaining the appointment. If she gave her consent that he should be one of the Admirals of the fleet under Howard, it was, no doubt, because she was compelled to acknowledge his deserts, and because she was anxious that all the naval and military skill of her kingdom should be concentrated, and directed to the great object of impoverishing, crippling, and humbling the Spaniard.

In fact, the final reconciliation between Elizabeth and Raleigh did not take place until shortly before he proceeded with her favourite Essex on what has been called “ the Island Voyage ;” but still the utmost public confidence seems to have been reposed in him, for while the preparations for that new enterprise were in progress, no less a sum than 18,900*l.* (not far short of 100,000*l.* of our present money) was placed in his hands, that he might provide victuals for 6,000 men to be employed in that service. The warrant authorising the delivery of the money bears date on the 21st April, 1597 ; and it is a circumstance that has never been adverted to in reference to Raleigh’s duties at the period at which we have now arrived.

Sir Walter having, as is well known, succeeded in producing a temporary reconciliation between the Earl of Essex and Sir Robert Cecil, the latter, in the autumn of 1598, seems to have exerted himself extraordinarily, but with what success is uncertain, to improve the value or the tenure of Raleigh's property at Sherborne; and in the State Paper Office is preserved a remarkably imperative letter from Cecil to Dr. Bennett, then Dean of Windsor, who had power in the affair, perhaps as one of the Chapter of Salisbury Cathedral, requiring him without delay to take steps, not very clearly indicated, but obviously intended to accomplish some purpose which the owner of the estate had at heart. "I require, therefore (says Cecil on the 19th Sept. 1598), to this letter only such answer as I may trust to, which shall be a defensative to all such suggestions, whereby you shall make me not repent my former good will towards you, but shall confirme hereafter my desire to do you farther pleasure in any cause where your name shall come in question." The signature is torn off, but the paper is indorsed "S. R. C." (i. e. Sir Robert Cecil,) to "D. W." (i. e. Dean of Windsor), and the address is at length.

Those who have written the Life of Raleigh have supposed that about the year 1598 he was sometimes in retirement at Sherborne, and sometimes in attendance at court; but not one of them has mentioned what seems to be a fact, and a fact of considerable importance, that he was in Ireland again in October 1598. The evidence upon this point is the existence, in Raleigh's hand-writing, of a letter from him to Cecil, dated in the indorsement 20th Oct. 1598, but without any place, the contents of which, if they establish any thing, show that Raleigh had offered a pecuniary reward for the head of a distinguished rebel in Ireland,—that the matter had been in some way exposed, and that the Secretary had been apprehensive lest it should be brought home to him. It is short, and I extract the whole of it:—

"SIR,

"It can be no disgrace, if it weare known that the killing of a rebell weare practised; for you see that the lives of anoynted princes are dayly sought, and we have alwayes in Irelande geven head mony for the killinge of rebells, who are evermore proclaymed at a price. So was the Earle of Desmond, and so have all rebells byn practised agaynst. Notwithstanding, I have written this inclosed to Stafford, who only recommended that knave to me uppon his creditt: but, for your sealf, you are not to be touched in the matter; and for mee I am more sorry for being deceived, than for being declared in the practize.

"Your honor's, to do your service,

"W. RALEGH."

"Hee hath nothing under my hand but a passport."

What Raleigh inclosed to Stafford has not come down to us, or the whole transaction might be more intelligible. Ireland was in revolt during the whole of 1598, and the English had been in more than one place signally defeated; and we can only conjecture that Tyrone was the rebel alluded to by Raleigh, and that in consequence of the disastrous appearance of the Queen's affairs at this date he had been sent to Ireland, and had offered the head-money in question with the approbation of the cautious Cecill, who, however, did not like to appear in the matter. At all events this, as far as it goes, is a new and singular feature in Raleigh's life and character.

It was my intention to have concluded in this paper what I had to say respecting Raleigh; but, although I have abridged some points, and totally omitted others, I find it impossible to bring it within any thing like a reasonable compass. On this account I postpone the remainder until a future occasion.

J. PAYNE COLLIER.

To JOHN BRUCE, Esq., Treas. S.A.

XVII.—*On some of the Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races.*
By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A., Secretary.

Read May 29, 1851.

IN submitting the following remarks to the Society of Antiquaries, I must, at the outset, declare that my object is rather to review the evidence we possess, than to offer any conjecture or theory of my own. It will be by all allowed, that the careful bringing together of facts already known, but scattered and disconnected, must, at all times, tend to assist archæological research, and save the trouble and tedium of referring to detached notices bearing on the subject of our inquiry.

The remark of Bacon, that antiquities are like the fragments of a wreck thrown ashore by the waves of the ocean, is especially applicable to the more minute objects which engage the attention of the archæologist. The fragmentary evidence we thus obtain in the examination of the weapons and utensils of past ages, though often meagre and unsatisfactory, yet assures us that from this evidence our deductions must often be formed, and that in them alone we must seek for the information which is denied us by the historian. Sometimes, however, we find the monumental evidence at variance with historical recital; sometimes both agree in a manner to satisfy and delight the inquirer, and open to a wider retrospect; but frequently the objects which have been spared by time serve only to perplex us, especially when they do not agree with the descriptions of ancient authors, or they suggest to us the necessity of further research, comparison, and inquiry.

In the infancy of nations, the weapon which served the purpose of the hunter in the chase, or which was applied to the ordinary uses and requirements of every-day life, was doubtless the only arm of a barbarous people in the time of strife. The stone hatchets, hammers, and lance-heads of the primitive races of Britain, resemble very closely the weapons found in various other parts of the world; and thus we perceive that man in his primitive state has availed himself of the same resources throughout the whole habitable globe. In all countries the stone axe and the hammer have been found. The examples on the table comprise axe-heads from New Zealand, from Mexico, from Ireland, from various parts of Great Britain, and also from Australia, the inhabitants of which have never attained to the use of the bow. The two examples here exhibited, were presented to me by Mr. Gould, the eminent ornithologist, who brought them himself from that country. One is

formed like the stone hatchet of the primitive European races, and the mode in which it is fixed in its handle is doubtless identical. The other is constructed of a fragment of flint embedded in a concrete mass, in which is inserted a wooden handle.



Stone Axe from Northern Australia.

Size 1-6th.



Stone Hammer from Western Australia.

Size 1-6th.

The period which has been termed by antiquaries the Bronze Age should be subdivided, for the weapons of bronze which have come down to us, differ so much in character, that the arms of two remote nations could scarcely be more dissimilar. Thus, for example, the bronze weapons, which consist of a very broad and short blade fitted into a handle of wood, are evidently the work of an age long anterior to the leaf-shaped sword, of which so many examples have been discovered. There is an identity of character in the more primitive weapon which the antiquary cannot have failed to remark, throughout the whole of Europe once peopled by the Celtic tribes. I need cite but a few specimens. The first four are examples found in Celtic barrows in North Wilts,^a the fifth was discovered in France, and the sixth in Switzerland.^b

^a Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*, plates xiv. xv. xxiii. xxvii. and xxviii. Representations, on a reduced scale, of these curious primitive weapons, are given in my *Archæological Index*, plate v. figs. 40—43. A weapon of the same construction was found in a barrow at Blandford in Dorsetshire. Others of similar form have been discovered in the barrows of Derbyshire by Mr. Bateman.

^b *Art-Helvetische Waffen und Geräthschaften aus der Sammlung der H. Alt-Landammann Löhner in*

All these are evidently the first attempts of a barbarous people to convert and apply metal to some purpose of necessity or utility. Now, the leaf-shaped swords were really effective weapons, and the spear-heads, so often found with them, still more so. That they are casts from the weapons of a more civilised race there cannot be a doubt.

We have abundant testimony that the earliest weapons were formed of brass, but whether the swords of the Jews in early times were fashioned of that metal we have no evidence; it seems probable that they were, and, if so, their spear-heads would also be of brass. The huge spear of the Philistine, whose assault was nearly fatal to David, was formed of brass.^a The lines of Hesiod,—

Τοῖς δ' ἡάλκεα μὲν τεύχεα, ἡάλκεοι δὲ τε οἴκοι,
ἡάλκεῳ δ' ἐργάζοντο μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔσκε σίδηρος.

Op. et Dies, Lib. i. 149, 150.

indicate the primitive use of brass.^b Homer everywhere speaks of brass weapons; and the lines of Lucretius,

Posterior ferri vis est ærisque reperta,
Sed prius æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus,

have been often quoted. But, though the poet tells us this, there is no precise information as to the time that civilised nations first used iron and cast aside their brass weapons.^c We have the testimony of Pausanias as to the ancient use of brass. The spear of Achilles, which he says was preserved in the temple of Minerva at Phæsus, was both armed and shod with brass; and from the same writer we learn that the sword of Memnon, in the temple of the Nicomedenses sacred to Esculapius, was formed entirely of that metal.^d

Thun, beschreiben von F. Keller; Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich, Zweiter Band, taf. ii. Zurich, 4to. 1844.

^a Samuel, ii. xxi. 16.

^b Virgil was of course fully aware of the use of brass in the fabrication of arms in the heroic ages.

Æratæque micant peltæ, micat æreus ensis.—Æn. vii. 743.

^c Cassiodorus tells us that Belus invented the iron sword!—Belus ferreum gladium primus produxit: à quo et bellum placuit nominari. Variarum, lib. i. c. xxx. See Eustathius on Homer's Iliad, π. for the epithets of Mars, ἡάλκεος Ἀρης, ὁ σίδηρος Ἀρης.

^d Βέβαιον δὲ καὶ ἄλλως μοι τὸν λόγον ἐν Φασηλίδι ἀνακείμενον ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ τὸ δόρυ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ Νικομηδεῦσιν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ναφὶ μάχαιρα ἡ Μέμνονος, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἢ τε αἰχμή καὶ ὁ σφυρῶν, ἡ μάχαιρα δὲ καὶ διὰ πάσης χαλκοῦ πεποιήται. Lib. iii. c. 3. A brass spear-head and a sword were found in the tomb of Theseus. Plutarch in Theseo, c. 35.

Now, there cannot be a doubt that the priests took care to show to the votaries at these temples weapons of considerable antiquity, and then obsolete; indeed Pausanias, who flourished in the reign of Commodus, remarks, a little further on, that in the heroic ages weapons were universally fabricated of brass.^a

Polybius describes the swords of the Gauls in their encounter with the Romans in the year of Rome 531, B.C. 223. Their weapons, he says, were large and blunt, and their shields mere targets, while the swords of the Romans were small and sharp, and their bucklers covered their bodies effectually. When the Gauls struck at their enemies their swords bent like a strigil, and they were necessitated to straighten them by placing them under their feet before they could give a second blow.^b This description has been supposed to apply to badly-tempered iron swords, but it appears rather to refer to the leaf-shaped brass weapons of which so many examples have been preserved. If we bend one of these swords we shall at once perceive the appropriateness of the historian's simile.^c

The question as to the time when civilised nations resorted to the use of iron is only connected with our present object in so far as it affords us some indication of the period when the iron age may have succeeded that of brass in Gaul and Britain. We have occasional glimpses in Herodotus, which assist us a little in the inquiry, though not sufficiently to enable us to pronounce with certainty. Speaking of the Ethiopians, he says, the very manacles of their prisoners were made of gold, brass being of all metals the most rare among them.^d Here we are justified in assuming that brass at that time was applied to all those uses to which iron was converted at a later period. In another place, however, he says that the weapons of the Massagetæ, in the days of Cyrus, were made of brass,^e adding nevertheless that their

^a If we could receive the narrative of Quintus Curtius as literal history, we might attach some importance to the speech which this author puts in the mouth of Darius,—*ferro geri bella, non auro*, lib. v; but it is allowed that Quintus Curtius flourished in the days of the emperors, when the use of iron had become general. It may be safely inferred, however, that in the time of Alexander the Greek weapons were of the latter metal.

^b Αἱ τε μάχαιραι ταῖς κατασκευαῖς, καθάπερ, εἶρηται πρότερον, μίαν ἔχουσι μὲν πρώτην καταφορὰν καιρίαν· ἀπο δὲ ταύτης εὐθέως ἀπολυστρονται, καμπτόμεναι κατὰ μήκος καὶ κατὰ πλάτος ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε, ἂν μὴ δῶ τις ἀναστροφὴν τοῖς χρωμένοις, εἰρείσαντες πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀπευθύναι τῷ ποδί, τελείως ἀπρακτον εἶναι τὴν δευτέραν πληγὴν αὐτῶν. Lib. ii. c. 33.

^c While this sheet was in the press I have been informed by M. Troyon that he has discovered in Switzerland, with remains of the Celtic period, iron swords answering more fully to the description of Polybius, and certainly anterior to the Roman dominion.

^d Thalia, xxiii. lxxii.

^e Ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμας, καὶ ἄρδεις, καὶ σάγαρις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται * * * * * σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἄργ' ἔρω κρέωνται οὐδέν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σφι ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. Clio, ccxv.

country, though it abounded in gold, did not produce *iron*. Plato observes that iron and brass are the instruments of war,^a a remark which, coupled with the notice of Herodotus just quoted, favours the conjecture that in the fifth century B. C. iron weapons had begun to supplant those of brass among the civilised nations of antiquity.^b

Tacitus, in the *Manners of the Germans*, says it was evident from the arms of these people that iron was rare among them; that few of them had swords and lances; and that the greater part were armed with a description of short spear or javelin called *framea*, which served them either as a dart or in close conflict. This *framea*, he tells us, had a narrow short head of iron.^c But in the second book of the *Annals*, Germanicus is represented addressing the Roman soldiers, and contrasting the long unwieldy spear of the barbarians with the Roman pilum.^d We may account for these discrepancies in the fact that the great historian had a higher object in view than such details, — that his principal design in the *Annals* was to exhibit a model to his countrymen in the person of Germanicus, and in his description of the Germans to paint simple manners and rude virtues, which the Romans affected to despise.

The firm establishment of the Roman power in Gaul and Britain, if it did not obliterate all traces of nationality, doubtless led to the adoption of the weapons as well as the chief habits of the conquerors. It is well known to the antiquary that the ancient Britons observed the rite of cremation more frequently than that of sepulture. In this respect the Roman practice of cremation, which had become universal at the time of the subjugation of Gaul and Britain, must have already assimilated to that of the conquered, and it is admitted on all sides that we cannot distinguish in this country the uninscribed sepulchre of a Roman from that of a Romanised Briton. These remarks are necessary, because they account for the want of those indicia which are furnished by the sepulchral remains of the period

^a Σιδηρος καὶ χαλκός, πολέμων ὄργανα. De Legibus, xii.

^b We must not, however, overlook the fact that iron and brass are mentioned together in various parts of the Old Testament; vide, inter alia, Gen. iv. 22, Deuteron. xxxiii. 25, and 2 Chron. xxiv. 12. Iron alone is mentioned in 1 Kings, vi. 7; 1 Samuel, xvii. 7; 2 Samuel, xiii. 7; Job, xli. 7.

^c Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur. Rari gladiis aut majoribus lanceis utuntur: hastas, vel ipsorum vocabulo, *frameas*, gerunt, angusto et brevi ferro, sed ita acri et ad usum habili, ut eodem telo, prout ratio poscit, vel cominus vel eminus pugnent; et eques quidem scuto frameæque contentus est. De Morib. Germ. c. vi.

^d Nec enim immensa barbarorum scuta, enormes hastas, inter truncos arborum et enata humo virgulta perinde haberi, quam pila, et gladios, et hærentia corpori tegmina. Annales, ii. 14.

we have next to discuss. From the Roman tombs we never obtain arms, and in the effigies of some of the sculptured sepulchral stones, such as those found at Watermore near Cirencester,^a we see nothing which would not accord with the period of Cæsar's invasion, though these memorials are, in fact, as late as the days of the Antonines.

Let us therefore turn to those authors who speak of that mighty confederacy known as the Franks, a people of cognate habits with those races who are said to have effected so great a change in Britain at a much later period of history, and whose arms and dresses were no doubt at one time very similar. Sidonius Apollinarius, who flourished in the middle of the fifth century, gives us a very graphic picture of those warriors. He describes the fierce glance of their blue eyes, their shaven heads with the hair left as a crest at the top, their belted loins and bare knees, their skill in casting the axe, and their being trained to arms from their earliest years :

Ad frontem coma tracta jacet, nudataque cervix
 Setarum per damna nitet, tum lumine glauco
 Albet aquosa acies, ac vultibus undique rasis,
 Pro barbâ tenues perarantur pectine cristæ,
 Strictius assutæ vestes procera coërcent
 Membra virûm, patet his altato tegmine poples,
 Latus et angustum suspendit baltheus alvum.
 Excussisse citas vastum per inane bipennes,
 Et plagæ præcisse locum, clypeosque rotare
 Ludus, et intortas præcedere saltibus hastas,
 Inque hostem venisse prius : puerilibus annis,
 Est belli maturus amor : si forte premanur,
 Seu numero, seu forte loci mors obruit illos
 Non timor ——— ^b.

Procopius, a century later, describes the axe with which the Franks fought, and their manner of fighting. Among the hundred thousand men led by Theodebert into Italy there were only a few horsemen about his person, and these were armed with javelins only. The remainder consisted of infantry, with neither bow nor javelin, but armed with hatchets, swords, and bucklers. The hatchet had a broad blade and a short handle, and occasionally a shower of these discharged at the enemy cleft their shields and rendered them defenceless.^c

^a *Archæologia*, vol. XXVII. plate XIV.

^c *Beil. Goth. lib. ii. c. 25.*

^b *Sidon. Apoll. Paneg. in Majoriano.*

Agathias, the continuator of Procopius, says, "The arms of the Franks are very simple: they wear neither coat of mail nor greaves, but their legs and thighs are defended by bands of linen or leather. Their cavalry is inconsiderable, but they are formidable on foot; they wear a sword on the left thigh and carry a buckler. They use neither bow nor sling, but they are armed with double axes (*πελέκεις ἀμφιστόμους*) and angones (*ἄγγωνας*), with which they do most execution. These angones are of a length that may be both used as a javelin or in close fight against a charge of the enemy. The staff of this weapon is covered with iron laminæ or hoops, so that but very little wood appears, even down to the spike at the butt-end. On either side of the head of this javelin are certain barbs (*καμπύλαι τινὲς ἀκίδες*) projecting downward close together as far as the shaft. The Frank soldier, when engaged with the enemy, casts his angon, which, if it enter the body, cannot be withdrawn, in consequence of the barbs. Nor can the weapon be disengaged if it pierce the shield, for the bearer of the shield cannot cut it off because of the iron plates with which the staff is defended, while the Frank, rushing forward, jumps upon it as it trails on the ground,^a and thus, bearing down his antagonist's defence, cleaves his skull with his axe, or transfixes him with a second javelin.^b"

In all these accounts, we have a particular mention of the *bipennis* or double axe, but in the last only is a description of the *angon* or barbed javelin. Each description is minute and circumstantial, and appears to have been derived from the personal observation of the writer. In the lines of Sidonius Apollinaris there is evidence that truth has not been sacrificed to poetical description. We see the fierce Teuton in his characteristic arms and costume; even the banded leg and bare knee remind us of the peculiar clothing of the limbs of the figures in the illuminations of our Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

^a We learn from Plutarch, that Marius caused his soldiers to fasten the heads of their pila with two pins, one of them of wood, which on the weapon being cast, broke on the impact, and trailed on the ground so as to embarrass the enemy. It is difficult to conceive how this was effected if the spear-head was fastened by a socket. A very singular javelin with a shifting head is described in Grettis Saga, quoted by Bartholin, Ant. Dan. lib. ii. cap. 7.

^b Agathias, lib. ii.—Vegetius, lib. i. c. 2, informs us, that in his day the barbarians were armed with two or three javelins, a weapon which had fallen into disuse among the Romans. He states that those once used by the Roman soldiers had triangular heads a foot long, that when skilfully cast they would penetrate a coat of mail, and that if they entered the buckler they could not easily be extracted. The Danes and Anglo-Saxons continued to use them. In Olaf's Tryggvasonar Saga, the king is described as using three of these javelins: Olaf Konungr þa er hann sa at Eiríkr Jarl var kominn i fyrirumit a Orminum, skaut konungr til hans þrím kesiúm skamskeptum, i. e. Rex Olaus Comitem Ericum in navem suam, serpentem dictam, ascendisse conspiciens, tres hastas brevioris ligni in eum emittit. Bartholin. Antiq. Dan. lib. ii. c. 7.

The discrepancy between the accounts of Procopius and Agathias,—the first stating that the Franks were chiefly armed with swords and axes, and the latter describing the *angon* as the principal and most effective weapon,—can only be reconciled by the conclusion that at this period the Franks altered their mode of warfare and had adopted the *angon* from some other nation, for it is impossible to conceive, that, in the very circumstantial description of the shape and use of that formidable weapon, given by Agathias, he has drawn upon his imagination. Yet in the very many Frank cemeteries which have been explored on the continent of Europe no well authenticated example of the *angon* has been found, while numerous spears without barbs, resembling those found in England, have been discovered. Dr. Rigollot observes, that there are in the Museum of Antiquities at Amiens, specimens of javelins found in Merovingian graves, which may represent the *angon*; but, from the drawing with which that gentleman has favoured me, I am led to a different conclusion. In the example in question the blade is not unlike those of the spears found in our Anglo-Saxon graves, without barbs, and with a cross-bar below the cusp like a boar-spear. Nor is that found by the Abbé Cochet, in the cemetery at Londinieres, more satisfactory; neither of the objects answer the minute description of Agathias. Examples of barbed javelins were found at Selzen, but they do not answer the description of Agathias.* In England, though many Franks must have found a settlement in this island in the decline of the empire, no spear of the kind described by the historian has ever been discovered, but several examples of the iron axe, of a shape similar to those met with in Merovingian cemeteries in France, have been found in the tumuli of Kent.

* Ducange, voce *Angon*, strangely enough identifies this weapon with the axe. He could not have read the description of Agathias. Gregory of Tours does not mention the *angon* distinctly, but he says that, when the Franks pillaged the basilica of Agen, the hands of some of them were scorched by a mysterious fire, while others, separated from their companions, pierced themselves with their own javelins—*propriis se jaculis sauciabant*. Hist. Franc. lib. viii. c. 35.

The description of the spear of Thorolf, in *Egil's Saga*, in some respects answers to that of the *angon*, but it is evidently different in others: “*Kesiu hafdi hann (þorolfr) i hendi fiódrin var tveggja alna laung ok sleginn framm broðr ferstrendr en upp var fiódrin breid, falrinn bæði langr ok digr. Skaptid var eigi hærra en taka matti hendi til fals ok furduliga digrt, iarteinn var i falnum ok skaptid allt jarnvasit. þau spíot voru kollut brynþvarar; i. e. Thorulfus hastam manu tenuit, cujus ferrum duas ulnas longum, in mucronem quatuor acies habentem desinebat, pars vero quæ manubrium proprius erat, lata fuit; interstitium inter mucronem et hastile, longum et crassum erat. Hastile non longius erat, quam ut prædictum interstitium attingi posset manu (erectâ extremo hastilis in terram defixo). Interstitium oblongum fuit et ferreum. Lignum luminis ferreis circumdatum erat. Istius modi hastæ dicebantur Brynthvaræ.*” Bartholini, Antiquitates Danicæ, lib. ii. cap. 8.

By the kindness of Mr. Rolfe of Sandwich I am enabled to exhibit three examples of the francisca, or "taper-axe." No. 1, he informs me, was found in the burial-place explored at Ozengel, near Ramsgate, in 1845. That marked No. 2 was discovered in a grave at Coombe, in the parish of Wodensborough, midway between that place and Ash, near Sandwich. With it were found a bronze dish, fine specimens of glass, and a sword of extraordinary size and beauty. The axe, being an unsightly object, was thrown aside as worthless! No. 3 was dug up at the corner of Richborough Castle field, near the cottage, about twenty years ago, by labourers employed by Mr. Rolfe to search for foundations of a period subsequent to the Roman possession. Its shape differs from that of the francisca, and resembles those of the axes in the hands of the figures in the Bayeux tapestry.



No. 1.



No. 2.



No. 3.

Anglo-Saxon Axes found in Kent, size $\frac{1}{2}$.

Other specimens of the francisca will be found on the table; among them is that already exhibited by Mr. Roach Smith at a previous meeting, presented to that gentleman by the Abbé Cochet, by whom it was discovered in France. But the object deserving our especial attention is the iron head of a very small axe, exhibited by Mr. Acton. It was found at Colchester, and in shape so closely resembles that of the francisca, that we may regard it as a not inappropriate illustration of the lines of Sidonius Apollinaris, already quoted, in which the Frank is described as trained to the casting of his favourite weapon from his earliest years.



Small axe found at Colchester,
size $\frac{1}{4}$.



Francisca from a cemetery at Londinieres,
size $\frac{1}{2}$.

The axe, however, is more commonly found in the Merovingian graves, and but seldom in those which have been opened in this country. Indeed the number of weapons discovered in the ancient graves of France far exceeds that in the graves of the fifth and sixth centuries hitherto explored in England; a circumstance which may be accounted for by the fact that the Frank warrior scarcely ever laid aside his arms, especially the axe, which we are told received the name of *Francisca* from its being the favourite and peculiar weapon of this people. Clovis, on some occasions, appears to have used it with terrible effect. A story is told by Gregory of Tours which shows that the axe was the favourite weapon of the Franks of all ranks, and that it was rarely out of their hands. The soldiers of Clovis, among their other violences, had plundered a sacred edifice of a valuable vase; the Bishop sent a messenger to the King to entreat that it might be restored. "Come with me to Soissons," said Clovis to the messenger, "and we will see if it can be recovered." They proceeded to the city, where the monarch's troops were dividing the spoil, and the vase was at once pointed out and given up; but a Frank, more daring than the rest, presumed to dispute the surrender, and struck the vessel with his axe. The messenger departed with the much-prized though probably ruined object, and Clovis appeared to overlook both the injury and the insult; but the next year, at a review of his troops, he singled out the vase-breaker, whose arms were in an unsoldierlike condition. Seizing the soldier's axe, he threw it on the ground, exclaiming, "Thou alone art unworthy to appear before me; thy spear, sword, and axe, are useless." The man stooped to recover the weapon which had been plucked from his hand, and Clovis, with a blow of his own axe, struck off his head, saying, "It was thus thou dealtest with the vase at Soissons."^a

Nor is this the only narration of the historian of the Franks which illustrates the use of their favourite weapon, a use in which Clovis was well skilled. Regnacaire, King of Cambrai, and his brother, having been defeated and made prisoners, were brought bound to this savage, who first bitterly reviled them for submitting to bonds, and then with his axe himself struck off their heads.^b The son of Sigebert having, at the instigation of Clovis, slain and despoiled his father, brought the trea-

^a Sic tu apud Suessionias in urceo illo fecisti.—Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. c. 38.

^b He reproached them with their tame submission to bonds unworthy of the Frank nation. "Cur humiliasti genus nostrum, ut te vinciri permitteres?" was the stern demand. "Melius est tibi mori; et elevatam securim capiti ejus defixit." Then turning to the brother, he continued, "Si tu solatium fratri tribuisses, alligatus utique non fuisset; similiter et hunc securi percussus interfecit."—Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. c. 42.

sure he had thus acquired in a casket to the King's agents, who, as he stooped to shew it them, cleft his head with an axe.^a

We have already alluded to the discovery of the axe in the Merovingian graves and in the tumuli of the Anglo-Saxons or Franks established in Britain, and explained its constant occurrence in the former. In the tomb of Childeric, discovered by accident at Tournay, in the year 1653, and of the contents of which particulars are given by Montfaucon after Chiflet, were found many objects of the greatest interest, highly characteristic of the age in which they were deposited. There was the skeleton of a horse with a portion of its trappings; a spear-head; a sword with one edge only; gold fibulæ, differing somewhat in form but resembling in construction that exhibited to the Society by Mr. Chalmers in 1850; a crystal ball of the size of a small orange, an object so often found in graves of minor importance of this period; and lastly an axe head of iron, but not a *bipennis*, not the *πέλεκος ἀμφίστομος* of Agathias, but resembling in form the axe-heads found in France and England.

Dr. Rigollot, in a very able article on the arms and ornaments of the Teutonic races,^b remarks, that though many of the axes found in the Frank graves differ in form, they all have but one cutting edge. He then notices that the writers who have followed Gregory of Tours, Aimoin, Hincmard, and Flodoard, have employed the same terms in speaking of this weapon—*francisca quæ vocatur bipenna; bipennem suam quod est francisca*, &c.^c On this I would remark, that, although Sidonius Apollinaris used the word *bipennis*, and the Greek writers the still less equivocal term *ἀμφίστομος*, I do not think they furnish us with direct proof that the *francisca* was in reality double-edged. In the classical ages *bipennis* was obviously the name given to the double-edged axe of the Asiatics, and this term, originally used for the weapon wielded in war, would, in all probability, in after times be applied to any axe thus used, of whatsoever shape it might happen to be. Our own language

^a The wretched parricide brought the treasure in a casket to the emissaries of Clovis, remarking "in hanc arcellulam solitus erat pater meus numismata auri congerere." "Immitte manum tuam usque ad fundum, ut cuncta reperiās," said they. "Quod cum fecisset," continues the historian, "et esset valde declinus, unus elevata manu *bipennem* cerebro ejus inlisisit."—Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. ii. c. 40.

^b Recherches historiques sur les Peuples de la race Teutonique, &c., Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, tome x^e. p. 121.

^c Isidorus speaks of this weapon as "Secures quas Hispani ab usu Francorum, per derivationem *franciscas* vocant."—Lib. xviii. c. 8. It is noticed by Suidas s. v. Ἀγγωνες ἐπιχώρια ὄντα παρὰ Φράγγους—sic Franci hastas in sua regione usitatas vocant. See Pachymeres, lib. vi. c. 30, where mention is still made of this weapon by the name of *angon*.

furnishes many examples of the use of terms long after they have ceased to be applicable.*

Let us now turn to the *Anglo-Saxons*, whose arms and dresses must in many respects have resembled those of the Franks. In various drawings in our Anglo-Saxon MSS. we see military figures with short tunics, bare heads and knees, and their legs defended by bands. These, however, do not cover the thigh like those worn by the Franks, but reach only to the knee, or rather to just below it. Most of them are armed with barbed javelins, with a cross-bar below the blade, like that of the now obsolete lance once carried by our sergeants of foot. The accompanying representation is from the psalter in the Harleian Collection, No. 603, p. 56 B. in the British Museum.



* In the time of Alexander the Great it was the weapon of the Barcarians, an Asiatic people, of whom there were two thousand men in the army of Darius,—
 “Barcanorum equitum duo millia fuere, armati bipennibus levibusque scutis cetræ maxime specimen reddentibus.”—Q. Curt. lib. iii. c. 2. Vegetius, so late as the days of Valentinian, speaks of it as a naval weapon, which may be used for cutting the cordage of vessels,—“Securis, habens ex utraque parte latissimum et acutissimum ferrum.”—Lib. iv. c. 46. I do not mean to dispute that the bipennis was known to our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. The illumination of the *Fine Psalter*, Harl. MS. No. 603, would lead us to infer that it was; but I submit that it was not the common and favourite weapon of the Teutonic races. The ordinary military weapon was the narrow or “taper axe,” of which more hereafter. By some writers the “twybill” is supposed to be the *bipennis*; but the name “twybill” is not yet obsolete in the West of England, where it signifies a bill-hook with a cutting edge at the back. The term *bill* obviously implies a rostrated, and not an axe-shaped, instrument.



MS. Harl. 603.

The destroying angel is represented launching his barbed javelins at a group of armed men below. His attack is doubtless executed in the manner most common to the Anglo-Saxons, which we may infer did not differ from the charge of the Franks, as described by Agathias in the passage above quoted. It will be perceived that the three weapons answer the description of the angon, and are dissimilar to those commonly discovered in Anglo-Saxon graves.



Spearheads from Anglo-Saxon Graves.

I was at first disposed to consider this barbed javelin as a mere conventional representation of the Anglo-Saxon artist: but after reading the account of Agathias, already quoted, I am led to conclude that it is not altogether fanciful, but that there must have been good grounds for its being almost invariably drawn of that shape. I confess, however, that I am totally at a loss to reconcile it with the fact that nothing of the kind has ever been found in our Anglo-Saxon tumuli, or in the graves of the Merovingian cemeteries, of which considerable numbers have now been explored by French antiquaries. Enough has been discovered in the graves of the two nations to show that they were a people of cognate habits, and that their dress, arms, and personal ornaments, were, in many respects, precisely similar. There are, however, some peculiarities which distinguish the Frank from the Anglo-Saxon remains. The axe, as already observed, is rarely discovered in the latter, but in the former very frequently, as are also very large knives, which do not occur in the Anglo-Saxon graves; a fact which in some measure negatives the supposition of Dr. Rigollot, that they are the weapons which, according to the mediæval rhymist, Gotfridus Viterbiensis, gave the Saxons their name:—

*Ipse brevis gladius apud illos Saxo vocatur,
Unde sibi Saxo nomen peperisse notatur.*

In fact, our researches at present tend to shew that the Saxon, even in those rude times, had become less bellicose after his location in Britain. The excavations in Merovingian cemeteries appear to indicate that every Frank was a soldier, while very many Anglo-Saxon graves contain the small knife only, not a warlike weapon, but the simple and anything but formidable instrument with which the occupants once divided their

daily food. Few of the many barrows in East Kent which I assisted Lord Londesborough in opening in the year 1841 contained swords, many had knives only, and some skeletons were found unaccompanied even by the knife: not a single axe was discovered.^a Excavations which I have on several occasions made in the tumuli of the South Downs, beyond Lewes, have led to the same result, the remains indicating a people of pastoral habits in quiet and undisturbed possession of the soil.^b

Now, in the cemetery of Bel Air, explored by M. Troyon,^c a number of weapons was found, and in the tombs of Selzen^d an equally warlike assemblage, as remarked by Dr. Rigollot. This is seen from the list which he gives, and which I here add, as affording a remarkable contrast to the contents of Anglo-Saxon graves:—

- 1st Grave. Two javelins and a large knife or short sword.
- 2d „ A spear and a javelin.
- 3d „ A large sword.
- 4th „ A large sword, a large knife, a spear, and two javelins.
- 5th „ A sword and a large spear.
- 6th „ An axe and a knife.
- 7th „ An axe, a spear, and a large knife.
- 8th „ A large knife.
- 9th „ An axe, a spear, a javelin, and a very large knife.

The large knives, it will here be seen, often accompany the sword: they have but one edge, and towards the hilt are two grooved lines, which an eminent French antiquary conjectures may have been intended occasionally to hold poison.^e These weapons are supposed to be the “*cultri validi*” or *Scramasaxes* of Gregory of Tours, and were well adapted to the close conflict which the Franks so much preferred.^f

^a Archæologia, vol. XXX.

^b The extensive cemetery at Fairford in Gloucestershire, explored by Mr. Wylie, has afforded no example of the axe or the large knife.

^c Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich. 1841.

^d Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen. Mainz. 4to. 1848.

^e It was with such weapons that Fredegond armed her agents employed to murder Childebert,—“*duos cultros ferreos fieri præcepit; quos etiam caraxari profundius et veneno infici jusserat.*”—Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. viii. c. 29. See an account in Bede, lib. ii. c. 9, of the attempted murder of Edwin, King of Northumbria, by an assassin armed with a poisoned dagger, which was long enough to pierce the interposed body of the loyal Thane, and wound the King.

^f In the battle in which Clovis slew with his own hand the Gothic king Alaric, the historian describes the Goths as commencing the conflict with missiles, and the Franks as rushing at once to close fight: “*confligentibus his eminus, resistunt cominus illi.*”—Greg. Turon. lib. ii. c. 37. Vegetius informs us that the Romans had often suffered from the arrows of the Goths: “*Contra Gotthos milites nostri multitudine sa-*

They appear, from the position in which they are found in the Merovingian graves, to have been worn depending from the girdle, as was doubtless the short sword found in the tomb of Childeric at Tournay.

As regards the axe, although so seldom discovered in the graves of the Anglo-Saxons, there is good reason to suppose that it was a favourite arm with that people, and that it continued in use down to the period of the Norman invasion. At the memorable battle of Hastings the weapons opposed to the arrows and lances of the Normans were darts of various kinds, sharp axes, and slings;^a and the author of the "Chronique de Normandie" tells us, that when the Normans feigned a retreat the Saxons, quitting their entrenchments, pursued them eagerly, each with his axe suspended from his neck.^b Now the weapon which could have been thus carried, must have been furnished with a very short handle,^c like those of the Franks as described by Procopius; and, if we do not find examples of it so frequently in the Anglo-Saxon graves, we ought not to conclude that it fell into disuse; on the contrary, it rather appears to show the changed habits of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. The character of the Frank had greatly altered even before the termination of the Merovingian dynasty; and it is but reasonable to suppose that a people whose country was protected by the sea would become even less bellicose. Although the fatal field of Hastings was so stoutly contested, the entrenched position of the Saxons showed that they were perfectly sensible of the formidable military character of their adversaries, and it is very obvious that during nearly the whole day they acted almost entirely on the defensive. There was no want of personal courage, but an evident consciousness of inferiority in military discipline and resources. Like their kindred race, they fought on foot, and appear to have been

gittariorum sæpe deleti sunt."—Lib. i. c. 2. The different modes of fighting of races of Teutonic origin is very remarkable.

^a *Illi contra fortiter quo quisque valet ingenio resistunt. Jaçant cuspides, ac diversorum generum tela, verissimas quasque secures, et lignis imposita saxa.*—Gesta Gulielmi Ducis Normannorum, &c. Hist. Normann. Scriptores Antiqui, p. 201.

^b *Et sitost comme les Anglois les virent fuir, ilz commencerent a poursuivre chacun la hache à son col.*—Ext. de la Chronique de Normandie. Rec. des Historiens, tome xiii. p. 235.

^c In the Bayeux Tapestry, however, the Saxons are represented using axes with long handles. In the Saxon Chronicle, sub anno M.CCXXIX. we find that Cnut gave to Christ Church, in Canterbury, the haven of Sandwich, and the dues thereof on either side as far as a man standing on a ship at flood tide could cast a taper-axe on shore,—*ƿpa þæt loc hƿenne þæt ƿlæt bȳð ealra hehƿe 7 ealra ƿulloƿe. beo an ƿeap ƿlætgenſe. ƿpa neh þan lande ƿpa hit nȳxt. 7 þaſ beo an mann ƿeance of þam ƿeape and habbe anc ƿapep æx on hyr* * * * The lacuna is compensated by the words of the charter itself,—*ƿpa mæx an ƿapep-æx beon geƿopenn ūt of ðam ſcepe ūp on ðæt land, &c.*—Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, vol. iv. p. 24.

insensible to the value of the horse in battle. They neglected also the bow, like the Franks, and trusted to darts and javelins. This mode of warfare appears to be described in several Anglo-Saxon writers. In the verses composed on the victory of Æthelstan at Brunanburh we have the following lines:—

þær læg fecg mænig,	There lay soldiers many,
garum ageted,	With darts struck down,
guma norðerna,	Northern men,
ofer feylb fœten.	Over their shields shot. ^a

And in the Hymn of Praise and Thanksgiving:—

þon gar gætrum	When the gar shower
ofer feild hreadan	Over the shield's defence
feotanð fendas	Warriors send. ^b

Also in the poem on the Day of Judgment:—

Ne þearf him ondrædan	Need not dread
deofla færlas,	The shafts of devils,
ænig on eorðan	Any on earth
ælda cýnnes	Of the race of men
gromra gar-fære,	The armed course of foes,
gif him god feildeþ.	If him God shieldeth. ^c

Riddle xxviii. of the same collection commences:—

Min heafod is	My head is
homefe geþunen,	With hammer beaten,
reapo-pila punð,	With war-darts wounded. ^d

And is less obscure, for here the word *pila* leaves us in no doubt as to the description of weapon alluded to. In the lines above quoted *gar* may mean an arrow, but it is more likely to signify a javelin,^e since it is evident that the Anglo-Saxons were not

^a Saxon Chronicle, sub anno dccccxxxviii.

^b Codex Exoniensis, p. 42.

^c Ibid. p. 49.

^d Ibid. p. 497.

^e This word *gar* appears to be identical with the Danish *geir*, which in the Runic Lexicon of Magnus Olavius is described as "verutum vel nomen gladii in mucronem acuminati;" and this author attempts to identify it with the *framea* described by Tacitus: we may suppose, however, with Bartholin, that the weapon was not a sword but a spear, which could be used in close combat or thrown to a distance. This kind of short spear was a favourite weapon with the people of Teutonic race: it was well adapted for that horrible sport of tossing infants, in which the Danish pirates delighted (see Bartholin, *Antiq. Danicæ*, lib. ii. c. 9), and of which the Scotch are accused by Hoveden, in his account of their invasion of England in the reign of the first William.

partial to the bow as a weapon of war, and appear to have looked upon the arrow as the appropriate missile of the robber, or of one who lurked in ambush, as we may infer from the following lines:—

rcylð rceal cempan,	A shield for the soldier,
rceapt reapepe,	A shaft for the robber,
rceal bryðe beaz,	A ring for the bride, ^a
&c. &c.	&c. &c.

In some Anglo-Saxon cemeteries a greater number of weapons has been discovered than in others, and this has led to the inference that a garrison had once been maintained on the spot; yet, even in these cases, but few relics have been found to justify the supposition that the individual in whose grave they were discovered, had been a soldier; the spear would rather appear to indicate the rank of the deceased. It was carried on foot, when it served as a staff, and on horseback, in either case serving as a defensive weapon. Thus Saint Cuthbert, when he visited Melrose, dismounting from his horse, gave his travelling-spear to a servant and entered the abbey to pray.^b That the spear was a symbol of power and authority among the Teutonic races we learn, not only from Tacitus, but also from the historian from whose pages I have so frequently quoted in the course of these remarks. When Gonthram made over his kingdom to Childebert he delivered to him a spear, saying, "This is the token that I give to thee the whole of my kingdom."^c

At the risk of fatiguing the Society with these details, I shall, in conclusion, venture on a few remarks on the largest description of sword found in the Frank as well as in the Anglo-Saxon graves. The blade of this weapon is often nearly a yard long. One of the finest examples which has ever come under my notice is that found at Fairford, in Gloucestershire, and recently exhibited by Mr. Wylie, of that town. Its length, including the handle, is just three feet, the blade broad, two-edged, and pointed. It is highly probable that this sword, in the decline of the empire, was not peculiar to the Franks and Saxons.^d Except that the blade is

^a Codex Exoniensis, Gnomie Verses, p. 341.

^b Casusque contigit, ut cum illo proveniens equo desilisset, ingressurusque ad orandum ecclesiam, ipsum pariter equum et *hastam, quam tenuerat manu*, ministro dedisset, nec dum enim habitum deposuerat secularem.—Venerabilis Bede, De Vita et Miraculis S. Cuthberti, c. vi. Compare the Canons enacted under K. Eadgar,—Deôplíc hæðs bôc brð . ð læpebe man hÿr pæpna alege, etc.

^c Hoc est indicium quod tibi omne regnum meum tradidi.—Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. lib. vii. c. 33.

^d The sword of Otger the Dane is thus described by Mabillon, in the Acta Sanctorum:—"Hujus vera spathæ quæ Otgerii dicitur, à summa lamina longitudo est trium pedum, et pollicis unius; secundum capulum et glandem, pollicum septem: summæ laminæ latitudo trium pollicum, in acumine unius et dimidii; totius

pointed, it would answer the description which Tacitus gives us of the swords of the Britons in the time of Domitian. And here I may be permitted to observe, that, even if the historian wrote from actual information, the words *sine mucrone* are not intended to describe the swords of the Islanders as absolutely pointless. Common sense obliges us to propose a different meaning, and to suggest, that what Tacitus really meant was, that the British sword was not adapted for thrusting, the point being obtuse compared with that of the swords of their enemies. The same explanation suggests itself on reading the account which Polybius gives us of the swords of the Gauls, already quoted at the commencement of these remarks.

The great length of the blades of the Anglo-Saxon swords favours the belief that they were originally the weapons of horsemen. We see weapons precisely similar by the sides of the equestrian figures sculptured on the monuments to Roman stipendiaries; a similar sword is, however, held by a standing figure on a well-known sepulchral monument discovered in London. The large knife-shaped weapons found in the Frank graves suggest at once their use by a people who fought on foot, and in the manner already described; but in the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries they are never met with, although large swords, like those of the Franks and those discovered in the cemeteries of Switzerland^a and Livonia,^b are repeatedly found. Further researches among the grouped tumuli of this island may possibly shew why the larger sword was preferred by a people whose very last struggle was maintained on foot against a race whose chief strength was in their cavalry.

With these remarks I conclude; but I cannot do so without expressing my

spathæ pondus est quinque librarum cum quarta parte." This predilection of the Teutonic races for huge weapons continued for a long time. Gualermo Pugliese thus describes the swords of the Sueves brought into Italy by Pope Leo IX. in the year 1053.

Præminet ensis;

Sunt etenim longi specialiter et peracuti

Illorum gladii percussum a vertice corpus

Scindere sæpe solent.

The use of such long and powerful swords doubtless led to the adoption of the long knife already noticed. Vegetius speaks of the large and small swords used by the Romans in his days, — *gladios majores quos spathas vocant, et alios minores quos semispathas nominant.* Lib. i. c. 15.

^a Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zurich, 1841. Description des Tombeaux de Bel-Air, par Frédéric Troyon.

^b Die Gräber der Liven; ein beitrage zur Nordischen Alterthumskunde und Geschichte, von Johann Karl Bähr. Dresden, 1850.

earnest hope that others may hereby be invited to discuss at length a subject so interesting. The comparisons here instituted shew at least the value of monumental researches in connexion with the study of an important chapter of our national history. It must be seen that without such comparison many obscure points will remain unexplained, and that, though historians may give us the outlines of events, many details are wanting which, imperfectly alluded to by them as unimportant, are in our time worthy of minute inquiry, and may be illustrated by the evidence which archæology supplies. It rarely happens that the sober and candid inquirer ends where he began,—rarely that he does not stumble on facts which have hitherto remained unnoticed; and still more rarely that he fails to derive some satisfaction from the hope and belief that he has led the way to a better acquaintance with the subject he has undertaken to illustrate.

30 April, 1851.

J. Y. AKERMAN.



MS. Harl. No. 603, p. 30.

XVIII.—*Observations upon certain Documents relating to William first Earl of Gowrie, and Patrick Ruthven, his fifth and last surviving son, in a Letter addressed by JOHN BRUCE, Esq. Treasurer S.A., to Sir CHARLES G. YOUNG, Garter, F.S.A.*

Read June 19, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR CHARLES,

5, Upper Gloster Street, Dorset Square, 14th June, 1851.

WHEN I some time ago addressed a paper to the Society of Antiquaries upon the subject of the death of William first Earl of Gowrie, and the bearing of that sacrifice to injustice upon what I believe to have been the conspiracy entered into by his sons John and Alexander in the year 1600, I was not aware that there exists, in the person of Colonel Stepney Cowell, a present representative of the last male descendant of that most unhappy family. Since the publication of my former paper, I have, by your kind introduction, been brought into acquaintance with that gentleman, whom I have found extremely zealous for the honour of his unfortunate ancestors. He takes an entirely different view of the Gowrie conspiracy from myself; but, with a liberality which proves the sincerity of his own convictions, as well as his desire for the discovery of the truth, whatever it may turn out to be, he has not only allowed me to inspect his family papers relating to the Gowries, but has given me permission to make some of them the subject of an additional communication to the Society of Antiquaries.

Before I proceed to state the contents of these papers, allow me to allude to another subject connected with my former communication to the Society. It has been mentioned to me that it is thought that I must have overstated the miserable condition of Scotland under the domination of the Earl of Arran, A.D. 1584. It is doubted, I am told, whether it could possibly be true that Arran and his friends practised such iniquitous tyranny as I have attributed to them. "Surely," an eminent antiquary has remarked to me, "it is incredible, whatever your authorities may say, that any political party could have adopted a policy so entirely suicidal." The point thus raised is one of considerable importance, as well in reference to the main

subject of my former paper, as in connection with the subsequent and more fatal Gowrie conspiracy in 1600. If the members of the dominant party did not conduct themselves with the tyrannous injustice which I have attributed to them, the intrigues of the friends of the first Earl of Gowrie for their overthrow, the movements which formed the excuse for his execution, and the subsequent conspiracy (as I consider it) of his sons, are all entirely unaccountable. But if we conclude, as I still think we ought to conclude, that the tyranny of the Earl of Arran was of the harshest and most selfish kind, conspiracies become natural instead of unaccountable. Borne down in Parliament by power obtained by bribery; unable to procure justice in the corrupted courts of law; Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbarton, and the other strongholds of the kingdom, in the possession of their enemies, and hated as a stern and uncompliant party by the boy-king; what wonder if the Protestants of the time had recourse to combinations which the friends of Queen Mary termed "conspiracies," or if among the objects of their plots some appear to us, after the lapse of centuries, to be extremely difficult to be understood, if not to be almost incredible.

In my former paper I stated that Calderwood and Melville, Spottiswood and Keith, Bowes, Davison, and Hume of Godscroft, contemporary writers of all parties, described the conduct of Arran in terms which applied only to an almost unparalleled tyranny. After recomparing the statement with these authorities, I am not inclined to retract one word of it. All of them in their several ways bear out the following emphatic testimony of Melville:—

"Now the Erle of Arran triumphed, being chanceler and capten of the castellis of Edenbrough and Stirling. He made the haill subjects to tremble under him, and every man dependit upon him; daily inventing and seeking out of new faults against divers for their escheats, lands, benefices, or to get budis [*gudis?*]; vexing the haill writers and lawyers to make sure his giftes and conkissis. And samany of the nobility as were in fear of their estates fled, and others were banished. He shot directly at the life and lands of the Earl of Gowry."—(Melville's *Memoirs*, p. 324.)

In addition to the evidence I before adduced, I would beg to be allowed to fortify my statements by a letter which seems to have been overlooked even by Tytler and other pains-taking historical writers. Dated from Edinburgh, 6th September, 1584, it was written by Davison, who at that time filled the arduous office of resident English ambassador in Scotland. It is addressed to Sir Christopher Hatton, and presents a minute picture of the state of the government of Scotland. The letter

is too long, and its details too minute, to be read before the Society at this time, but I append it to the present communication, and would beg leave to direct attention to its contents. They are not the less valuable because proceeding from a statesman known to have been more candid than cautious. Davison represents the king's advisers as pursuing a course which is hurrying their master headlong into the most imminent danger; the king himself being, in the meantime, personally animated by an implacable hatred of that Protestant party which, as Davison remarks, "in defence of his life and crown had hazarded their own lives, living, fortunes, and all that they have." Arran is described by Davison as one with whom neither fear of God nor respect of man prevailed. Urged on by his shameless and ill-gotten wife, he possessed an inordinate thirst for power and wealth; and gaining ascendancy in the parliament by bribery and corruption, openly turned his power to the profit of his party. "They have forfeited," Davison says, "whom it pleased them, whose malice and cruelty spared not the poor innocent ladies, especially the Countess of Gowry, whom they used with the greatest inhumanity that may be, and have determined their revenge and rapine against the rest, whom they please to summon in the next session of parliament, where he [Arran] is to preside as viceroy, the king minding not to be present."

Such testimony from a witness, at once so competent and so credible, corroborates my former statement, and proves that if any excuse or vindication for a conspiracy to bring about a political change by violent means, can be found in the fact that the country was really suffering under a grinding and oppressive tyranny, the Ruthvens are entitled to the benefit of it.

I now proceed to the papers intrusted to me by Colonel Stepney Cowell:

The first of them is an original deed, under the hand and seal of William the first Earl of Gowrie, dated at the burgh of Perth, on the last day of February 1583, which I take to mean 1583-4. This document is now exhibited to the Society.

It appears in the paper No. III., which was printed in illustration of my former paper, that after the Earl of Gowrie had been found guilty, he addressed the judge who was about to pass sentence upon him as follows:—"My lord judge, the points whereof I am condemned are but small oversights, and so it will be known afterward. I pray you to make not the matter so heinous as to punish it by the penalty of forfaltrie. My sons are in my lands; the second is confirmed in all his rights by the king's majesty." In the paper No. II. the latter sentence reads thus: "My sons are in my lands many years since, and have all their rights confirmed by the king, and failing the eldest the second is to succeed, and is assigned to all my causes." The

reply of the judge was that the Earl, having been found guilty of treason, the customary consequences must follow the verdict.

The deed now exhibited may be one of the legal documents for carrying into effect the arrangement by which the Earl of Gowrie endeavoured to secure his sons in the possession of his lands. It empowers Patrick Gussythaw to surrender the lands and baronies of Ruthven and Dirleton into the hands of the king, in order that a new grant might be made thereof to the earl's eldest son James and his issue male, and in default thereof to his said son's next male heir, but with a reservation of the life interest of the earl himself, and the rights of Dorothy Stewart his spouse. A copy of this deed will be appended to this paper.

It is now exhibited as presenting, among its other claims to attention, an excellent autograph of the earl, with an impression of his seal. The arms upon the seal are, quarterly, 1. and 4. Ruthven, 2. Cameron, 3. Haliburton, all within a double bordure. The crest is said to be a goat's head cabossed, issuing out of a crown. The supporters are two goats. The motto is *DEID SCHAV*.

The legend runs thus: *S . VILELM . COMITIS . GOVRLE . DNI . RVTHVE . ET . DIRLTOV̄*.

The other papers communicated to me by Colonel Cowell relate to that member of the family from whom he traces his own descent—Patrick Ruthven, termed by Mr. Craik in his excellent work, entitled *The Romance of the Peerage*, "the last of the Ruthvens."

From the time of the Raid of Ruthven, in 1582, King James pursued every member of the Ruthven family with the most implacable dislike. It is said by those who would induce us in the present day to think favourably of the character of James I., that, in comparison with his son Charles and his grandson James, he is entitled to the credit of having had a heart; that his lavish kindness to Carr and Steenie, however undignified and absurd, exhibited a warmth and geniality of disposition which more resembled the good-humour of the patron of Nell Gwynne than the stately coldness of Charles I. or the stern bigotry of James II.

This sacrifice of King James's possible good qualities, in order to obtain for him a reputation for mere simple kindliness, fails altogether in the instance of the Ruthvens. Towards them his conduct, from first to last, exhibited the unforgiving enmity which characterized his son Charles and his grandson James, in combination with a cowardice of which no one can accuse any one of his descendants.

On the conviction of the first Earl of Gowrie, in 1584, his lands and goods, in spite of the arrangement to which we have already alluded, were forfeited to the crown. His widow pleaded for some little favour to be shewn to her children, but in vain. Davison states, as we have seen, that she was treated "with the greatest inhumanity that may be," and Hume, of Godscroft, relates that she was "basely and beastly used." She was a Stewart of the house of Methven, but to her and to her children they [that is, Arran and his friends] shewed no respect at all, but treated her with all incompassionate rigour and cruelty, for she, having come to intreat for herself and children while the parliament was sitting, and "having fallen down upon her knees before the king, was trodden under foot and left lying in a swoon."^a Even a more powerful mediator was disregarded. Queen Elizabeth addressed a letter to James, which is full of honourable pity for the sufferings of this noble family. She reminded the king that the deceased earl was one of the chief instruments in putting the crown upon his head, and that in defence of his majesty's rights against the murderers of his father, Darnley, those of his grandfather Lennox, and those of his uncle Murray, the earl had lost many relatives and members of his clan, and had subjected his own life and estate to the greatest hazard. She earnestly solicited James's compassion towards the earl's "poor wife and thirteen fatherless children." She reminded him of their innocency and their youth. She begged that, by their restoration to their father's lands, some monument of that ancient house might abide to posterity, and their name be not rooted out from the face of the earth through the private craft and malice of adversaries whose eyes could not be satiated otherwise than by the earl's death. Finally, Elizabeth appealed to James on the score of natural affection to his own, the Gowries, as she states, being "tied so near by kindred and consanguinity" to himself.^b

During the ascendancy of Arran all such pleading was in vain. Gowrie was executed on the 4th May, 1584. On the 10th of the following month, Davison mentions that the king's favourite was already in possession of "Dirleton, Cowsland, and Newton, all sometime belonging to Gowrie;" and on the previous sixth of the same month an order was made by the Scottish Privy Council "to inbring and deliver the escheat guidis of William sumtym Earl of Gowrie, to the Earl of Arran." When Arran fell, more merciful and generous counsels instantly prevailed. One of the earliest acts of the Protestant party, on its restoration to power, was to procure

^a Hist. Ho. of Douglas, p. 387, ed. 1644.

^b Bannatyne Miscellany, i. 106.

a remission of Gowrie's attainder. His dilapidated and forfeited honours were restored to his family by an act of parliament, dated the 10th December, 1585.

The first earl left, as stated in Queen Elizabeth's letter, a widow and thirteen children. Five of them were boys. 1. *James*, the second earl, born in 1557, died in 1588. 2. *John*, the third earl, born about 1578; and 3. *Alexander*, born in January, 1580-1. These latter were the two brothers who were killed at Perth on the outbreak of the conspiracy in 1600. The fourth and fifth sons were *William* and *Patrick*, both children of very tender age at the execution of their father, the former being probably about three years old, the latter about as many weeks. On the explosion of their brothers' conspiracy, William was about nineteen years of age, Patrick about sixteen, and both were at that time "at the schools" in Edinburgh under a private tutor. When the tidings reached Edinburgh of the terrible calamity which had befallen their family, these boys instantly proceeded to the residence of their mother at Dirleton, a distance of about ten miles from the Scottish metropolis. This was on the morning of the day after the explosion of the conspiracy. That same evening a man named Kennedy, a friend whom they had left behind at Edinburgh, contrived to let them know that messengers for their arrest were about to be despatched by the king.

The young men fled instantly. Half an hour afterwards a band of horsemen, headed by the Master of Orkney and Sir James Sandilands, arrived at Dirleton to effect their apprehension. The countess, long used to scenes of sorrow and the stratagems of pursuit and escape, received the messengers with calmness. She carried herself "soberly," says old Calderwood, until the messengers explained that it was the king's intention to commit her sons to the care of the chancellor, the Earl of Montrose, the grandfather of the loyal hero in the time of Charles I. This nobleman had been one of the jury who sixteen years before had condemned the countess's husband. Upon the mention of his name she could restrain herself no longer. Bursting forth into a torrent of passionate reproach, she denounced the Earl of Montrose as a "fawse traitor and a thief," and protested against her "bairns" being consigned to the care of one who had had a share in the murder of their father. In the mean time "the bairns" were hurrying towards the Border. Their tutor from Edinburgh accompanied them. They procured disguised apparel, and travelled a-foot across the most unfrequented districts. They left Dirleton on the evening of Wednesday the 6th of August; they threaded their way along the bye-paths of a country which must have been all on fire with the tidings of what

had happened at Perth; and on the morning of Sunday the 10th they stole secretly into Berwick and presented themselves to Sir John Carey, the English governor. They entreated simply that their lives might be safe till the truth of their cause was known. The governor, a son of Lord Hunsdon, was overwhelmed with commiseration for the "poor gentlemen," and especially for the "old distressed good countess, whose case," he says, "is pitiable and lamentable."^a He gave the young men shelter until he could hear from the queen, who permitted them to remain in England. For more than three weeks they lay concealed in Berwick, never stirring out of their chamber. Through the agency of their faithful tutor they managed to communicate with their mother, in the vain hope of obtaining some assistance in money from her. The country was so thickly set with spies, and she herself so closely surrounded by persons whose business it was to find cause of accusation against her, that she dared not send them help of any kind.^b This was alleged publicly, but probably the assistance which they ultimately obtained from Sir John Carey came in some secret way from the countess. From Berwick they travelled south on the 4th of September, and with Elizabeth's consent are said to have resided with their tutor for two years at Cambridge. In September 1602 there is reason to believe that they secretly visited their native country. But penniless, houseless, and objects of continued hatred to King James, they returned to England, and were in England when the death of Elizabeth placed their royal persecutor on the English throne. No greater calamity could possibly have happened to these unfortunate young men.

The circumstances of King James's entry into England are well known. If his summary execution of a cut-purse at Newark was a poor indication of his acquaintance with the laws of his new country, certainly the first of his proclamations that can be traced directly to his own authority by no means furnished a favourable indication of his personal character. The proclamation in question was issued from Burghley, where the King remained several days, on his road to London. It was dated the 27th of April, 1603. It contained, not an act of grace for the new subjects who flocked in crowds to welcome him, but an evidence that the king brought with him into his new dominions all the prejudices and the hatred which had been engendered by his long misgovernment of his ancient kingdom. The proclamation recites that the king was informed that William and Patrick Ruthen, as they were then termed, perhaps because the name of Ruthven had been

^a Secret Corresp. of Cecil, ed. Hailes, p. 161.

^b Ibid. p. 164.

abolished in Scotland by Act of Parliament, had crept into this kingdom with malicious hearts against the king, disguising themselves in secret places, uttering cankered speeches, and practising and contriving dangerous plots and desperate attempts against the royal person, whereupon his majesty commanded all sheriffs and justices to arrest the alleged conspirators and bring them before the privy council. He also warned all persons against harbouring or concealing them. This proclamation is printed at p. 9 of the Book of Proclamations, fol. 1609. Mr. Lemon has furnished Colonel Cowell with a copy of it from a MS. draft remaining in the State Paper Office, which is corrected by the actual hand of Sir Robert Cecil.

William Ruthven made his escape. The whole family were distinguished for literary and scientific taste, to a degree so unusual in that age, that many of them were defamed as sorcerers. William Ruthven is stated to have been a chemist and a philosopher, and it is thought that he was that brother of the Earl of Gowrie who is mentioned by Bishop Burnet as having lived beyond sea, and respecting whom Burnet says, "it was given out that he had the philosopher's stone." (*Hist. Own Times*, i. 32. ed. Oxon. 1823.)

Patrick Ruthven was arrested under the king's proclamation, and was conveyed to the Tower. Colonel Cowell has traced him as being confined there on the 24th June, 1603, and has obtained extracts from various quarterly bills of the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, preserved amongst the Public Records, which prove the payments which were made to the lieutenant on his account. I have annexed these extracts to the present letter.^a It will be seen that when sent to the Tower an apartment was furnished for his use, and the following are the items which constituted probably the best kind of furniture in a prisoner's chamber:—"A bedstead, a bed, a bolster, a rug, blankets, sheets, and a canopye," for all which the sum paid was 5*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* For Ruthven's diet and other charges the lieutenant was allowed 3*l.* per week. There were extra payments of 20*s.* per annum for his washing; for his clothing about 10*l.* per annum; and for a reader, whose name was John Floyd or Lloyd, there was a payment of 10*l.* per annum. These, it will be remembered, were the allowances for the maintenance of a member of one of the noblest families in Scotland, a person near in kindred to the king himself, and heir presumptive of a very large estate, the whole of which was in the hands of the crown.

In his confinement in the Tower, Patrick Ruthven languished without trial, or even accusation, for a period of nineteen years, the best years of his and every

^a Appendix, No. III.

man's life, extending from about the nineteenth to the thirty-eighth year of his age.

During that long incarceration, only a few distant glimpses of the existence of this unfortunate man have been found. One of the most interesting has been supposed, but I think incorrectly, to have occurred at a comparatively early period of his imprisonment. I refer to a letter of a somewhat extraordinary character, addressed by Patrick Ruthven to Henry Percy, the ninth Earl of Northumberland, for many years his fellow prisoner. Copies of this spirited and elegant composition were formerly extremely common. There are several in the British Museum, and it is found in most extensive collections of MSS.^a Amongst our ancestors it seems to have been regarded as a fine example of a bold and manly letter, and it may truly be considered as no less indicative of the spirit than of the literary talent of the writer. This letter, which, for convenience of reference, I have placed below,^b although it has been printed in the *Cabala* (ed. 1654, supp. p. 106), was obviously addressed by a prisoner to a person at large. It must, therefore, have been written either between 1603, when Ruthven was thrown into the Tower, and November, 1605, when the earl became his fellow prisoner, or between the 18th July, 1621, when the earl was released, and the 4th August, 1622, when the same happiness was shared by Ruthven. Looking at the terse, matured, antithetical vigour of expression which distinguishes the whole composition, I incline to the latter period. I cannot believe

^a It occurs in Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus. 1775, art. 7, and 4108, art. 69.

Mr. Ruthven to the Earl of Northumberland.

My Lord,

It may be interpreted discretion sometimes to wink at private wrongs, especially for such a one as myself, that have a long time wrestled with a hard fortune, and whose actions, words, and behaviour are continually subject to the censure of a whole state; yet not to be sensible of public and national disgrace, were stupidity and baseness of mind: for no place, nor time, nor state, can excuse a man from performing that duty and obligation wherein nature hath tied him to his country and to himself. This I speak in regard of certain infamous verses, lately by your lordship's means dispersed abroad, to disgrace my country and myself, and to wrong and stain by me the honour of a worthy and virtuous gentlewoman, whose unspotted and immaculate virtue yourself is so much more bound to admire and uphold, in that, having dishonourably assaulted it, you could not prevail. But belike, my lord, you dare do anything but that which is good and just.

Think not to bear down these things either by greatness or denial; for the circumstances that prove them are so evident, and the veil wherewith you would shadow them is too transparent. Neither would I have you flatter yourself, as though like another Giges you could pass in your courses invisible. If you owe a spite to any of my countrymen it is a poor revenge to rail upon me in verse: or if the repulse of your lewed desire at the gentlewoman's hands hath inflamed and exasperated your choler against her, it was never known that to refuse Northumberland's unlawful lust was a crime for a gentlewoman deserving to have her honor called in question.

this letter to have been the composition of a comparative boy. The outrage against a lady in whose character Ruthven felt an interest, which is alluded to in this letter, probably occurred whilst the earl was confined in the Tower, and the whole tone of the letter indicates a familiarity with the earl and his character not likely to have been found in the composition of an imprisoned lad to whom the earl could have been little known except by report, but not at all unlikely to have resulted from the intercourse which may have passed between them whilst both were prisoners in the Tower. We know that the earl associated whilst in confinement with Raleigh, and had as his constant companions Hariot, Hues, and Warner, three mathematical scholars of the period, who passed by the name of the earl's "three Magi."^a It is obvious from this letter, that in general intellectual power, and it will appear hereafter that in special acquirements as a man of science, Patrick Ruthven must have been a congenial companion in such society. It will be observed, also, that in this letter Ruthven speaks of himself as having "a long time wrestled with a hard fortune." Even in his case this expression would scarcely have corresponded with the gravity of the other parts of this composition, if written between the age of nineteen and twenty-one; but the expression acquires solemnity and depth of truth and feeling when taken as proceeding from a man of thirty-seven or thirty-eight, one half of whose existence had been passed within a narrow prison, in which, although ignorant of most of the stirring events of the world from which he was secluded, he must have been saddened not merely by the circumstances of his own mournful history, but by familiarity with such events as Raleigh's execution and Arabella Stewart's death.

For her part, I doubt not but her own unspotted vertue will easily wipe out any blot which your malice would cast upon it; and for me and my countrymen, know (my good lord) that such blows as come in rime are too weak to reach or harm us.

I am ashamed in your lordship's behalf for these proceedings, and sorry that the world must now see how long it hath been mistaken in Northumberland's spirit; and yet who will not commend your wisdom in chusing such a safe course, to wrong a woman and a prisoner? The one of which cannot, and the other by nature and quality of the place may not, right his own wrongs. Wherefore (setting aside the most honorable order of the garter, and protesting that whatsoever is here said is no way intended to the nobility and gentry of England in general, which I doubt not but will condemn this your dishonorable dealing, and for which both myself, and I dare truly say, all my countrymen, shall be even as ready to sacrifice our bloods as for our own mother Scotland,) I do not only in regard of our own persons affirm, that whatsoever in those infamous verses is contained is utterly false and untrue, and that yourself hath dealt most dishonorably, unworthily, and basely; but this I'll ever maintain. If these words sound harshly in your lordship's ear, blame yourself, since yourself forgetting yourself hath taught others how to dishonor you; and remember, that though nobility makes a difference of persons, yet injury acknowledgeth none.

PATRICK RUTHEN.

^a Wood's *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, ii. 300.

Nothing is known respecting the lady who is alluded to in this letter. Some persons have conjectured that it was the Lady Arabella Stewart. I do not think it likely, under any circumstances; and those who are inclined to agree with me as to the probable date of the letter, must of course abandon that supposition, as Arabella died in 1615. It may relate to the lady whom Ruthven married—perhaps had married already. She was the widow of an English peer. It is difficult to conjecture how she and Ruthven became acquainted whilst he was in the Tower, and if this letter alludes to her, it adds to the mystery respecting her which will be commented upon hereafter.

On the 24th May, 1614, Ruthven was permitted to visit his sister Barbara, who was in London, and was thought likely to die, but he was to be accompanied by a keeper, who was to restore him safely to his place of confinement.

In 1616, after the lapse of thirteen years, there is the first trace of his receiving a little additional comfort. Colonel Cowell has found amongst the Pell records an entry of a grant to Patrick Ruthven of an annual payment of 200*l.* "for apparel, books, physie, and such like necessaries," which sum was to be in lieu of the allowances previously made to the Lieutenant of the Tower on those accounts, but was to be over and above the allowances still to be paid to the lieutenant "for the diets of the said Patrick Ruthven and of his servant."^a It may be that at this time his brother William was dead, which would make Patrick head of the Gowrie family, and give him an additional equitable claim for compassionate consideration at the hands of the king.

It was six years after this period before the doors of his prison were opened. Colonel Cowell has found the following memorandum on the Council Register under the date of the 4th August, 1622:—

"At the Court at Windsor, 4th of August, 1622.

"His Ma^{tie} having beene pleased to give order for the enlargement of Patricke Ruthen out of the Tower of London, his royall pleasure was this day further signified by M^r. Secretarie Calvert that the said Patricke Ruthen should remaine confined unto the Universitie of Cambridge, and within six miles compasse of the same, until further order from his Ma^{tie}; whereof this memoriall was com^{ma}unded to be entred into the Register of Councell causes, and a copie thereof sent unto the said Patricke Ruthen."

With liberty came new wants, and in the book of enrolments of letters patent

^a Appendix, No. IV.

for issues out of the Receipt of Exchequer, No. vi., fol. 95, under the date of the 11th September, 1622, Colonel Cowell has found an entry of a grant "to our well beloved Patrick Ruthen, esquire," of an annuity or pension of £500, payable out of the Exchequer, for his life.^a A grant so considerable clearly confirms the inference that his brother William was at this time dead.

As a studious and inquiring youth, Patrick Ruthven had probably found the University of Cambridge a pleasant place of residence. On that account he may have selected it on his release from the Tower, but increasing age and the deadening effects of nineteen years' imprisonment, with the formation of new family ties and relationships, rendered Cambridge, with all its manifold attractions, inconvenient or no longer agreeable to him. He petitioned the king for an enlargement of the condition which bound him to reside at Cambridge. His petition was considered, on the 4th February, 1623-4, in a council at which Prince Charles and Archbishop Abbot were present. New conditions were substituted for those which restrained his liberty at Cambridge, but the old jealousy of his approach to the court was only in a very slight degree relaxed.

The following is the Council Minute on the occasion :—

"At Whitehall, the 4th of February, 1623-4.

Present.

The Prince his Highness.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lord Keeper.	Lord Brooke.
Lord Treâr.	Lo. Chichester.
Lord President.	M ^r Treâr.
E. Marshall.	M ^r Comptroler.
Lo. Chamb'laine.	M ^r Sec. Calvert.
Lo. V. Grandison.	M ^r Chancellor.
Lo. Carewe.	M ^r of the Roles.

"Whereas his Ma^{tie} was heretofore graciously pleased to give order for the inlargm^t of Patrick Ruthen from his imprisonm^t within the Tower of London, and that he should remaine confyned to the Universitie of Cambridge, and within sixe myles compasse of the same, until the farther order from his Ma^{tie}, his royall pleasure was this day

^a Appendix, No. V.

further signified by Mr Sec. Conway, that the said Patrick Ruthen, according to his humble suite to his Ma^{tie} on that behalfe, should be released of his confynm^t upon theis twoe condiçions, vizt. that he should come noe nearer to the court then he was pmitted by his said confynem^t, and that he should not at any tyme seate himselfe in any place wher his Majesty should not lyke him to be resident, whereupon the said Patrick Ruthen haveing for the present named Somersetshire for his residence, his Ma^{tie} was pleased to approve thereof: and a memoriall hereof was com^{ma}unded to be entred in the Register of Councell Causes, and a coppie of the same sent unto the said Patrick Ruthen."

Whereabouts in Somersetshire Patrick Ruthven resided, or how long he remained there, is not known.

The next glimpse we have of him occurs in the proceedings of this Society, and is of peculiar value in this place, as giving the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries something of a personal interest in Patrick Ruthven's name and character. In the admirable paper, contributed by our friend the Rev. Joseph Hunter to the 32nd volume of the *Archæologia*, upon Edmund Bolton's proposal, sanctioned by James I. in 1624, for the establishment of a Royal Academy in England founded upon the ruin of Archbishop Parker's, or the old Society of Antiquaries, there is printed, from a valuable MS. in Mr. Hunter's possession, a list of the persons who were to have been admitted what may be termed the first fellows of such a Society; "a list framed, it is probable," remarks Mr. Hunter, "by Bolton himself, but sanctioned and approved by the king."^a In that list we read the name of "Mr. Patrick Ruthin."^b Mr. Hunter was at one time inclined to suppose that the gentleman alluded to was the eminent soldier who in after times became the Earl of Forth and Brentford; but I believe I may state that he now agrees with me in thinking that the person into whose fate we are at present inquiring is far more likely to have been the man. His after-history renders this more probable, but I could not pass by such an incident in the chronological place in which it occurs without a word of comment, which I hope will excite a deeper sympathy amongst the Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries on his behalf, and induce them to follow this inquiry to its end with undiminished if not increasing interest.

There is a lapse of sixteen years between the date of this incident and our next information respecting Patrick Ruthven. James I. had been long dead, and Charles was now engaged in that unhappy war with his Scottish subjects which led so directly

^a *Archæologia*, XXXII. 142.

^b *Ibid.* p. 146.

to the troubles in England, when we find the heir of the earldom of Gowrie again using his patronymic Ruthven, or rather Ruthuen, for the 'u' is substituted for the 'v,' and described as of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, esquire, assigning 120*l.* per annum, part of his pension of 500*l.* per annum, to his "lovinge daughter Mary Ruthuen," of the same parish, "spinster."^a This was on the 27th February, 1639-40, and its discovery was the first notice which was found of Patrick Ruthven's having been married. For a long time it was all that could be ascertained upon the subject. But information received very recently from a Scottish gentleman, well known for his skill in genealogical research,^b has led to the establishment of the fact, that the wife of Patrick Ruthven was Elizabeth Woodford, second wife and widow of Thomas first Lord Gerrard of Abbot's Bromley in Staffordshire, who died when Lord President of Wales, in 1617.^c Every step in this history is a mystery and a romance. How this "fair young lady," for such she is stated to have been at the death of her first husband, became known to the prisoner in the Tower, where they were married, or when—everything in fact relating to this portion of our narrative—remains at present altogether unknown.

This incident of Patrick Ruthven's marriage throws a gleam of sunshine across a few years of his melancholy story; but the light is given only to be withdrawn. His life was closed in sorrowful and congenial darkness. The probability seems to be, that Ruthven and Lady Gerrard were married within a year or two after the death of Lord Gerrard, and whilst Ruthven was still suffering imprisonment. In 1624, the lady died, leaving Ruthven a widower with three young children, two boys and a girl, if not more.^d If he was still resident in Somersetshire, he probably now returned to London with his children. Mary Ruthven, his daughter, was in due time admitted to an office in the royal household, in the service of Queen Henrietta Maria. She is stated to have been a young lady of extraordinary beauty. Those who have seen her portrait, by Vandyke, at Hagley, may judge how truly that was the case. The assignment, by her father, of the 120*l.* per annum, was

^a Appendix, No. VI.

^b Alexander Sinclair, Esquire, of Edinburgh. The information was conveyed through Mark Napier, Esquire, whose interest respecting the history of Patrick Ruthven is increased by the circumstance that he was a fellow student in chemistry and astrology with the celebrated Napier of Merchistoun, the inventor of logarithms.

^c Harl. MS. 1423, fo. 56. Birch MS. 4173, fo. 588.

^d Vincent MS. in Colleg. Arm. She is said in some MSS. to have had six children, but that does not seem very probable if she died in 1624.

evidently intended by way of marriage settlement, and shortly after it was executed, the exact date being as yet unknown, she was married, by the procurement of Charles I., to the illustrious artist Vandyke. Again the fates seemed smiling upon Ruthven and his fortunes, but it was only for a moment. In 1640, Mary Ruthven, then Lady Vandyke, paid a visit with her husband, perhaps a wedding trip, to his native Flanders. On the 1st of December, 1641, she gave birth to her only child, a daughter, who was baptised on the 9th of the same month, by the name of Justiniana, at St. Anne's, Blackfriars. This was the parish in which Vandyke lived from 1632 to 1641, occupying a house, as Mr. Cunningham has informed us, in his excellent Hand-book of London, which was estimated, at a moderate valuation, as being worth 20*l.* per annum. Mr. Cunningham has printed the entry in the parish register which relates to the baptism of Vandyke's daughter, in which there is a blank left for the name of the child's mother, and other entries which commemorate the burials of Jasper Lanfranck and Martin Ashert, two foreign servants of the great painter, who died in February and March, 1638. In the summer time, it may be added, Vandyke had a country lodging at Eltham.

His daughter Justina, Justiniana, or Justinian, which last is the name entered in the parish register, was born under circumstances of peculiar sorrow. Vandyke was subject to violent fits of illness, which were aggravated by some imprudences of living. One of his customary illnesses, perhaps increased by the public troubles, which seriously interfered with the practice of his art, fell upon him just at the time of his wife's confinement. During this illness, and three days after the birth of his child, he executed a will, in which he makes mention of his then "new born" daughter, and on the 9th December, 1641, the very day on which his little child was hurried to baptism, the great painter died, at the age of 43. He was buried, according to the direction of his will, on the north side of the choir of old St. Paul's cathedral, near the tomb of John of Gaunt. Increasing family troubles, the consequence of the public calamities, prevented the erection of any monument to his memory, and every trace of his interment was destroyed in the fire of 1666. Even in the midst of what ought to be an antiquarian paper, we may be allowed to glance for a moment at that lasting monument which he left behind him in his works. Of all the men of his day, how few united themselves more indelibly with the period in which they lived. How imperfect would have been our power of realising or describing that period, without Vandyke's living delineations of the king and queen, with the Herberts, the Wentworths, the Digbys, the Stanleys, the Howards, the Percies, the Seymours, the Villierses, and the other worthies of that court and time so inimitably commemorated

by his graceful pencil. His portraits constitute a monument which neither time nor fire can ever altogether destroy.^a

When the public troubles threw the finances and the government of the country into confusion, Patrick Ruthven and his family were among the first to suffer. His pension fell into arrear, which put an end to his daughter's income as well as his own; there were no means by which the large sums due to Vandyke could be recovered; Lady Vandyke made a second and an imprudent marriage; she soon after died, and the valuable collection of Vandyke's paintings, works left on hand unpaid for or unfinished, the only property applicable to the maintenance and education of Ruthven's granddaughter, the little Justiniana, were removed, under pretended legal authority, from Vandyke's house in Blackfriars, by creditors of Lady Vandyke's second husband, Sir Richard Pryse. To sell these pictures in England was not possible. During the public disturbances such productions were well nigh valueless, and the court of chancery would have interfered to prevent an open sale. To smuggle them out of the country was the only way of turning them to account, and, in spite of Ruthven's interference to the contrary, such seems to have been their fate. On the 25th March, 1644-5, Patrick Ruthven appealed upon the subject to the House of Lords. In his petition, which still exists,^b he sets forth the claims of his "fatherless and motherless" grandchild, explains the legal subtleties by which the possession of the pictures had been wrongfully obtained, and prays the House to stay their exportation. The House made its order accordingly.

"Upon reading the petition of Patrick Ruthin, esquire, it is ordered, that there be a stop made for the present of the exportation of the pictures remaining in the possession of one Richard Andrewes, and that the party whom it concerns shall have a copy of the petition and return his answer thereunto, and in the meantime the property of the said pictures is not to be altered nor sold."^c

This is the minute of the order as it appears on the journals; the actual order served on Andrewes states the circumstances more fully.^d What ensued is not quite certain. Andrewes was served with the order, and probably came to some arrangement with the friends of the orphan, either undertaking to sell the pictures for them, or on some other terms which they consented to. Two years elapsed. Some of the pictures had been sold, but no money was forthcoming for the orphan.

^a Colonel Cowell has in his possession a portrait of Vandyke, painted by himself. It is the one which is distinguished by the inverted hand—the same which was partly engraved for Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*.

^b Appendix, No. VII.

^c Lords' Journals, VII. 286 a. 25th March, 1645, 20 Car. I.

^d Appendix, No. VIII.

Andrewes's arrangements were now complete. The rest of the pictures had been exported, and Andrewes himself was preparing to follow them. A second appeal was in vain made by Patrick Ruthven to the House of Lords. Andrewes was sent for to answer for his contempt, but there is no record of his attendance. In all probability the bird had flown, and the pictures were lost to England and to Vandyke's daughter.^a

The continuance of the public troubles, and the consequent suspension of his pension, entailed not merely difficulty but absolute poverty upon Patrick Ruthven. Colonel Cowell has found among the records of the exchequer a document, dated the 8th May, 1648, by which Patrick Ruthven gave a security upon his pension of 500*l.* per annum to Lettice Ellinsworth, or, as she signed her name, Illingworth, of Westminster, widow, for 80*l.* which he stood indebted to her. On this paper are indorsed five receipts for small sums, amounting in the whole to 54*l.*, which she managed—we cannot tell by what importunity—to obtain under this assignment in the course of five years.^b It may be inferred from these indorsements, and the beggarly payments thus made from time to time to Patrick Ruthven's creditor, that from the commencement of the Civil War, down to January, 1652-3, Ruthven himself did not in all probability receive anything at all.

The security to Mrs. Illingworth proves clearly that at its date, *i. e.* on the 8th May, 1648, not only was William Ruthven esteemed to be dead without issue, but that Patrick Ruthven had then assumed one of those titles which, under other circumstances, would hereditarily have belonged to him. He was at first described in this document as the "Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Gowrie, Lord Ruthven." This was the description given of him by the scrivener who prepared the document and endorsed it "The Earl of Gowrie's Assignment." When it came to be executed, Patrick Ruthven probably hesitated to sign himself "Gowrie." The words "Earl of Gowrie" were consequently struck through in the two several places in which they occur, the endorsement was cancelled, and Patrick Ruthven affixed his signature simply as "Ruthven," a title to which of course he was no more entitled than to that of "Gowrie;" nor could he have had a pretence for assuming either during the life of his brother.

It was when thus compelled to face poverty in almost its sharpest form, that the curious and scientific spirit which distinguished the whole of his family came to Patrick Ruthven's aid. For several generations the leading Ruthvens were not merely men

^a Appendix, Nos. IX., X., XI., and XII. I am indebted to the kindness of W. J. Thoms, Esq., F.S.A. and to the permission of John George Shaw Lefevre, Esq., the Clerk of the House of Lords, for great facilities in the discovery and inspection of these important documents.

^b Appendix, No. XIII.

of general talent, but men whose talent led them specially toward the study of those mysteries of chemical philosophy which ignorance and prejudice have too often confounded with sorcery and magic. A cry was raised on this score, by their political opponents, successively against Patrick Lord Ruthven, and his son, the first Earl of Gowrie. Stress was laid, in the proofs given on the Gowrie conspiracy, upon a paper covered with unknown characters which was found in the pocket of the third earl. Bishop Burnet gravely records, as we have seen, that it was given out of Patrick Ruthven's elder brother William, that he "had the philosopher's stone." In all these cases, probably, the simple truth was, that the person alluded to was inclined to the study of chemistry, which in the then state of knowledge was invariably connected with alchemy. The same thing may be asserted of Patrick Ruthven,^a and when necessity compelled him to endeavour to find bread by the exercise of whatever talent he possessed, he procured a degree, as is said, of doctor of medicine, and practised as a physician in London.

The last glimpse we catch of him as a living man exhibits him in this honourable character, but does not lead us to suppose that his practice was either extensive or remunerative. It occurs in the *Aulicus Coquinariae*, and is evidently a remark founded upon personal observation. It refers, as Mr. Craik thinks, to about the year 1651, and is amongst Sanderson's *Additions to Bishop Goodman*. After mentioning some of the circumstances of Ruthven's imprisonment and pension, the writer adds, that, the latter failing, Ruthven "walks the streets, poor, but well experienced in chymical physic and in other parts of learning."

The last scene of all, the scene which ends this and all other histories, was surrounded in the instance of Patrick Ruthven with a melancholy which well befitted the misfortunes of his life. The gradations of poverty and misery which he passed through it is now impossible to unravel. Probably he lived to look back upon the

^a Since this was written, a very interesting proof of Patrick Ruthven's devotion to alchemical science has been laid before the Society by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. It is a MS. folio volume of collections, belonging to James O. Halliwell, Esq. F.S.A. consisting principally of extracts from chemical and alchemical works, selected and copied by the hand of Patrick Ruthven himself. Besides the evidence of handwriting, the authorship of the volume is proved, as Mr. Wright has pointed out, by the following heading to one of the articles: "The coppie of D. M. letter written to the Earle of ARG: contayninge the holl worke enigmaticallie as he conceived it firste out of the former wheels and sypher of Trithemius, and then made it with his owne handes: copied by me from the originall letter under D. M. owne hande. Copied, I saye, an. 1629, Octob. 2, per me, PATRICIUM RUTHVENUM." In another part of the same volume is a copy of a paper recording a conversation upon alchemical subjects, between Dr. Muller, the D. M. before mentioned, and the celebrated Napier of Merchistoun, in November 1607. This copy is stated to have been copied from a memorandum written by Napier himself, which was found after his death amongst his papers. In this conversation Muller treats Napier as a person "occupied in alchymie."

long years he had passed in the Tower—passed in the pursuit of favourite studies—as the happiest portion of his life. When death came to him, at the age of 68, it found this inheritor and representative of some of the noblest blood in Scotland, this cousin of the king, and as some think a possible claimant of the throne, the tenant of a cell in the King's Bench! He was buried at St. George's, in Southwark, as "Lord Ruthen," on the 24th day of May 1652, and against the entry of his interment in the register are placed the letters K. B., which indicate the place of his death.^a On the 13th March, 1656-7, letters of administration were granted of his effects, by the title of "Patrick Lord Ruthen, late of Scotland, but in the parish of St. George's, in Southwark, in the county of Surrey, deceased," to his son, "Patrick Ruthen, Esquire,"^b of whom nothing is known.

In conclusion, I would beg to point attention to the success which has attended Colonel Cowell's researches into the Public Records. The facts which he has derived from that source are but first-fruits, but they are sufficient to show what might be done for history and biography generally, if the records were rendered accessible by the abolition of fees upon literary searches. It is a little matter for a gentleman bent upon the investigation of a single question in which he has a personal interest to pay the expense consequent upon the prosecution of such a narrow inquiry, even if it extends to many offices, but nothing of the kind can be done by antiquaries or historical investigators. They spend their lives in researches which are day by day recurring, which extend over large fields of investigation, and embrace a great variety of objects of inquiry. In such cases the payment of reiterated fees, however small, is out of the question; no man's purse can afford it; nor will inquirers of independent spirit submit to such a literary wrong. Who would or could refer to the MSS. at the British Museum, if he had to pay a shilling for every volume he consulted? The instance before us goes some little way towards showing what is the loss to our historical literature in consequence of this regulation of the Record Offices. But I trust a time is rapidly approaching when this great obstacle to historical inquiry will be removed.

Believe me, my dear Sir Charles, yours very sincerely,

JNO. BRUCE.

SIR CHARLES G. YOUNG, Garter, F.S.A.

&c. &c. &c.

^a This fact was pointed out to me by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, ever ready to communicate out of his rich stores of information to every earnest inquirer. An extract from the register was procured for me by another equally kind and zealous friend, George R. Corner, Esq. F.S.A.

^b See Appendix, No. XIV.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Letter from WILLIAM DAVISON to Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON.

[Harl. MS. 291, fol. 143.]

SIR,

I knowe it can not but offer your honour argument ynoughe either to suspect my dewtie or to condempne my negligence, that in all the tyme since my cominge hither I have not written unto yow, the rather consideringe the devocion I have professed to bear yow, and the interest yow may lawfully chalenge in me. But as your honours good nature hath bine allwayes slow to prejudge or condempne your devoted poore friendes, so will yow, I doubt not, weighe my fault in the same even and equall ballance, assuring yourselfe that yf my restles busines here, growinge from the jealousy and unsettlett procedinges of this shaken government (which still withholdeth my frindes from resortinge openly unto me) did not geve me occasion and matter of continuall exercise in writinge to and fro, besides my ordinary dispatches home, which passinge wholly throughe my owne fingers, by reason of my want of one to do me that wayes some helpe, doth so occupie me, as it hath drawn an humor into myne eyes, which will hardly suffer me write att all, together with that I knowe ther is good watch layed at home by some favorers of the present alteracions here, to discipher amongst my frindes what race I have here to runne, which I confesse hath maide me somewhat the more skant of my lettres, for the respectes your honour can ghes. Besides that I doubt not but Mr. Secretary dothe acquaynt your honour from tyme to tyme with as much as he receaveth, and hath not forgotten to excuse me in your behalfe, as I have oft intreated him by my lettres. Yf, I say, thes and other unfeyned impedimentes did not excuse me, your honour might be assured that yow should have had no cause to complayne of my silence, and therefor beseche [you] to interpret my fault in the best parte, and assure yourselfe that, how negligent or slacke soever I appeare in ceremonies, yow shall still fynd me the same I have pretendid, without chaunge in my affection and devocion towards yow.

Of the uncerten estate and procedings here I woot not what certainly to write unto your honour, other then that I fynd infinite appearaunces that this yonge kinges course, directed partely by the unassured compasse of his mother's counsell, and partlye by the immoderate affections of some here at home, dothe carye him headlonge to his owne daynger and hazard of his estate, which, excedingly shaken by their late violent and tempestious fourme of procedinges, can not longe abide in the termes it is. He hath, since the chaunge at St. Androwes, continually followed fourth an implacable hatred and pursute agaynst all such as in defence of his lyfe and crowne have hazarded ther owne lives, living, fortunes, and all that they have, and now throwen himselfe into the armes of those that have heretofore preferred his mother's satisfaction to his owne seurtie, and do yet ayme at that marke with the apparaunt daunger of relligion (which hath

alreadie receavid a greater wounde by the late confusions and alterations then can be easelye repayred) and hazard, both of the state att home, and common peace with ther interest [nearest?] neighbours abrode, agaynst whose quiett as thies alteracons have [been] specially directed, so may your honour easely ghesse what we may looke for, yf the counsaile of ther oracle and indeavour of her instrumentes may take place. The Frenchman, Fonteny, brother to de Naue, her secretary, who addressed hither bothe from her selfe and her frindes in Fraunce, to renew the motion of ratefying the associacion heretofore sett abroche to interteyne her frindes and helpe forward the worke in hande for her reliefe, hathe insisted much upon that poynt of associacion, which the king pretendes to have no likinge of, diswaded, as Arrane woulde have us thincke, by him, who the rest of her frindes suspect to round a course to her disadvantage; but suche is the inconstancy and faythles nature of the man as it is hard to frame a certen judgment upon his actions, which I know ar suspect to the one side and other, especialle since the metinge betwixt him and my Lord of Hunsdon, in the secret whereof the rest pretend an utter ignoraunce, notwithstandinge that the Arle of Rothes, the Lord Fleminge, the Secretary, and others of the consaile, attendid on him to the place of metinge, where, duringe the conference, they were driven to kepe the scout-watch in the open churchyard, to ther disgrace, and prooffe of the others discretion. It appeares ther is some great mistery in this trafficke, which they ar so loth to discover, which I doubt not your honour hath longe er this found out; myselfe am maide a straunger to it by th'one side and other, althoughe otherwise acquaynted with more than they can well afforde me.

It is assured me that Armorer, my Lord of Hunsdon his servant (who as I heare is now at our court), brought the king at his last cominge in, duringe the parliament, both shertes, coyfes, handkercheffes, and other night-furniture very curiouslye wrought, but from whom your hono^r can ghesse. A little before the metinge betwixt his lordship and Arane, he confessed unto me that the marriage betwene this king and the yonge gentlewoman in court yo^r honour knoweth, was the marke they aymed at, but, in the meane tyme, I am assured he maketh court elsewhere, as I thincke you can not be ignoraunt, some of them estemenge and usinge the one as a meane to draw on the other. Althoughe there be sufficient appearances on this side, that they ar rather imbraced as meanes to interteigne the tyme and to make ther profite of that humor then of any sound affection, or good meaninge, to the one or other, as I thincke my Lord of Hunsdon will fynd in conclusion, howsoever he be now fedd with the paynted promisses of him that, to serve his owne tourne, respecteth neither fayth, hono^r, nor common honesty. But herein I see the tyme onely must make some men wiser. In the meayne while he enterteigneth the mocion of a mariage with Sweden, whither his brother William was purposely sent with Sir Andrew Keth, and hath sought to have a particular doinge with Fraunce, wheare it should seeme his credit is not great, the queenes frindes reposing no confidence in his inconstaunt nature, albeit they have used him as a fitt instrument to wracke such as they hated, feared, and suspected most; and yet would he appeare to ronne wholly the course of Englande, to see yf by that meanes he may put of the storme he feared, and kepe out those whose entry with her majestyes countenaunce would easelye deprive him both of honour and lyfe.

It is incredible how universallie the man is hated of all men of all degrees, and what a

jealousye is sonken into the heades of some of the wisest here, of his ambitious and imoderate thoughtes, which they suspecte to reach beyond the kinges life in a degree the world dothe not yet dreame of, as your honour shall heare more hereafter, wherein, besides divers speaches faulling out of his owne mouthe, some to myselfe some to others, of his lineall and lawfull discent to the arldome of Arrayne, and consequentye to what soever right that house can clayme (as he understandes it) in this crowne, and of thentaylinge of the crowne by parliament (wherein yf the yonge duke be admitted the first place he chalenge a seconde); his actions, as in recoveringe into his hands the principall strengthes of the countrye, with the whole munition, ordinaunce, jewelles, and wealth of this crowne; his usurped power and disposition of all thinges bothe in court, parliament, and sessions, at the appetite of him selfe and his good ladye, with many other thinges, do bewraye matter ynoughe to suspecte the fruietes of ambition and inordinate thirst of rule, especialye in suche a subjecte as neither feare of God or respecte of man prevailes with all. Since his recovery of this castell, which he longe aspired to, and whiche to compasse he forged the bruite of a new conspiracye, accusinge the captayne, or at least such within the place as (beinge removed) he might the easelyer circumvent the captayne and effecte his desire, havinge suborned one Drommonde that was before presoner theare, to be the accuser and delater thereof for his purpose, there faulethe out no appearaunce of any such thinge in treuth, neither dothe he insist any further in the matter since he gott his desire, which the world thinckes was furthered by his wiffes art;—a woman generallye accused of sorcerye, and laden with the infamy of other vices. But the desire and expectation of all men here shall fayle them yf there new kingdome do continew longe.

In the last session of parliament—more gaynefull to them by ther briberye and corruption then honorable for the king or profitable for the estate,—they have forfeited whom it pleased them; whose malice and crueltye spared not the poore innocent ladyes, especialye the countess of Gowrey, whom they used with the greatest inhumanitye that may be, and have determined to prosecute ther revenge and rapyne against the rest whom they please to sommon in the next session of parliament, where he is to preside as a viceroye (the king myndinge not to be present), havinge by acte in this last session full powre geaven to him and four of eche estate as his assistauntes, both to procede in forfeiture of the rest sommoned, and to make new lawes at ther discretion, in a forme as odious as it is straunge to all men.

In this last session, amongst manye other compositions, for lawes and justice ar here marchaundable and prized at ther discretions, they restored the old Bishop of Dunkell (deposed longe since for popery and other vices) for the somme of 6000 marks Scottishe, suspended some and discharged others out of the sommons of forfeiture; so as, besydes that praye they have maide of the forfeited landes and livinges of Gowryes and others, this parliament is thought to have yelded him and his wiffe in redye monye, at the least, 30000^{li} Scottish, whereof they lett not to make ther boast, as yf all thinges were lawfull that ar lustfull to them. He is on Thursday last departed from hence to Faulkeland, where they ar in deliberacion to dispatche the M^r of Graye, appoynted by Arraynes procurement to be ambassadour to her majestie, but his departure [is] yet uncerten. This gentleman, besides that he is a knowen papist, a favorer of the French course [court?], a servaunt and pencioner of the queenes, and a suspected pencioner of

the popes, hath himselfe confessed to have had at his comminge out of France a cupbord of plate geaven him by the Spanishe ambassadour resident ther, to the valewe of 5 or 6000 crownes, besides other gyftes from the duke of Guise, and other the queenes frindes, and since his comminge home hath bine threasorer of such monie as was sent home by Ballandine as comminge from the queene, whereof I know where he weighed at one tyme 10000^{li} reserved to the kinges owne use, besides his own parte, and that was els disposed amongst other of the courtiers to releve ther hungry appetites; out of which store he hath of late, by his owne confession, delivered at the queenes commaundement 300 to Fuliambe and his companyon, who fleeinge this last yere out of England have bine since interteigned with Huntley in the North, and of late at his fathers in Fife, as was likewise Nugent, the Irishe rebell, and his companyon. So as by the qualites of the person, with other circumstaunces, your honour may ghesse what fruite is to be gatherid of his ambassage, and what respect they have here to relegion, that employe men so qualified. He maketh great preparacion and taketh with him divers yonge gentlemen as vayne as him selfe. But hitherto I am not once maide acquainted by him selfe either with his diett or his charge, my Lord of Hunsdon and they thinckinge it best to have it passe throughe no more hands than ther owne, to whome I freely yeld all the honour and reputacion that may growe thereof, w^{ch} I feare will not be much when ther accoumpt is maide, but the end will crowne the worke.

And thus, havinge halfe blynded myselfe with writinge, and veryinge your honour with the redinge of a tedious and scribled lettre, wherein I have the rather punished my selfe to make some parte of a satisfaction for my fault passed, I do humbly recommend my selfe to your good favour, and your honour to God's good providence, whom I beseeche to blesse youe wth the health and happenes both of bodie and soule. Edenbough the 6th Septemb. 1584.

Your honours owne to be commaunded,

W. DAVISON.

Postscript.—The Erle of Argile is in great extremity of sickenes and not like to live manye dayes, his death in the opinion of his friendes bing hastened by the greeffe he conceaveth to see the estate both of rellegion and common wealth of his country in daynger to be turned upside downe, by the unhappie course and counsaile which this younge kinge followeth.

(Indorsed).—Scotland. Copie of a lettre to Sir Chr. Hatton, 6 Septemb. 1584. 26 Eliz.

No. II.

Deed of Procuratorship authorising a surrender to the king of the lands and baronies of Ruthven and Dirletoun, in order that a new settlement may be made of the reversion thereof in favour of James, the eldest son of William the first Earl of Gowrie.

UNIVERSIS pateat per presentes, ME WILLIELMUM comitem de Gowrie dominum Ruthuen' et Dirletoun etc., fecisse constituisse creasse et solempniter ordinasse, tenoreque presentium facere constituere creare et solempniter ordinare, honorabiles viros et predilectos meos *magistrum*

patricium gusythaw de newgirdge^a ac eorum quemlibet coniunctim et divisim meos veros legitimos et vironotabiles procuratores actores factores negotiorumque meorum infrascriptorum gestores ac nuncios speciales et generales, DANDO concedendo et committendo ipsis eorumque cuilibet coniunctim et diuisim meam plenariam liberam et omnimodam potestatem ac mandatum speciale et generale ad pro me et nomine meo (reverentia qua decet) flexisque genibus sursum reddend' pureque et simpliciter resignand' quiete clamand' et extra deliberand' TERRAS et baroniam de Ruthuen' cum turre fortalicio manerio molendinis multuris terris molendinariis salmonum et aliorum piscium piscationibus licet aut scitis annexis connexis partibus pendiculis tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenentium seruiciis earundem cum aduocatione et donatione capellaniarum de Ruthuen' et Tibbermure et omnibus suis pertinentibus; terras de Bullinbreych, Pitcarny, Cragingall, Orondachye, Hardhanch; tertiam partem terrarum de Airlyweich; villam et terras de Cultrany; terras de Denngrene; dimedietatem molendini de Auchtingavin, cum dimedietate multurarum et terrarum molendinariarum eidem incumbentium; totas et integras terras de Monydie, Banblair, Cragilmy, cum dimedietate molendini multurarum et terrarum molendinariarum huiusmodi; totam et integram tertiam partem dimedietatis omnium et singularum terrarum et baronie de Balligirnoch cum castro et fortalicio ejusdem, cum molendinis multuris terris molendinariis molendino fullonum ejusdem, cum tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenentium seruitiis integre dimedietatis huiusmodi; totam et integram tertiam partem terrarum et baronie de Abirnyte, cum molendinis multuris terris molendinariis molendino fullonum eorundem, cum tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenentium seruitiis ejusdem; tertiam partem integre tercie partis terrarum et baronie de Forgundeny, cum molendinis multuris terris molendinariis tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenentium seruitiis integre tercie partis, aduocatione et donatione capellanie de Forgundeny; omnes jacentes infra vicecomitatum de Perth; tertiam partem terrarum et baronie de Segie, cum molendinis multuris terris molendinariis ejusdem, tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenentium seruitiis huiusmodi terrarum et baronie, cum omnibus et singulis partibus pendiculis annexis connexis outsettis et pertinentibus ejusdem jacen' infra vicecomitatum de Kynros; totas et integras terras et baroniam de Ballerno et Newtoun', cum molendinis multuris terris molendinariis tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenentium seruitiis huiusmodi; villam et terras de Cowsland, cum turre et fortalicio molendinis multuris aduocatione et donatione capellaniarum, tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenentium seruitiis ejusdem et suis pertinentibus, jacen' infra vicecomitatum de Edinburgh; totam et integram tertiam partem terrarum et baronie de Dirltoun', cum turre fortalicio manerio Brabryn park, Hickfeild, Mensles et Mensles mure, villam et terras de Dirltoun; tertiam partem terrarum de Bowtoun' in meo infeofamento ex antiquo content' cum molendinis multuris terris molendinariis licet linkis cuniculis cuniculariis piscationibus tam in aquis saltis quam dulcibus, cum donatione prepositure de Dirltoun, cum tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenentium seruiciis totarum et integrarum antedictarum terrarum et baronie, cum omnibus suis pertinentibus jacen' infra vicecomitatum de Edinburgh et constabulariam de Hadingtoun';

^a The deed as originally prepared was intended to be directed to several persons. A blank left for the insertion of their names was ultimately filled up by the one name printed in italic. The grammatical alterations thus rendered necessary in the deed were not attended to.

tertiam partem terrarum de Hassintoun' et Haliburtoun', cum molendinis multuris advocacione donatione capellanie de Haliburtoun, cum tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenentium seruitiis totarum et integrarum predictarum terrarum et baroniarum cum suis pertinentibus jacen' infra vicecomitatum de Bervik; In manibus illustrissimi principis Jacobi Scotorum regis sexti, domini mei superioris eorundem, omnes vnitas annexatas et incorporatas in unam integram et liberam baroniam, baroniam de Ruthven' nunc et omne tempore affuturo nuncupand'. Et quod unica sasina capienda apud fortalicium principale de Ruthven' se extendet et sufficiens erit sasina pro omnibus et singulis terris baroniis et aliis superius specificatis simili modo et adeo legitime sicuti specialis et particularis sasina apud quamlibet partem antedictarum terrarum et baroniarum capta fuisset, non obstante quod discontigue jacent, secundum meum infeofamentum et sasinam earundem. **QUASQUIDEM** omnes et singulas terras dominia baronias et cetera superius specificata, cum castris turribus fortalicis maneriis molendinis multuris siluis piscationibus tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenentium seruitiis annexis connexis aduocationibus donationibus beneficiorum et capellaniarum partibus pendiculis et pertinentibus huiusmodi suprascriptis, vnitas creatas et incorporatas in unam liberam et integram baroniam ut dictum est, Ego dictus Willielmus comes de Gowrie dominus Ruthven' et Dirltoun, etc', non vi aut metu ductus, nec errore lapsus compulsus aut coactus, sed mea mera libera et spontanea voluntate animo deliberato et matura deliberatione prehabita, In manus dicti domini mei superioris per has meas procuratorii et resignationis literas sursum reddo pureque et simpliciter resigno, ac totum jus et clameum proprietatem et possessionem que et quas in et ad easdem habui habeo seu quovismodo in futurum habere potero omnino quieteclamo imperpetuum. **IN FAVOREM** specialem Jacobi Ruthven' filii mei senioris et heredis apparentis heredumque suorum subscriptorum pro dict' domini mei superioris carta et infeodatione, Ipsiquidem Jacobo Ruthven' et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreantibus, Quibus deficientibus propinquioribus et legitimis heredibus masculis dicti Jacobi mei filii quibuscunque cognomen et arma de Ruthvenis gerentibus et portantibus, quibus omnibus deficientibus proquinioribus et legitimis heredibus suis quibuscunque cum ipsis imperpetuum hereditarie permanentibus in debita forma danda et conficienda; **RESERVATO** tamen libero tenemento siue vitali redditu omnium et singularum terrarum dominiorum baroniarum et ceterorum superius specificat', cum castris turribus fortalicis maneriis molendinis multuris siluis piscationibus tenentibus tenandriis et libere tenentium seruitiis annexis connexis aduocationibus donationibus beneficiorum et capellaniarum partibus pendiculis et pertinentibus huiusmodi suprascriptis mihi pro omnibus mee vite diebus; **AC ETIAM** reservato libero tenemento siue vitali redditu Dorathie Stewart mee sponse omnium et singularum superius specificatarum terrarum dominiorum baroniarum et ceterorum suprascriptorum in quibus ipsa de presenti astat infeodata, secundum suum infeofamentum et sasinam eorundem, cum rationabili terrea remanentium et ceterarum eorundem similiter pro omnibus sue vite diebus, casu quo me ante ipsam in fata decedere contingerit et non alias; **ET DESUPER** instrumenta et documenta necessaria capienda procuranda et leuanda, et generaliter omnia alia et singula facienda gerenda dicenda et exercenda que ad officium procuratorium in premissis de iure seu regni consuetudine dinoscuntur pertinere, et que egomet facerem seu facere potuissem si presens personaliter interesset; ratum et gratum firmum atque stabile habens atque habiturus totum id et quicquid dicti mei procuratores eorumve aliquis coniunctim et diuisim nomine meo in premissis rite duxere seu duxerint facien' sub hypotheca et obligacione omnium bonorum

meorum mobilium et immobilium presentium et futurorum. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum meum proprium unacum mea subscriptione manuali presentibus est appensum; apud burgum de Perth die ultimo mensis februarii anno domini millesimo quingentesimo octuagesimo tertio; coram his testibus, Jacobo Melvill de Halhill, magistro Jacobo Herring preposito de Methuen, et Jacobo Drummond de Cairdneis.^a

Gowrie.

No. III.

AMONG the records in the Public Record Office, Rolls House, and in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, pursuant to Statute 1 and 2 Vict. c. 94, to wit, in the Miscellaneous Papers of the Exchequer of Receipt (that is to say, the Quarterly Bills of the Lieutenant of the Tower of London), it is contained as follows:—

EXTRACTS.

The demaundes of Sir George Haruy knight, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, for the dyetts and other chardges of prysoners in his custodye for one whole quarter of a year, viz^t, from the feast of the Nativity of St John Baptist 1603, vntill the feast of St Michael Thearch-angell next followinge, as hereafter is declared:—

Imprimis. For the dyett and other chardgs of Patrickke Ruthven from the xxiiijth of June 1603, vntill the xxixth of September next followinge, beeinge xiiij weeks, at iiij^{li} the weeke xliij^{li}

PATRICKKE
RUTHVEN.

Item. For a bedstead, a bedd, a boulder, a rouge, blancketts, sheets, and a canapye v^{li} xvj^s viij^d

Item. For his washinge and to the barber viij^s
xlviij^{li} iiij^s viij^d

* * * * *
Summa toſlis cclxviij^{li} viij^s x^d

(Signed) T. BUCHURST.

E. WORCESTER.

RO. CECYLL. W. KNOLLYS. E. WOTTON.

L. STANHOPE. S. G. HOWME.

G. HARUY, Lieuteñnt of the Tower.

^a A memorandum is indorsed of livery of seisin on the sixth of March, 1583. This memorandum is much defaced by time, and, in many places, illegible.

EXTRACT from a like bill of Sir GEORGE HARVY for the quarter ending 25 December, 1603.

PATRICK
RUTHEN.

	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Item. For the diett and charges of Patrick Ruthen, Esquier, from the xxix th of September 1603, vntill the xxv th of December next following, being xij weekes and halfe, att iij ^{li} a weeke						xxxviij ^{li}	x ^s
Item. More for aparell and necessities bowght for him this quarter as maye appeare							lix ^s vj ^d
						xli ^{li}	ix ^s vj ^d
	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

EXTRACT from a like bill of Sir GEORGE HARVY for the quarter ending 25 March, 1604.

PATRICK
RUTHEN
GOWERIES.

	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Item. For the diett and charges of Patrick Ruthen Goweries, brother to the Earle Goweries, during the tyme abouewritten, videt, for xj weekes, att iij ^{li} the weeke						xxxiiij ^{li}	
Item. More for the diett and other charges in the fleete of Patrick Ruthen Goweries for two weekes and a half, att iij ^{li} the weeke						vij ^{li}	x ^s
Item. More for apparell and other necessities bowght for him this quarter as maye appeere							xxij ^s vj ^d
	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

EXTRACT from a like bill of Sir GEORGE HARVY for the quarter ending 24 June, 1604.

	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Item. For the diett and charges of Ruthen Gowries, brother to the Earle Gowries, for thirtene weekes, att three pounds the weeke						xxxix ^{li}	
Item. More for apparell and other necessities bowght for him this quarter						iiij ^{li}	iiij ^s ij ^d
						xliij ^{li}	iiij ^s ij ^d
	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

EXTRACT from a like bill of Sir GEORGE HARVY (or "Hervy") for the quarter ending 29 Sept. 1604.

PATRICK
RUTHEN
GOWRES.

	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Item. For the diett and charges of Patrick Ruthen, brother to the Earle Gowres, for foretene weekes, ended att the feast of St. Michael Tharckangell 1604, att three pounds the weeke						xliij ^{li}	
Item. For apparell bowght for him this quarter						iiij ^{li}	iiij ^s
Item. For his washing one yeere and a quarter, att xx ^s a-yeere							xxv ^s
Item. To his reader Mr. Floyd, for one quarter, att x ^{li} p an ⁿ							l ^s
						xlvij ^{li}	xix ^s
	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

EXTRACTS from a like bill of Sir GEORGE HARVY (or "Hervy") for the quarter ending
25 Dec. 1604.

Item. For the diett and charges of Patrick Ruthen, brother to the Erle Gowres, from the feast of St Michael Tharkangell 1604, vntill Xp̄mas next ffollowinge, being twellue weekes and half, att iij ^{li} the weeke	xxxviij ^{li}	x ^s	PATRICK RUTHEN.
Item. More for apparell and washing, and other necessities bowght for him this quarter	xxiiij ^s	viiij ^d	
	xxxviij ^{li}	xiiij ^s viij ^d	
* * * * *			
Item. To John Lloyd, reader to Patrick Ruthen, for his quarterlie allow- ance, att x ^{li} p̄ anñ		l ^s	JOHN LLOYD.

EXTRACTS from a like bill of Sir GEORGE HARVY (or "Hervy") for the quarter ending
25 March, 1605.

Item. For the diett and charges of Patrick Ruthen, brother to Erle Gowres, from Xp̄mas 1604, vntill our Lady Daye 1605, next ffollowing, being thirteene weeks, att iij ^{li} a weeke	xxxix ^{li}		PATRICK RUTHEN.
Item. More for apparell and necessities bowght for him this quarter	iiij ^{li}	ij ^s viij ^d	
Item. More to John Lloyd, his reader, this quarter, and for his washinge		lv ^s	
	xlvi ^{li}	xviij ^s viij ^d	
* * * * *			

EXTRACTS from a like bill of Sir GEORGE HARVY (or "Hervy") for the quarter ending
24 June, 1605.

Item. For the diett and charges of Patrick Ruthen (brother to Erle Gowres) from the Anunçacōn of o ^r Lady 1605, vntill the feast of St John Bap- tist next ffollowing, being thirteene weeks, att iij ^{li} the weeke	xxxix ^{li}		PATRICK RUTHEN.
Item. For shooes and other necessities, and for his washing, and to his reader Mr. Lloyd, this quarter	iiij ^{li}	ij ^s	
	xli ^{li}	ij ^s	
* * * * *			

No. IV.

Also in Pells
P. S. Book,
No. 7. fol.
93^b.

Among the records in the Public Record Office, by virtue of the statute 1 and 2 Vict. c. 94, to wit, in the Inrolments of Writs of Privy Seal made by the Auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer, roll "F," entry "46," it is contained as follows:—

Irrotulamentū Breuiū sub priuato sigillo dñi Regis infra Thesaurū Recepit Scac'ij dicti Regis a Festo Pasche 1616, Anno Regni Regis Jacobi Anglie Francie et Hibernie decimo quarto et Scotie quadragesimo nono vsque ad Festum Pasche ex tunc proxime sequē 1617, Anno regni dicti Regis Anglie &c. decimo quinto et Scotie quinquagesimo.

Scilicet pro vno Anno Integro.

PATRICK
RUTHEN,
prisoner in
the Tower,
for apparell,
books, &c.
besides y^e
allowances
paid to y^e
Lieutenant of
the Tower for
his diettes,
cc^o. p^o annū.
To commence
from Midsom-
mer 1616.
Payable
quarterlie
during his
Ma^{ty} plea-
sure. (Ex^{te}.)

JAMES, &c. To the T^{re}er and Vnder^{re}er of o^r Exchequer that now are and that hereafter for the tyme shalbe greeting. Whereas wee have been pleased to grant, and by theis p^{nt}s doe grant vnto Patrick Ruthen, nowe prisoner in the Tower, a yearly allowance of twoe hundred poundes of lawfull money of England by the yeare for apparell, bookes, phisick, and such like necessities; Wee will and comānd yo^u of such our treasure as is now or shalbe from tyme to tyme remayning in the Receipt of o^r Excheq^r to pay or cause to be paid Patrick Ruthen or his assignes the said allowance of twoe hundred pounds by the yere ouer and aboue such other allowances as are paid to the Liuetenant of o^r Tower for the diettes of the said Patrick Ruthen, and of his seruant; the said allowance of twoe hundred poundes per annū to begin from the Feast of the Nativitie of St. John Baptist last past before the date hereof, and soe to contynue quarterlie by euen por^{ti}ons to be paid to the said Patrick Ruthen or his assignes during our pleasure. And theis o^r l^{ies} shalbe as well to yo^u the T^{re}er and Vnder^{re}er of o^r Excheq^r now being as to the T^{re}er and Vnder^{re}er of o^r Excheq^r that hereafter for the tyme shalbe sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given vnder our privie seale at o^r pallace of Westm^r the sixe and twentieth day of July in the foureteenth yeare of our raigne of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the nyne and fortith.

ED. CLERKE, dep^t THOME CLERKE mil^{it}.

No. V.

Among the records in the Public Record Office, Rolls House, and in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, pursuant to statute 1 and 2 Vict. c. 94, to wit, in the Book of Inrolments of Letters Patent for Issues out of the Receipt of the Exchequer, belonging to the late Pell Office, No. 6, folio 95, it is contained as follows:—

PATRICK
RUTHEN.

JAMES, &c. To the Tre^{re}, Chauncellor, Vnder^{re}, Chambleins, and Barons of the Exchequer of vs our heires and successo^{rs} now being, and that hereafter shalbe, and to all other officers and ministers of the same court and of the receipt there, to whom it shall or may apperteine, greeting: Knowe yee that wee, for diūse good causes and considera^{ci}ons vs therevnto moving, of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, have given and granted, and by theis presentes for vs, our heires, and successo^{rs}, doe give and grant vnto our welbeloved Patrick

Ruthen, Esquier, and his assignes, one annuitie or yearly pençon of five hundred poundes of lawfull money of England by the year; to have and to hould the said annuitie or yearly pençon of five hundred poundes to the said Patrick Ruthen and his assignes, for and during the naturall life of him, the said Patrick Ruthen; to pceive, receive, and take the said annuitie or yearly pençon of five hundred poundes of lawfull money of England, at the Receipt of the Exchequer of vs, our heires, and successors, out of the treasure of vs, our heires, and successors, from tyme to tyme, there to be and remaine, by the hands of the Treŕ, Vndertreŕ, and Chambleins of the said Exchequer, or some of them, at the Feastes of St. Michaell tharchangell, the Birth of our Lord God, the Annunciaçôn of the blessed Virgin Mary, and the Nativity of St. John Baptist, by euen and equall portions to be paid; the first payment thereof to begin at the Feast of St. Michaell tharchangell now next ensueing: And to the end this our graunt may take the better effect, wee doe hereby for vs, our heires, and successors, require and comaund the Treŕ, Chauncellor, Vndertreŕ, and Barons of the said Exchequer for the tyme being, and all other officers and ministers of the same court, and of the receipt of the said Exchequer for the tyme being, that they and every of them respectively to whom it doth or shall apperteine, doe not onely from tyme to tyme well and truely pay, or cause to be paid, the said annuity or yearlie pention vnto the said Patrick Ruthen or his assignes, but also doe give full allowance thereof, according to the true meaning of theis pñtes, our tres patentes sealed wth our great seale of England, bearing date at Westm the fifteenth day of May, in the sixteenth yeare of our raigne of England, for restraint of paym^{ts} or allowances of pençons or annuities, or anie thing therein contained, or anie other restraint, declaraçôn, significaçôn, matter, or thing to the contrarie in anie wise notwithstanding; and theis pñtes, or the inrollm^t thereof, shalbe vnto all men whom it doth or shall concerne a sufficient warrant and discharge for the doing and executing of all and singuler the premisses according to the true intent and meaning of this our graunt, although express mençôn, &c. In wittnes whereof wee have caused theis our tres to be made patentes. Wittnes our self at Westm, the eleaventh day of September, in the twentieth yeare of our raigne of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the sixth and fiftith.

ve^{ll}, p^r annũ.

Duranⁱ vita.

Ad iij^{os} anni termⁱ.

xj^o. Septem.
1622, a^o. xx^o.
R R. Jacobj.

p bre de pri: Sigillo.

No. VI.

Among the records in the Public Record Office, and in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, pursuant to Statute 1 & 2 Vict. c. 94, to wit, in the Book of Assignments and Powers of Attorney, of the late Auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer, No. 4, folio 127^b, it is contained as follows:—

BEE it knowen vnto all men by theise pñtes that I, Patrick Ruthuen, of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in the county of Midd, Esqr. haue made, assigned, ordeyned, constituted, and appointed, and by these pñtes doe make, assigne, ordaine, constitute, and appoint my loveinge daughter Mary Ruthuen, of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in the Countie of Midd, spinster, my true and lawfull attorney and assignee for mee and in my name, but to the onelie proper vse and behoofe of my said attorney, to aske, demand, and receive at the

PATRICK
RUTHUEN,
Esqr., to his
daughter
Mary Ruth-
uen for

exxⁱⁱ. pⁱ. ann^o. receipt of his Ma^{ty} Excheq^r of his highnes officers and ministers there for the time being yearlie and everie yeare for and duringe my naturall life the some of one hundred and twenty poundes of lawfull money of England, out of my yearlie pençon of fiue hundred poundes paiable vnto mee out of his Ma^{ty} said Excheq^r; and for so doing theise pñtes, together wth the hand writings or acquittances of my said daughter, testifyeing the severall yearlie receipts thereof, shalbe vnto all and everie his Ma^{ty}s officers and ministers of the Receipt aforesaide a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf; In wittnes whereof I, the said Patrick Ruthuen, have herevnto sett my hand and seale the seaven and twentieth daie of February, Anno Dñi 1639; and in the fifteenth yeare of the reigne of o^r Sovereigne Lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

Scaled and delivered in the pñce of

PATRICK RUTHUEN.

HENRY RADLEY.

THOMAS BRUCE, Apprentic Geo. Hare, Scr.

NO. VII.

To the Right Hon^{ble} the Lords assembled in Parliament.

The humble Petiçon of PATRICK RUTHUEN, Esq^r.

Sheweth,

Whereas S^r Anthony Vandyke did by his last will and testam^t bequeath vnto yo^r pet^{rs} daughter, being his wife, the one moietie of his estate, the other moietie unto his daughter the grandchild of yo^r pet^r, and soe dyed, the relict afterwards marryed vnto S^r Richard Price, and is since likewise dead, who hath receaved wth her farr more then the moietie w^{ch} was left her by her former husband.

And whereas there were remaineing in the Blackfryers a collection of pictures and other goods as p^{te} of the estate of the said S^r Anthony Vandyke, and yo^r pet^r seing his grandchild fatherles and motherlesse, and having the concurr desires and order of S^r Richard Price for p^rservaçon of the said pictures to the behoofe of the orphant, to whome they truly belong as in p^{te} of her moietie of her father's estate.

Now soe it is that the said pictures are, wthout privity of any who had interest in them, or by any lawfull power (in this tyme of disturbance), removed from the house where they were left by S^r Anthony Vandyke into the possession of one Rich. Andrewes, who hath invyted all such as hee could finde S^r Rich. Price indebted unto to attach them in his hands, that soe being valued att an under rate, as customarily things are in that kinde, hee might haue theire promises that, paying to them the prizes they were valued att, he might thereby possesse them as his owne for the 20 p^t of their true value, which hee hath by such indirect wayes brought to effect, whereby the orphant is wholly vndone; and the said Andrewes, being a p^{son} of inconsiderable quality, to make sure his pray w^{ch} hee hath gotten, hath sent p^t of the said pictures beyond the seas; and vlesse it pleaseth this hon^{ble} house to order the stay of the rest, hee intendeth imēdiatly to send them beyond sea, there to make sale of them for his owne great advantage, and himselfe in all likelyhood will remayne beyond the seas, being descended of forrayne parentage, whereby no law here shall take hold of him to right the orphant.

Yo^r pet^r doth therefore humbly pray the order of this hono^{ble} House for staye in the exporta^{cion} of the pictures here remayning; and to requyre him not to alter the proptie of those allready exported, w^{ch} hee confesseth as yet remayneth in him.

And yo^r pet^r shall pray, &c.

25 March, 1644.

(Indorsed).—PATRICK RUTHVEN, Esq^r.
Expe.

No. VIII.

Die Martis, 25^a Martii, 1645.

Upon reading of the humble peti^{cion} of Patrick Ruthine, Esq^r., desiring the preserua^{cion} of a colle^{cion} of pictures, and other good^e, late in Blackefryers, hauing bin the prop pictures and good^e of S^r Anthony Vandick, deceased, and belonging to his daughter, an orphant (and grandchilde to the peticoner,) w^{ch} said pictures and good^e, being remoued from the place where they were left by the said S^r Anthony Vandicke into the possession of one Richard Andrewes, who endeavors to alter the property of the s^d pictures and good^e or to send the same beyond seas, to the wrong and prejudice of the said orphant: It is therefore ordered by the Lords in Parliam^t that neither the said pictures nor other good^e late the said S^r Anthony Vandikes, and possessed by the said Andrewes as aforesaid, shall be sould or the property of them be altered, nor transported into any forreyne parte untill the pleasure of this house be further signified; and that the said Andrewes shalle be serued with this order, and a copy of the said peticon, who shalle be heard touching the contents therof if he shall desier it.

Jo. BROWNE, Cleric'
Parliamentor'.

(Indorsed).—Ord^r; Lords house, ag^t Ric^d Andrewes. Lo. Ruthuen.

No. IX.

To the Right Ho^{ble} the Lords assembled in Parliam^t.

The humble peti^{cion} of PATRICK RUTHEN, Esq^{re}.

Shewing,

That whereas upon the peti^{cion} of Patrick Ruthen, Esq^r, unto this ho^{ble} House, it was ordered that y^e pictures and goods late of S^r Anthonie Vandyke, and possessed by one Richard Andrewes, should not, for the reasons expressed in y^e said peti^{cion} and order annexed, be sould or the property altered or be transported into forreigne part^e untill the pleasure of this hono^{ble} House were further signified, and that the said Andrewes should be served with the said order.

Nowe soe it is, notwithstanding the said Andrewes hath been served with y^e said order, he hath in contempt therof transported beyond sea severall of y^e said pictures and good^e, and

imbeseled and sould others and converted y^e moneyes to his owne use, to y^e apparent p̄iudice of the interested in them, and in contempt of your Lo^{pp}s order, whereof he had so plenary an informa^{ti}on, and doth intend forthwith to convey himself into forreigne parts, together wth y^e residue of y^e said good^e, as by the affid^{ts} annexed appeare, whereby the heire and executor of S^r Anthony Vandyke, being an infant and an orphan, will loose all y^e benefit due to her by the lawe and intended by yo^r Lo^{pp}s former order.

Your peti^{ti}oner therefore humbly desires that y^e said Andrewes may be called before your Lo^{pp}s to aunswere suche his contempt as aforesaid, and y^t by yo^r Lo^{pp}s order in further reliefe of y^e said infant, may put in security not to dep^{te} y^e realme untill he shall aunswere and abide such suits as shalbe comenced ag^t him for such his uniust dealing in y^e estate of the said infant.

And yo^r pet^r shall pray, &c.

Patrick Ruthen

No. X.

WHEREAS by an order from the Lord^e in Parlim^{te} bearing date the xxvth of March, 1645. commanding the serving of Richard Andrewes with the same, they, these deponents, Thomas Birkinhead and Deirick Hesse, upon their severall corporall oathes say and depose that they the said deponents did serve the said Richard Andrewes, on or about the seaven and twentieth of March, 1645, by giving him a true copy of the said order and shewing him the originall. And the said Deirick, one of the deponents, saith that he is credibly informed that the said Richard Andrewes intends to goe beyond the seas.

THOMAS BIRKHENED.

DIERICK HESSE.

uterq. jur. 23 die february, 1646;

JOHN PAGE.

No. XI.

DIERICK HESSE maketh oath that he, this deponent, deposeth and saith that he hath beene credibly informed and knoweth that Richard Andrewes hath, contrary to the order of the hon^{bl} House of Lord^e, bearing date the five and twentieth of March, 1645, transported beyond sea severall of the said pictures and good^e in the said order men^{ti}oned, and hath disposed of others here within the kingdome, and doth refuse to give an accompte of the same.

DIERICK HESSE.

Jurat. 25^o february, 1646,

ROB^t AYLETT.

No. XII.

THE petition of Patrick Ruthen, Esquire, read against one Andrewes, and ordered, that the said Andrewes shall be sent for before their Lordships to answer his contempt.

Lords' Journals, ix. 37a. 26th February, 1646, 22 Car. I.

No. XIII.

Among the records in the Public Record Office, and in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, pursuant to Statute 1 and 2, Vict., c. 94, to wit, among the Original Powers of Attorney belonging to the late office of the Auditor of the Receipt of the Exchequer, it is contained as follows:—

BEE it knowne vnto all men by theis p^sentes that the right hono^{ble} Patricke [Earle of Gowrie^a] Lord Ruthven hath made, assigned, ordained, constituted and appointed, and by theis p^sentes doth make, assigne, constitute, and appoint Lettice Ellinsworth of Westminster, in the county of Midd, widow, his true and lawfull attourney and assignee for him and in his name, but to th'only proper vse and behoofe of his said attourney, to aske, demaund, and receave at his Ma^{ty} Court of Exchequer, of his highnes' officers and ministers there, or such others whome it shall concerne, all that summe of fourescore pounds of lawfull money of England (w^{ch} he standeth iustly indebted vnto her) out of his pen^{cion} of five hundred pounds per ann, or out of soe much thereof as shalbe from tyme to time ordered by the Committee of Revenue, the s^umme of fiftene pounds at everie such paym^t vntill full satisfac^{on} shalbe made of the said summe of fourescore pounds; and for soe doeing theis p^sents together wth the acquittance or acquittances of the said Lettice Ellinsworth shalbe vnto the said officers or ministers of the Exchequer, or any others whome it shall concerne, a sufficient warr^t and discharge in that behalfe. In witnes whereof he the said Patrick [Earl of Gowrie^a] Lord Ruthven hath herevnto sett his hand and seale, the eight day of May, anno do^{mi} 1648, and in the fower and twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord King Charles, &c.

Sealed and deliv^{ed} in the p^sence of

(Signed) ROBERT GREENE.

(Signed) THOM. BRUCE, Sc^r.

(Signed) *Ruthven* (L.S.)

The following receipts are written on the second page of the sheet:

Received by mee; Lettice Ellinsworth w^{thin} named, of the Right Hono^{ble} Patricke Lo^d Ruthven, by the hands of Thomas Fauconberge, Esq^r, Receiuo^r Gen^lall of the Publique Revenue, the s^umme of twenty pounds in pt of the assignem^t w^{thin} written. I say rec^d

(Signed) LETTICES ILLINGWORTH.

^a The words within brackets have been erased.

224 *Documents relating to William first Earl of Gowrie and Patrick Ruthven.*

Received more by mee, the said Lettice Ellingsworth, in further part of the assignem^t within written. I say receiued xiiijth
(Signed) LETTIES ILLINGWORTH.

Received more by mee, the above named Lettice Ellingsworth, in further part of the assignem^t within written, the some of tenn pounds. I say receiued xth
(Signed) LETTIS ILLINGWORTH.

xijth die April, 1651.

Recd more by mee, the above named Lettice Ellingsworth, in further pte of the assignem^t w^{thin} written, the sume of five pounds. I say receiued c^s
(Signed) LETTIS ILLINGWORTH.

The xvijth of January, 1652.

Recd by mee, the aboue named Lettice Elingsworth, of Tho. Fauconberge, Esq^t, Rec^r Gen^l of the Publique Reuenue, the sume of sixe pounds, in further pte of the assignem^t w^{thin} written. I say re^c vjth
(Signed) LETTIES ILLINGWORTH.

(Cancelled indorsement): The Earle of Gowrie's assignem^t.

(Further indorsement): Januar', '52.
Lo^d Ruthuen's assignem^t
to M^{rs} Ellinsworth.
34.

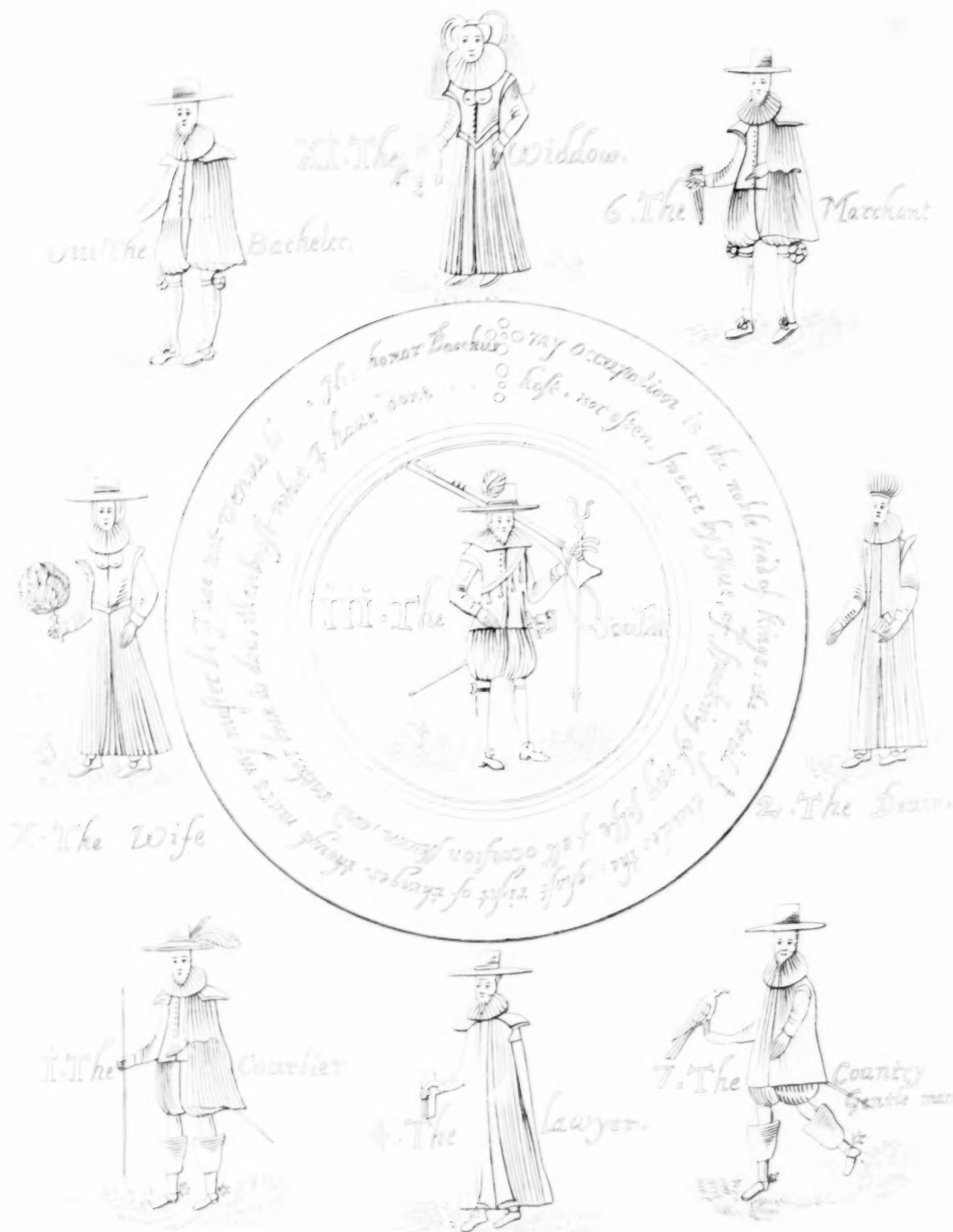
No. XIV.

Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, March 1656-7.

PATRICK. THE thirteenth day issued forth letters of administration to Patricke Ruthen, Esquire, the
LORD RU- natural and lawful son of Patricke Lord Ruthen, late of Scotland, but in the parish of St.
THEN. George's, in Southwark, in the county of Surry, deceased, to administer the goods, chattels, and debts of the said deceased, he being first sworn well and truly to administer, &c.

CHAS. DYNELEY,
JOHN IGGULDEN, } Deputy Registers.
W. F. GOSTLING,





Roundels or Fruit Trenchers of the time of James the First

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 13th April 1852.

XIX.—*Account of some "Roundells" or Fruit Trenchers of the time of James the First. In a Letter from JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary, to the VISCOUNT MAHON, President.*

Read May 15, 1851.

MY LORD,

Having examined and transcribed the verses on the nine Roundels forwarded to your Lordship by Colonel Sykes for exhibition to the Society of Antiquaries (Plate XVIII.), I beg to submit the result. These examples of long since obsolete objects are, in more respects than one, of some interest to the English antiquary, but they are especially so from their bearing very well executed and characteristic figures of persons in various grades of life in the costume of the early part of the seventeenth century. They doubtless originally comprised a set of twelve pieces. One side is covered with a black ground, the other being left entirely bare, as usual. On the former are verses in two concentric circles, inscribed in the script character of the time in gilt letters. The figures inclosed within these circles are also gilt, but besides the slight gilt circle which surrounds them, there is another, a broad band of white. The numerals, which on some are Roman and on others Arabic, are also in white, as is also the ground upon which the figures stand. It is not improbable that these letters, numerals, &c. were inserted at some subsequent period, for they are deficient in neatness, and do not accord with the rest of the design. The verses, though in one or two instances faulty in metre,—a fact which we may, I think, fairly attribute to successive mechanical copies, like the paintings on our modern tea-boards,—are by no means deficient in point and smartness. Each figure represented, disclaims the faults and vices commonly laid to the charge of persons of their several conditions, and this in language far superior to that which is generally found on existing examples of these objects.

Antiquaries incline to the opinion that these roundels were used by our forefathers as fruit trenchers. The following passage in the "Art of English Poesy," published in 1589, has been quoted recently by Mr. Way, and is supposed to set at rest the question as to their origin and use:—

"There be also another like epigrams that were sent usually for new year's gifts,

VOL. XXXIV.

2 G

or to be printed or put upon banketting dishes of sugar plate, or of march paines, &c.; they were called *Nenia* or *Apophoreta*, and never contained above one verse, or two at the most, but the shorter the better. We call them *poesies*, and do paint them now a dayes upon the backsides of our trenchers of wood, or use them as devises in rings and armes."

The period when these ornamental trenchers first came into use is not known, but in the museum at Goodrich Court there is, says Mr. Way, a set which by the badge of the rose and pomegranate conjoined are, probably, as old as the reign of Henry the Eighth.

I conclude with a brief description of the several figures on the nine examples now exhibited, and a transcript of the verses.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

J. Y. AKERMAN.

The first figure is,

1. THE COURTIER.

He is booted and spurred, wears a sword and cloak, hat and feathers, of the costume of the reign of James the First. The accompanying verses are,

Long have I lived in court, yet learnd not all this while
To sell poore suitors suite, nor where I hate to smile;
Superiors to adore, inferiors to dispise,
To flie from suche as fall, to follow suche as rise,
To cloake a poore desire under a riche aray,
Not to aspire by vice though 'twere y^e quicker way.

The next is,

2. THE DEUINE,

in a long gown and with a book in his left hand. Around are the lines,

My calling is divine, and I from God am sent,
I will no chopchurch be, nor pay my patron rent,
Nor yield to sacriledg, but like the kind true mother,
Rather will loose all y^e child than part it with another;
Muche wealth I will not seeke, nor worldly masters serve,
So to grow rich and fatt while my pore flocke do starve.

3. THE SOULDIER,

appears with musket, rest, match, and bandoliers ; his accompanying lines are,

My occupation is the noble trad of kings,
The trial y^t decides the highest right of thinges ;
Though Mars my master be, I doe not Venus [love],
Nor honour Bacchus host, or often sweare by Jove ;
Of speaking of myself I all occasion shun,
And rather love to doe than boast what I have done.

4. THE LAWYER.

in a long gown, broad-brimmed hat, and with his brief in his right hand, is made to say,

The law my calling is, my robe, my tounge, my pen.
Wealth and opinion gaine, and make me judge of men ;
The known dishonest cause I never did defend,
Nor spinne out suites at length, but wisht and sought an end ;
Nor counsell did bewray, nor of both parties take,
Nor ever tooke I fee for wth I never spake.

5. (Wanting.)

6. THE MERCHANT,

holding his glove in his right hand, indicating his pretensions to gentility, thus describes himself:—

My trade doth every thing to every land supply,
Discover unknown coasts, strange countryes doth ally ;
I never did forestall, I never did ingrosse,
Nor custom did withdraw though I returned with losse ;
I thrive by faire exchange, by selling and by buying,
And not by Jewish use, reprisall, fraud, or (lying).

7. THE COUNTRY GENTLEMAN

appears booted and spurred, with a hawk on his fist:—

Though strange outlandish speech the townes and country scorne,
The country is my home, I dwell where I was borne ;
There profitt and com'aund wth pleasure I peartake,
Yet do not hawkes and doggs my sole companions make ;
I rule but not oppress, end quarrel: not maintaine,
See towns but dwell not there, t'abridg my charg or traine.

8. THE BACHELOR,

is represented of ripe age, bearded and cloaked. He thus speaks of himself:

How many thinges as yet are deare alike to me,
The field, y^e horse, y^e dog, love, armes, or libertie ;
I have no wife as yet, whome I may call myne owne,
I have no children yet, that by my name are knowne ;
Yet if I married were, I would not wishe to thrive,
If that I could not tame the veriest shrew alive.

9. (Missing).

10. THE WIFE,

wearing a hat and bearing her fan, says,

The first of all our sex came from the side of man,
I thither am returned from whence our sex began ;
I do not viset oft, nor many when I doe,
I tell my minde to few, and that in counsell to ;
I seeme not sicke in health, nor sullen but in sorrow,
I care for some-what else than what to were to morrow.

11. THE WIDOW

is seen in her weeds, holding what appears to be a large purse, and thus speaks of herself:

My [dying] husband knew how much his death would (grieve) me,
And therefore left me wealth to comfort and relieve me ;
Though I no more will have, I must not love disdain,
Penelope herself did suitors entertain ;
And yet, to drawe on suche as are of best esteeme,
No younger then I am, nor richer will I seeme.

12. (Missing.)

The completion of the characters exhibited upon Colonel Sykes's roundells was given at the meeting of the Society immediately subsequent to Mr. Akerman's communication, in the following letter from Sir Henry Ellis to Mr. Akerman.

MY DEAR SIR,

British Museum, May 22, 1851.

Roundells, or "banquetting dishes," as Puttenham, in his *Art of Poesie*, calls them, similar in form and general character to those you exhibited at the Society's last

meeting, have more than once been laid before the Society of Antiquaries, but none have occurred in my remembrance (and Mr. Way agrees with me) so interesting as illustrations of the manners of their period, whether from the characters exhibited upon them, or in point of the poetry which surrounds the subjects, as those belonging to Colonel Sykes.

You are right in your conjecture that the set originally comprised twelve pieces. You have nine only, the fifth, ninth, and twelfth being those which are wanting.

The verses which describe the characters upon the roundells you have, were copied from a book of extreme rarity, of which the following is the title:—

"The XII. Wonders of the World. Set and composed for the Violl de Gambo, the Lute, and the Voyce to sing the Verse, all three jointly, and none seuerall: also Lessons for the Lute and Base Violl to play alone: with some Lessons to play Lyra-ways alone, or, if you will, to fill up the parts with another Violl set Lute-way. Newly composed by John Maynard, Lutenist at the most famous Schoole of S^t Julian's in Hartfordshire:" folio, London, 1611.

The Characters drawn in the Verses of these roundells, and exhibited by actual drawing in the area, as far as the nine are concerned, were those of the Courtier, the Divine, the Soldier, and the Lawyer; the fifth was wanting; the sixth, seventh, and eighth, are the Merchant, the Country Gentleman, and the Bachelor; the ninth wanting; then, the Wife and the Widow; and the twelfth wanting.

From Maynard's work it appears the fifth in the set, when perfect, presented

THE PHISITION,

round whose figure were these verses:—

Studie to uphold the slippery state of man,
Who dies, when we have done the best, and all we can.
From practice and from bookes I draw my learned skill,
Not from the knowne receipte or pothecaries bill.
The earth my faults doth hide, the world my cures doth see,
What youth and time effects, is oft ascribed to mee.

The ninth figure was

The MARRIED MAN:

and these were his verses:—

I onely am the man among all married men
That doe not wish the priest, to be unlinck'd agen.

And, though my shoe did wring, I would not make my mone,
 Nor thinke my neighbour's chance more happy than mine owne.
 Yet court I not my wife, but yield observance due,
 Being neither fond nor crosse, nor jealous nor untrue.

The twelfth, the last wonder, is—

THE MAIDE :

and her verses are—

I marriage would forswear, but that I hear men tell
 That shee that dyes a mayde must lead an ape in hell.
 Therefore if fortune come I will not mocke nor play.
 Nor drive the bargaine on, till it be driven away.
 Titles and lands I like, yet rather fancy can
 A man that wanteth gould, then gould that wants a man.

In the Museum Catalogue of Music this work is entered, on account of the musical notes which fill it, under the name of Maynard, but within brackets it is said, "The Verses are by Sir John Davis;"—the same person most of whose poetical works are enumerated in Ritson's *Bibliographia Poetica*, and who was for some years Attorney General in Ireland. I have already mentioned Maynard's work as of extreme rarity. The only copies I know of, are, one in the Bodleian Library and one in the British Museum.

A few copies of these Verses, sixteen only, for his Friends, were reprinted in 1842 by Edward Vernon Utterson, Esq. F.S.A. at his, the Beldornie Press, in the Isle of Wight. 12mo.

Faithfully yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

XX.—*On the Place of Julius Cæsar's Departure from Gaul for the Invasion of Britain, and the Place of his Landing in Britain^a; with an Appendix on the Battle of Hastings.* By GEORGE BIDDLE AIRY, Esq., Astronomer Royal. Communicated by Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N., Vice-President and Director.

Read January 8, and 22nd. 1852.

THE route taken by Julius Cæsar in his Invasion of Britain has been discussed so often by learned men, that I can hardly venture to offer to the Society of Antiquaries a new investigation, leading to a conclusion, I believe, differing from all preceding ones, without a preliminary explanation of the reason which leads me to think that a new investigation is admissible. The reason then is simply this: that, in every one of the discussions which I have seen, the investigator has been contented with fixing upon some one indication contained in Cæsar's Account, and shewing that that one indication conforms to his theory, without any regard to the others. A more striking instance of this fault cannot be found than in D'Anville's essay. D'Anville takes a supposed expression of Cæsar's that his length of passage was 30 miles; he finds that the distance from Wissant to the Dover cliffs, increased by Cæsar's 8 miles' run along the coast, agrees with this pretty well; and for this reason and no other he adopts Wissant as the place of departure. But, in a record so uncertain as that of mere numerals, he never inquires whether other manuscripts give a different number of miles; he never critically examines whether the distance (whatever it may be) applies to Cæsar's passage at all; he never attempts to ascertain whether Wissant could possibly be suited to Cæsar's armament; he never even discusses Cæsar's movements before departing and after returning, or offers the slightest proof that Cæsar had ever been near Wissant. Yet on all these points the indications given by Cæsar are numerous, and are as explicit as they very well can be in reference to a country in which scarcely a single name was preserved by any following historian. Rennell, adopting

^a In an anonymous communication to the Athenæum, dated 1851, March 29, I gave the heads of some of the arguments of the following Essay. I have since examined the subject more deeply, and now offer my reasons in a more complete form, with far greater confidence in the accuracy of the result.

D'Anville's starting-place, Wissant, without question, has attempted to fix Caesar's place of landing in the neighbourhood of Deal by a solitary reason exactly similar to D'Anville's. Halley, professing himself totally uncertain as to Caesar's starting-point, has reasoned with great acuteness on the phenomena of the tides as described by Caesar, and has compared them with his own apparently erroneous information; he concludes from these that Deal may probably have been the landing-place, but has not adverted to any other evidence. Yet there are numerous indications given by Caesar in reference to his internal progress in the country which ought to have been considered, at least so far as to shew that they are not inconsistent with the theory adopted. I might apply nearly similar remarks to the reasonings of other writers.

I trust that the Essay which I now offer to the Antiquarian Society will at least be free from the fault which I have pointed out. I have brought together every passage which I can find in Caesar bearing upon the place of his departure, his navigation, the place of his arrival, and his march after arrival. I attach no importance to the accounts of writers posterior to Caesar, for it does not appear that they ever visited the coasts of Gaul, still less the coasts of Britain; and their statements, if in opposition to a clear inference from Caesar's, must be rejected. So far, however, as I am acquainted with them, they do not in any instance contradict the inference from Caesar's narration.

SECTION I.—*On the locality of the Portus Itius, the Place of Caesar's Departure from Gaul.*

1. Before entering into a special investigation of this locality, it is necessary *in limine* to refute one notion which, I think, has misled many writers. It is, I believe, received without doubt that the Promontorium Itium or Iccium is the Cape Grisnez. It has been assumed, therefore, that the Portus Itius must be in the immediate vicinity of Cape Grisnez, and that it could not at any rate be further from it than Boulogne or Calais. This assumption I conceive to be entirely unwarranted. The only justifiable assumption is, that the Portus Itius was the nearest port to the Promontorium Itium which, at the time of the Romans giving this name to it, was used by the Romans as an important station,—not that it was the nearest port which at any subsequent time was used by the Romans or any other people. In our colony of South Africa we have a modern case exactly in point. The city called Cape Town is the first that was founded by Europeans near the Cape of Good Hope, and therefore the name of "Cape Town" was with propriety given to it, although its distance from the Cape is forty-five miles. Since that time

other towns have been established much nearer to the Cape, and in particular the very important station Simon's Town; yet the name "Cape Town" still adheres to the first-established city: and if any future historian should, from considerations of distance only, attach the name "Cape Town" to Simon's Town, he would fall into error. And thus, in settling the locality of Cæsar's port, so far as we are guided by the connexion of names, we are only required to assume for the *Portus Itius* a locality nearer to the *Promontorium Itium* than any other important station then in the possession of the Romans.

2. Cæsar's first expedition for the invasion of Britain proceeded from an unnamed port; the second departed from the *Portus Itius*, "quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam transiectum esse cognoverat," "from which port he had discovered the passage into Britain to be the most convenient," or "very convenient." It has been understood by all commentators that this discovery was made by the experience of the preceding year, or that Cæsar sailed from the same port in the two expeditions, and this opinion appears to me correct. I shall therefore in future combine indiscriminately the remarks applying to the places of departure in the first and second Expeditions.

3. A limitation to the locality of the port of the first departure will be obtained from a consideration of Cæsar's military movements before and after the British expeditions. It will contribute to clearness to examine the advances made by Cæsar in several successive campaigns:

U.C. 695 (consulship of Piso and Gabinius). Cæsar drove back the Helvetians into Switzerland; drove Ariovistus and the Germans into Germany; and obtained possession of the valley of the Doubs and part of Alsace.

U.C. 696 (consulship of Lentulus Spinther and Metellus Nepos). Cæsar marched against the Belgic confederation, passed the Aisne, took Noyon and Beauvais, and approached the Ambiani, "in fines Ambianorum pervenit;" then marched eastward, fought the Nervii on the Sambre, and took the city of the Aduatici (which appears to be the citadel of Namur). His lieutenants received the submission of the Veneti (the people of southern Bretagne). The country into which Cæsar had carried his arms may be defined by a straight line drawn from Nantes to Namur; but he had not permanent possession of the whole district; his winter quarters were entirely in the Touraine or its neighbourhood. In the winter, being alarmed by a confederation of the Veneti, he built ships on the Loire.

U.C. 697 (consulship of Marcellinus and Philippus). Cæsar conquered the Veneti at sea; his lieutenant conquered Normandy. The Morini and Metapii were still in arms. Cæsar marched at the end of the summer to attack them in a forest, but

after an unsuccessful expedition returned to winter quarters in Normandy. The indication of place is so obscure that it is impossible to fix the locality of this forest, but it seems not improbably to have been between St. Quentin and Arras; possibly, however, it was the western extremity of the forest of Ardennes. It seems quite clear, however, that, up to the end of this year, neither Caesar nor his lieutenants had approached the frontiers of the Morini.

U.C. 698 (consulship of Pompey and Crassus). The geography of Caesar's movements in this year is by far the most perplexing of all, and can only be interpreted, I think, by supposing that the Meuse and the Moselle were called by the same name with different prefixes, and that the omission of these prefixes has led Caesar to apply to one river what ought to be applied to the other. He speaks of the Mosa as rising in the Vogesus; if this, however, is the same as the Vosges, the river must be the Moselle. He describes clearly enough the way in which the Mosa (or Meuse) receives a branch of the Rhine called the Walis, and thus forms the *Insula Batavorum*; and in another book he speaks of the Scheldt as flowing into the Mosa (or Meuse); yet in the account of this campaign he describes important transactions at the confluence of the Mosa and the Rhine (which confluence, by his previous description, does not exist), and he makes no allusion to the seacoast or the *Insula Batavorum* (which he must have done if the confluence had referred to the Walis). It appears beyond doubt that the Mosa here is the Moselle. Caesar's first bridge over the Rhine (constructed in this year) was in the neighbourhood of this confluence; and the second bridge (constructed U.C. 700), which was "*paullum supra eum locum quo antea exercitum transduxerat*" was certainly in the country of the Treviri, or at the mouth of the valley of the Moselle. The marauding party who crossed the Mosa, and who escaped across the Rhine into the country of the Sicambri, must apparently have crossed the Moselle. The only important inference for the subject before us is, that the locality of Caesar's battle with the Usipetes and Tenchtheri, and the place of his bridge over the Rhine, were a little below Coblenz: and that this point and Namur were the points of his nearest approach (up to this time) to the North Sea. This is supported by the circumstance of which Caesar complained long afterwards, that the Menapii were the only people of Gaul who had never sent ambassadors to treat of peace.

From these considerations it appears perfectly certain that Caesar's port of embarkation for Britain could not be near Dunkirk or any other port of Flanders.

4. Caesar's march to the port may now be considered. "*C. Volusenum præmittit. Ipse, cum omnibus copiis, in Morinos proficiscitur, quod inde erat brevissimus in Britanniam transjectus. Hue naves undique ex finitimis regionibus, et quam supe-*

riore æstate ad Veneticum bellum fecerat classem, jubet convenire.—Dum in his locis Cæsar navium parandarum causâ moratur, ex magnâ parte Morinorum ad eum legati venerunt. Eos in fidem recepit.” First it appears from this account that the easiest way of sending a single officer to the coast of Britain was not to send him through the country of the Morini (as being yet an independent and hostile country). Secondly, the word “proficiscor” in Cæsar is, in general, used absolutely; but, when used with a preposition denoting specific direction, it appears to relate to the beginning of a journey, admitting of the application of qualifying expressions to the course of the journey, as “in Senones proficiscitur, magnisque itineribus eo pervenit.” Sometimes it is widely separated from the notice of arrival, as “Genabum Carnutum proficiscitur, qui, tum primum allato nuncio de oppugnatione Vellaunoduni, quum longius eam rem ductum iri existimarent, præsidium Genabj tuendi causâ quod eo mitterent, comparabant. Huc biduo pervenit.” Thus I render the expression “in Morinos proficiscitur,” “sets out for the country of the Morini:” implying without doubt that he arrived near it or close to it, but not necessarily implying that he entered it. Thirdly, the visit of the ambassadors, without any mention of hostile occupation, seems to imply that neither Cæsar nor any part of his army was in the country of the Morini at the time of preparing the naval expedition, and appears to render it most extremely improbable that he had passed *through* their country. It is to be remarked that no event whatever is mentioned as occurring in that country, except an attack on some shipwrecked soldiers, to which I shall hereafter allude.

The number of Cæsar's army on the Moselle is not given; but as there were 5,000 cavalry, and as he afterwards embarked for Britain with two legions, or about 8,000 men (on the common estimation of the strength of Cæsar's legions), the army which marched from the Rhine was large. Such an army, in general, can only march along vallies. I conceive, therefore, that Cæsar ascended the Moselle (the course taken by the Prussian invaders in 1792, and by one of the invading armies in 1814), that he probably passed through Verdun, Rheims, Soissons, and Noyon, and that he then descended the Somme. Even if Boulogne or Calais had been his destination, he must first have descended the Somme; a more northerly line would have carried him through a forest country (probably the scene of his last year's repulse), in which he would have been in danger of starvation and of hostile attack. Volusenus not improbably embarked at Dieppe, or some of the small ports of Eastern Normandy.

5. For judging of the capabilities of the port, and its local relations, we have the following guides: The port was to be the rendezvous for a great number of ships,

the principal part of which came from the west. In the first expedition there were only 80 merchant-ships, with a number (not mentioned) of long ships: in the second there were about 600 ships adapted to beach-landing (built expressly for this expedition), 28 long ships, and numerous merchant-ships (so that, on approaching the British shore, more than 800 ships were in sight at once). The conveniences of the port were such that the whole of this navy of nearly a thousand ships, carrying five legions or 21,000 foot, and 2,000 cavalry, besides camp-followers and sailors (the whole probably amounting to 40,000 souls), after being closely detained in the port by north-west winds ("dies circiter 25 in eo loco commoratus, quod Corus ventus navigationem impediabat"), was floated off at a single tide. In the neighbourhood of the port there were cantoned, for a long time, eight legions or more than 30,000 infantry, 4,000 Roman cavalry, and 4,000 Gallic cavalry.

It is absolutely inconceivable that Cæsar would have adopted, as rendezvous for such an armament, an unsheltered beach. No place ever was selected so utterly unsuited to the wants of the expedition as Wissant, the point which D'Anville has fixed upon. The bay of Wissant is a mere sandy beach, nearly four miles long, and almost straight (the radius of its curvature is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles). The headlands at its extremities, Grisnez and Blancnez, project very little beyond the line of beach. Under no mutations conceivable, within historic times, can Wissant have ever been proper for a place of assembly of ships. To have passed such harbours as the estuary of the Somme, that of the Authie, that of the Canche, and Boulogne, in order to meet at Wissant, would have been scarcely short of insanity.

I conceive that the harbours of Boulogne and Calais are by very much too small for Cæsar's purpose. I do not imagine that 5,000 soldiers could have been shipped off from either, at a single tide.

Probably the estuary of the Authie or that of the Canche might have sufficed; but neither of these is comparable to that of the Somme. This noble gulf, 10 miles deep and nearly 3 miles wide at its mouth, not the less adapted to Cæsar's flat-built ships because (like every other harbour on this coast) it is dry at low-water, better protected by projecting headlands at its mouth than either of the other estuaries, appears to be exactly what Cæsar must have desired. Its capability for Cæsar's purposes is proved by the more modern experience of William of Normandy, who at one tide floated out of it 1,400 ships carrying 60,000 men (sailors, &c. being probably included in this estimate). After the Seine, it is the first estuary which would be reached by Cæsar's ships coming from Bretagne. Behind it is the populous and fertile valley of the Somme; a local circumstance which must have been extremely valuable. It is true, that Bonaparte, availing himself of the perfect

organisation of a mighty empire, maintained a larger force for some time on the barren grounds above Boulogne; but Caesar was surrounded by very unwilling allies, unconnected among themselves, and little controlled by the presence of Roman troops; and the proximity of a rich valley must have been very advantageous to him.

The next local circumstance is that suggested by the mention of "18 onerariæ naves, quæ ex eo loco millibus passuum 8 vento tenebantur, quo minus in eundem portum pervenire possent;" and afterwards "naves 18 de quibus supra demonstratum est, ex superiori portu solverunt." It is to be remarked that the "onerariæ naves" were principally ships of the country, and may have come either from the north or from the west.

From the centre of the mouth of the Somme to that of the Authie is pretty exactly 8 miles; from that of the Authie to that of the Canche is about 11 miles; and indeed no other interval of ports corresponds to Caesar's distance. The word "superior" has, I believe, always been understood to mean "more northerly." I understand it so myself: and therefore, if the estuary of the Somme is the Portus Itius, the estuary of the Authie is the "Portus superior."

The next circumstance is that on Caesar's return from the first expedition, "onerariæ duæ eosdem portus, quos reliquæ, capere non potuerunt, sed paullo infra delatæ sunt," and here their crews were attacked by the Morini. If, as is above mentioned, "superior" means northerly, and if we infer from this that "infra" means southerly, then it would follow from this account that a point south of the Portus Itius was in the country of the Morini; whereas I have above given reasons (and shall shortly give another distinct reason) for believing that the Portus Itius itself was south of the frontier of the Morini. How are these statements to be reconciled? I believe that the explanation rests in the use of the word "infra," in combination with "delatæ." The word "delatæ" is repeatedly used by Caesar for "drifted," and "infra delatæ" is "drifted down," the word "down" apparently relating not to any geographical direction, but to the direction of the wind. We speak of a ship keeping "*up* to the wind" when her head is sensibly turned towards the wind, and "*falling* from the wind" when her head is sensibly turned from the wind; and, with the same fundamental idea, "infra delatæ" seems to mean simply "drifting before the wind." The prevalent wind in September being S.W. it is likely enough that these heavy sailers might drift towards the Morini.

The next descriptive sentence is—"Portum Itium, quo ex portu commodissimum in Britanniam transejctum esse cognoverat, circiter millia passuum 30 a continenti." This sentence has very commonly been interpreted to mean that the Portus Itius

was 30 miles from Britain; and D'Anville's selection of the bay of Wissant is founded entirely on this interpretation. I conceive that the sentence has been mis-translated. The Portus Itius and the continent are placed in *contradistinction*. The *convenient passage* was from the Portus Itius, the *distance of 30 miles* was from the continent. If Caesar had meant that the length of the passage from the Portus Itius was 30 miles, he would have omitted the words "a continenti." The form of the sentence is inelegant: it suggests the idea that probably the original termination was at "cognoverat," and that the words from "circiter" to "continenti" were subsequently interlined. It is said that the best manuscripts give the distance as 40 miles; it is, I conceive, a matter of no importance in fixing the place of the Portus Itius, but, as conveying what I understand to be Cæsar's meaning, the number 30 is preferable to 40.

6. Lastly I have to consider Cæsar's movements after the return from the second expedition. The very next sentence is "concilioque Gallorum Samarobrivæ peracto . . . ex quibus [legionibus] unam in Morinos ducendam C. Fabio legato dedit." It is well known that the suffix *brivæ* is the same as *bruck* or *bridge*, and Samarobrivæ therefore means the bridge of the Samara or Somme: and indeed it is universally received as denoting the city of Amiens. Thus the very first thing which Cæsar does after returning to the Portus Itius is to call a council at Amiens, and the next thing is to send one of his legions into the country of the Morini. It is scarcely possible to have a clearer incidental proof of two things; first, that the Portus Itius had some very close connexion with the Somme, secondly, that it was exterior to the country of the Morini.

On the whole, I think myself justified in expressing my conviction that each of these very different trains of reasoning leads to the same conclusion, that the Portus Itius was the estuary of the Somme.

SECTION II.—*On Cæsar's Navigation to Britain, and on the Place of his Landing in Britain.*

In this section alone of the investigation have I derived any real assistance from the suggestions of previous inquirers. It is to Dr. Halley that I owe the explanation of the connexion between the high tide which injured Cæsar's ships, and the tidal current which aided him in landing. Dr. Halley, however, appears to have been misled in the application of his reasoning by erroneous local information.

7. I must premise that the time of high water along the coast from the Somme to Boulogne is on the day of full moon about 11^h 20^m (a few minutes earlier at the Somme, and a few minutes later at Boulogne). As the accurate knowledge of

the time of turning of the tidal currents is of the utmost importance in this inquiry, and as I was aware that my friend, Captain F. W. Beechey, R.N. had (under the direction of the Board of Admiralty) surveyed the British Channel with special attention to those currents, I requested him to acquaint me as precisely as possible with the times of turn of the stream on those parts of the coast which may be suggested for Caesar's landing-place. The following is Captain Beechey's answer; and the lovers of antiquarian research, I am sure, will join with me in recognising the debt which we owe to Captain Beechey for his explicit information on the most critical point of this inquiry:—"At full and change of the moon the stream makes to the westward off Dover, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile distance from the shore, about $3^h 10^m$, and there does not appear to be much difference in this part of the Channel between the turn of the stream in shore and in the centre. Close in shore off Hastings the stream turns to the west at 11^h ; but the turn becomes later as the distance off shore increases, and at 5 miles distance the stream turns to the west at 1^h . Winds greatly affect the time of turn of the stream. The stream runs to the west about $6\frac{1}{2}$ hours, after which there is slack water for about a quarter of an hour."

I must also premise that I do not see any reason for thinking that the line of coast has very sensibly changed, or that the tidal phenomena have sensibly altered, since the time of Cæsar. The beach of Pevensey, judging from the position of the Martello towers, which have been erected nearly half a century, has altered very little. The point of Dungeness advances about seven feet in a year. The chalk cliffs of Beachy Head and Dover lose annually (I believe) a much smaller quantity. The utmost allowance for these will alter but little the general line of coast. The northern part of the Goodwin Sand appears to have been, (in the Saxon times,) an embanked island, but its effect on the tides would be nearly the same in that state as in its present condition. The Wansum (the channel between the Isle of Thanet and the mainland) was probably open; but the circumstance of its having silted itself up proves that the tidal stream through it must have been insignificant; and generally, the course of the tides from Beachy Head to Dover will depend on the great tides of the Atlantic and the North Sea, and will not be sensibly affected by any petty changes at the east end of Kent.

8. In speaking of the second expedition, Cæsar says, "*contendit, ut eam partem insulæ caperet, quâ optimum esse egressum superiore æstate cognoverat.*" I understand from this that Cæsar landed at precisely the same point in the two expeditions; and shall apply to one point indiscriminately the remarks suggested by the occurrences in both expeditions.

9. In the first expedition, "*post diem iv. quam est in Britanniam ventum*"

eâdem nocte accidit ut esset luna plena, quæ dies maritimos æstus maximos in Oceano efficere consuevit." That is, on the fourth day after landing there was a full moon with a spring tide. In this account there are two sources of uncertainty. First, that which is described in the Roman reckoning as the fourth day, may be (in our reckoning) the third day. Second, the spring tide is a day and a half later than the full moon; if Caesar had good almanacks in his army, the day in question was undoubtedly the day of full moon: if not, as it is impossible to judge precisely of the day of full moon, either from the appearance of the moon's diameter (which is altered but $\frac{1}{100}$ part in one day, before or after), or from the time of moon-rising (which is affected by the moon's latitude to the extent of one day of moon's age), it is more likely that the day in question was the day of spring tides. The day of Caesar's first landing therefore may be the second, third, or fourth day before full moon: I will consider it as the third. On this day the tidal phenomena will occur about $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours earlier than the times mentioned in Article 7.

10. At embarking for the first expedition, "*nactus idoneam ad navigandum tempestatem, tertiâ fere vigiliâ solvit,*" which I translate "he set sail a little before midnight." It was high water in every harbour of the coast on that evening at about 9 o'clock; and at midnight the water began to leave the banks dry. It appears therefore that Caesar's fleet dropped down with the ebb tide to the outside of the banks, probably anchoring as fast as they took their stations; and that the position to which the verb "*solvit*" applies, is from the outside of the banks.

11. The account of the voyage is simply "*horâ circiter diei iv. cum primis navibus Britanniam attigit,*" that is, the best sailors of the fleet reached Britain about 10^h. in the morning, or after a voyage of more than ten hours. The distance from the mouth of the Somme to Hastings is about 52 nautical miles, and that to Dover about 55; the distance of intermediate points ranging between these (except Dungeness, which is sensibly nearer). These are such distances as may fairly be traversed in ten hours with an "*idonea tempestas.*" The distance from Calais to Dover, 22 miles, is too small.

12. The description of the place at which Caesar first attempted a landing is, "*ejus loci hæc erat natura: adeo montibus angustis mare continebatur, ut ex locis superioribus in littus telum adjici posset.*" The word "*angustis*" evidently has the meaning of "confining," or "closely pressing." The word "*continebatur*" might seem at first view to mean "was included between," but further consideration will shew that this interpretation is inadmissible. First, if this had been Caesar's meaning, he would have said "*ex utrâque parte,*" or something equivalent. Second, neither Caesar, nor Volusenus, by whose information the fleet was piloted,

nor any other officer, would think for a moment of pushing his boats into a creek where the defenders could attack them on both sides; the proper mode of attempting a landing being always, to bring a long line of boats abreast to an open beach, and throw the whole body of troops on shore at once, in one connected line. "Continebatur" then appears to be simply "was bounded." A consideration also of what an experienced officer would be likely to attempt will perhaps limit our ideas of the height of these cliffs. When Volusenus surveyed the English coast he could not fail to see that the cliffs of Dover are very high and mural, without a break of any kind for several miles; and he would not think of recommending a debarkation under them. The same difficulty would apply to the cliffs between Folkstone and Hythe. But in passing such a coast as that of Hastings, St. Leonard's, and Bexhill, he would see that there are low cliffs much broken; and, without closely surveying them (Volusenus did not land), he might suppose a debarkation there to be easy. The Hastings cliffs therefore, in my judgment, appear to suit Caesar's account better than those of Dover or Hythe. There are no other ranges of cliffs in the coast which we have to examine in this investigation.

13. Finding this a dangerous place for attempting a landing in the face of a resolute enemy, and thinking it best to wait for the rest of the fleet, "ad horam ix. in anchoris expectavit et ventum et aestum uno tempore nactus secundum circiter millia passuum 8 ab eo loco progressus, aperto ac plano litore naves constituit." That is, at 3^h. in the afternoon the tide was favourable for carrying him to an open flat beach about eight miles distant. This is one of the most critical passages in the whole account.

From Captain Beechey's statement given in Article 7, with the correction of times given in Article 9, it appears that on the day of Caesar's landing the tide off Dover turned to the west about 1^h. in the afternoon, and at 3^h. it would be running with a strong stream to the west. For Caesar then to have first attempted Dover and then to have landed at Walmer or Deal (as many writers have supposed) appears *absolutely impossible*. A run of eight miles with the tide would have carried him somewhat beyond Folkstone, where the difficulties would have been nearly as great as at Dover, and where there is no such thing as a "planum et apertum littus."

If we suppose Caesar to have first attempted the neighbourhood of Folkstone, the tide, which had turned to the west about noon, would have carried him to the flat beach of Romney Marsh. (That part of Romney Marsh which is nearest to Hythe is a mass of dry shingle, which evidently has drifted from the debris of the chalk cliffs, and therefore has always been in contact with the chalk coast, without any intervening creek or sound.) This beach is very favourable for landing. But, if we suppose this to have been Caesar's place of landing, we encounter the following

difficulty:—that Cæsar on his voyage from the Somme had passed the good landing place to make the first attempt at the bad one, a blunder which we cannot with any reason attribute to him.

But if we suppose Cæsar to have first attempted the neighbourhood of St. Leonard's, the tide, which a few miles from shore had turned to the west at 11^h., was at 3^h. running in full stream to the west. Cæsar apparently waited for a favourable wind (the word "nactus" implies that it was a change from an unfavourable wind or calm), which was highly desirable for the steerage of his ships. The run of eight miles would then bring him to the beach of Pevensey, answering perfectly to his description, probably the most favourable place for landing on the whole coast of Britain, and famous in later times as the landing-place of William the Conqueror.

At the time of Cæsar's landing it was low water. As there is usually on these coasts a flat shoaly bottom extending some distance beyond the steep shingle beach, the difficulty found in bringing Cæsar's larger ships near the land is readily explained.

14. In the circumstances of the second sea-passage there is not much to guide our judgment. Cæsar set sail at sunset (about 7^h) with a light S.S.W. wind (the "Africus," or the wind blowing from the Roman province of Africa to Rome). The wind fell, and he drifted with the tide, and at morning found that Britain was left on the larboard side. Supposing, as before, that he set sail from the banks at 3 hours after high water, it was high water at 4^h, or about 5 hours later than at full moon; and the tide would set to the east between midnight and 1^h in the morning. The only way in which this appears to affect the present inquiry is, that if he had drifted in this manner when attempting Deal, he must have been cast upon the Goodwin Sands; and with so numerous a fleet it would have been impossible to avoid extensive loss by shipwreck. It does not appear, however, that a single ship was in danger. If, however, he was then attempting Pevensey, he might have drifted very far without incurring the least danger.

The general conclusion from the reasonings of this Section is, that it is impossible to admit Dover, Deal, or Walmer, as Cæsar's landing places; that although there is not the same impossibility of admitting Folkestone and Romney Marsh, there are strong improbabilities; but that every possibility and probability is in favour of St. Leonard's and Pevensey.

SECTION III.—*On Cæsar's Transactions in the Interior of Britain, to the time of storming the British fortress.*

15. The character of the country into which Cæsar entered may be inferred from the following incidental remarks.

In the first expedition,

"Frumento nostros prohibere."

"Frumentum ex agris in castra quotidie conferebat."

"Noctu in silvis delituerant."

These remarks apply to the country within a few miles of the landing place. They show that there were forests and corn-fields near.

If Cæsar had landed near Deal, he would have had for some miles all round his camp bare chalk-downs, on which in those days there probably was neither a tree nor a ploughed field.

In the neighbourhood of Pevensey the soil is heavy, very much covered with woods, but where cleared usually arable.

In the neighbourhood of Hythe there is arable ground, and there are also woods, but less numerous than about Pevensey.

In the second expedition there are very frequent allusions to the forests in which the Britons placed themselves in ambush, or to which they escaped. These notices, however, relate to a country more than 12 miles from the landing place; and at a distance of 15 or 16 miles from either Pevensey, Hythe, or Deal, it is possible to find large woods.

16. Cæsar's movement into the interior, after the second landing, is thus described: "Cæsar . . . ubi ex captivis cognovit quo in loco hostium copie con-sedissent . . . ipse noctu progressus millia passuum circiter 12 hostium copias conspicatus est: illi equitatu atque essedis ad flumen progressi ex loco superiore nostros prohibere et prælium committere cœperunt; repulsi ab equitatu se in silvas abdiderunt." On the face of this account it is obvious that the place of engagement was on a river at the distance of 12 miles from Cæsar's head quarters; but there are other conditions tacitly implied in the account. The place had been selected by the Britons as a defensive post at least two days previously, and may therefore be presumed to have had the qualifications proper for a defensive post, namely, that it could not be turned, and that enemies could attack it in front only at disadvantage. It was a field-post; there was no town near, though there was a fortress within a small distance. Cæsar's approach was made by a night march; and a night march can only be made, especially in a woodland and arable country (such as we have in Article 15 found this to be), upon good roads. And to this I have to subjoin the following remark. The roads in a woodland and clay-ground country are almost invariable. Before the existence of our turnpike acts, it was impossible, by merely turning to the right or left, to make a new track across a clay field which in winter is nearly impassable, or to pass through an ancient wood.

Even since our turnpike acts came into energetic operation, the principal measures undertaken (at least in the south-east of Sussex) were for hardening the roads, building bridges, &c., till within the last fifteen years, when the great line of south road was cut from Hawkhurst, and other new roads were made east of Battle and in the neighbourhood of Hastings. But there is no difficulty in distinguishing the old roads: they have most certainly been the same during many centuries: and I have no doubt that they are in the very same tracks as in the time of Julius Caesar.

After what has been already shown it seems almost unnecessary to remark on the unfitness of Deal for the place of Caesar's camp. Still, however, if we apply the test of this criterion it will be found that Deal does not answer to it. A distance of 12 miles reaches the marshes of the Stour; and if the Britons had been posted there, Caesar would have crossed at the sound ground of Canterbury or above it, and would have attacked their flank; this could not therefore be their post. Moreover, there can scarcely be a doubt that Canterbury existed then as an important town; of this there is no mention in Caesar.

If the camp had been near Hythe, a march of 12 miles would have brought Caesar upon the upper part of the Stour, near Wye; but the march would have been by indirect small roads, and the river is small and presents no particular feature of defensibility.

But if we suppose Caesar's camp to have been at the eastern end of Pevensey Level, and his head quarters at Herstmonceux or Hooe, and if we measure a distance of 12 miles along the old great road by Ninfield, Catsfield Green, Tillis Coppices, the north-west end of Battle, Whatlington, and John's Cross, it terminates exactly at Robertsbridge: one of the most remarkable military positions in the east of Sussex. To enable the reader to understand its importance, I must request attention to the small map accompanying this paper, in which I have inserted the Andred Forest (*Andredes-leah*), principally from Mr. Guest's map attached to his paper "*On the Early English Settlements in South Britain*," communicated to the Archæological Institute at Salisbury, in 1849. On the western side of the road was a forest, of very great extent, practically impenetrable to an army. Even at the present time this country is almost covered with large woods. Robertsbridge itself is the place of confluence of two streams of the Rother, one coming from the N.N.W. and the other from the S.S.W. (the latter being close on Caesar's left flank), both running in marshy valleys. The low meadows in this clay country are wet and soft, and may, by the slightest inundation, be converted into marsh impassable to men or horses. They are now embanked and well drained, and are in the summer pretty firm, but in the winter they are too soft to bear cattle: they are usually overflowed by the ordinary rain-floods

every year. In the time of Caesar they were undoubtedly lower and wetter than they are now. To the east of Robertsbridge the river runs to the sea in a single stream among broad soft marshes; but at Robertsbridge itself the sound grounds on the north side and on the south side approach nearer than any where else. Caesar therefore in approaching this point had on his left, first forest, then marsh backed by forest; on his right he had a partially wooded country terminated by the impassable marshes of the Rother. The only place at which it was practicable to advance was the crossing of the valley at Robertsbridge, and this really was to Caesar the gate of Britain. It is needless to point out how important it was for the Britons to defend this crossing, or what facilities were given by the slopes of the northern bank.

It is known that, in the flight of the Saxons from the battle of Hastings, the fugitives made a stand, and repelled the pursuing Normans with slaughter. It seems not unlikely that this may have occurred at Robertsbridge.

17. After the battle the Britons "*repulsi ab equitatu, se in silvas abdiderunt, locum nacti egregie et naturâ et opere munitum: quem domestici belli, ut videbatur, caussâ jam ante præparaverant: nam crebris arboribus succisis omnes introitus erant præclusi: ipsi ex silvis rari propugnabant, nostrosque intra munitiones ingredi prohibebant: at milites legionis VII., testudine factâ, et aggere ad munitiones adjecto, locum ceperunt.*" The first statement, of the nature of the artificial defences of this place, seems to imply that they consisted entirely of felled trees: the second, of the mode in which the Romans attacked them, would lead us to think that they were walls or earth-works of some importance, of which some trace would undoubtedly remain to the present time.

I have not been able to find in the neighbourhood of Robertsbridge any distinct traces of artificial works. However, at two and a half miles from Robertsbridge, on the western side of the road by which the Britons must have retreated, is a wood called "*Burg Wood*," which (judging from its name) I cannot doubt to have been the site of a fortress. Its western boundary, which breaks down to the N.N.W. marshy valley mentioned above, is strong. But I could not learn that there is within the wood any trace of a ditch or rampart. Still nearer to Robertsbridge, on the east side of the road, is a commanding point called "*Silver Hill*," but the want of water would probably make it unfit for a military post.

18. I shall refer now only to two arguments derived from incidental expressions, which, perhaps, may appear to some readers little worthy of attention, but which I am unwilling to suppress, because it was from accidentally seeing these phrases, and feeling strongly their inapplicability to a landing near Deal, that I was first led to investigate the whole subject. They relate to the position of Caesar's landing-place

in regard to the Thames. The command of all the British forces was intrusted to Cassivelaunus, "cujus fines à maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit quod appellatur Tamesis, à mari circiter millia passuum LXXX." I understand the "maritime states" to be the states in which Cæsar had landed. The whole expression appears little applicable to a place at the east end of Kent, though it applies perfectly to the south of Sussex, between which and St. Alban's the river Thames lies like a bar, nearly at the distance given by Cæsar (if, as is probable, the measurement is made to a point west of London). And "Cæsar ad flumen Tamesin . . . exercitum duxit." Now, if he had marched from Deal, his course would have been all the way parallel to the Thames, and the expression "ad Tamesin" could scarcely have been used; whereas it is perfectly proper in advancing from Pevensey.

After consideration of all these reasons, I must express my undoubting opinion that Cæsar in both his expeditions to Britain landed at Pevensey.

APPENDIX.

On the Battle of Hastings.

THE examination of localities in Sussex necessary for the understanding of Cæsar's supposed advance into Britain, has made me in some measure acquainted with those local circumstances which determined the policy of the battle of Hastings. Upon this celebrated conflict I think I may be able to throw some light. It has commonly been thought that Harold was rash in marching to meet William with an army much inferior in numbers to William's. I think it will appear that the advance was politic; that it placed William in great difficulty; that Harold had more than an even chance of success; and that, with ordinary prudence on the part of the Saxons, the Norman army would probably have been destroyed on the low grounds below Battle.

The reader on examining the map will see that, at a short distance to the east of Battle, the valley of the Winchelsea river (which rises near to Battle) becomes flat and marshy. It would probably be judged at all times impassable to a body of troops; but if there were any doubt on this point, the labour of a hundred peasants for a few hours, in damming up the stream at different points, would make it an insurmountable barrier.

Remarking, then, that the great impervious forest extended westward beyond Chichester, and that the country included between the forest and the coast, begin-

ning from Beachy Head, was almost entirely chalk-downs, it will be seen that William was in the following difficulties.

If he remained near Pevensey, he would not only lose the reputation so important to his success, but his army would soon be starved.

If he attempted to march to the west, he would pass through a country in which no food could be obtained, and in which he would be exposed to perpetual guerilla attacks from ambush in the forest.

If he attempted to cross the Winchelsea river, and after it the Rother, his army would have been disorganized by the difficulties of the marshes, and he would have suffered severely from the attacks of even the most insignificant bodies of enemies.

The only course left for him was to march through the passes of Battle (between the forest and the marshes of the Winchelsea river) and of Robertsbridge, and then the whole of Kent would be open to him. His objects, as we know, were, first Dover, and secondly London; but he could not reach either of them except by traversing those two passes.

The activity of Harold in seizing the pass at Battle reduced him to his last resource, namely, to force the pass, at whatever disadvantage his attack should be made. Had he attempted to cross the Winchelsea river while Harold held Battle, his rearguard would have been destroyed almost without loss to the Saxons, and his advanced guard would have been in a difficult country, with the risk of being in a day or two surrounded by superior forces.

The policy of the Saxons, then, at Battle, was markedly defensive; all that was required of them was to hold their ground one day, or perhaps two days. And this evidently was Harold's view. The position which he took up (on the line of hills slightly in advance of the Winchelsea river, which line extends to the south-east as far as Fairlight Down, and completely commands the plain of Hastings and Pevensey) appears a very strong one. On his right he was defended by the great forest. On his left he was protected by large woods, which even now cover the ground on that side nearly to the stream. The only way in which an enemy could attack him was by ascending the slopes in his front; and here he had thrown up strong entrenchments of earthworks and palisades.

In a position like this, before the invention of cannon and mortars, a resolute army might well resist assailants outnumbering them in the proportion of four to one. It may even be asserted that they had more than a fair probability of success. But the condition essential to their success was, that they should simply hold their ground, availing themselves to the utmost of the advantages of their position, and that they should on no provocation quit their defences.

And it was thus, as long as order prevailed, that the defence was maintained by the Saxons. During the combat which raged through the greater part of the day, it does not appear that a single point was gained by the Normans; and it was only when the Saxons were tempted to descend towards the plain that they were overwhelmed by the chivalry of the Normans, and the battle was decided. Had the intrenchments of Battle been held with the same enduring coolness as the lines of Torres Vedras or the slopes of Waterloo, the Normans would have fallen back, dispirited and starved; in a day or two they would perhaps have been attacked by superior forces; and in all probability the glory of the Norman name would have perished on the plains of Hastings.

G. B. AIRY.

Royal Observatory, Greenwich.
Nov. 12, 1851.

ADDITION.

AFTER the communication of this paper to the Society of Antiquaries, I was favoured by WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, Esq. F.S.A. with notes on the state of the south-eastern district of Sussex, the substance of which I am kindly permitted to publish. I take the liberty of adding some very short comments, explaining my views of the connexion of Mr. Cooper's remarks with the supposed movements of Julius Caesar.

In reference to the roads and the military posts Mr. Cooper makes the following remarks:—

“The only route to the Thames in the eastern division of Sussex was by way of Robertsbridge, Hurst Green, and Tunbridge. So it continued to be in the days of John, Henry III. and Edward I. (See Blaauw's article on the Royal Journeys, *Suss. Arch. Coll.* vol. iii. p. 132.) The line from Pevensey to Robertsbridge is still denoted by the Roman name of *Street*, viz. Gardner's Street, and Boreham Street to Ninfield and Battle, close by which is the village which terminated the great wood, and still retains its half British and half Saxon name of Pen-hurst, “head of the wood.” Near Robertsbridge there exists one of the Saxon and most probably British fortifications which ran in a line from Tunbridge to the coast—Burghill, now corrupted into *Bugshill* [on the south-west side of the N.N.W. confluent of the Rother]. About two miles northward is another spot yet called Burghill, above

Hare-mare, between Etchingham and Hurst Green, immediately south of the Burg-wood of the Ordnance map [on the north-east side of the same confluent]; and so they run towards Tunbridge. Silver Hill was east of the general line, yet the advantage of its position as a military station (despite the want of water) was so great that during the last war barracks were there kept up. The only point, however, which I wish to enforce by reference to these is, that, down to the latest time, the importance of protecting this line of road by the presence of troops was acknowledged."

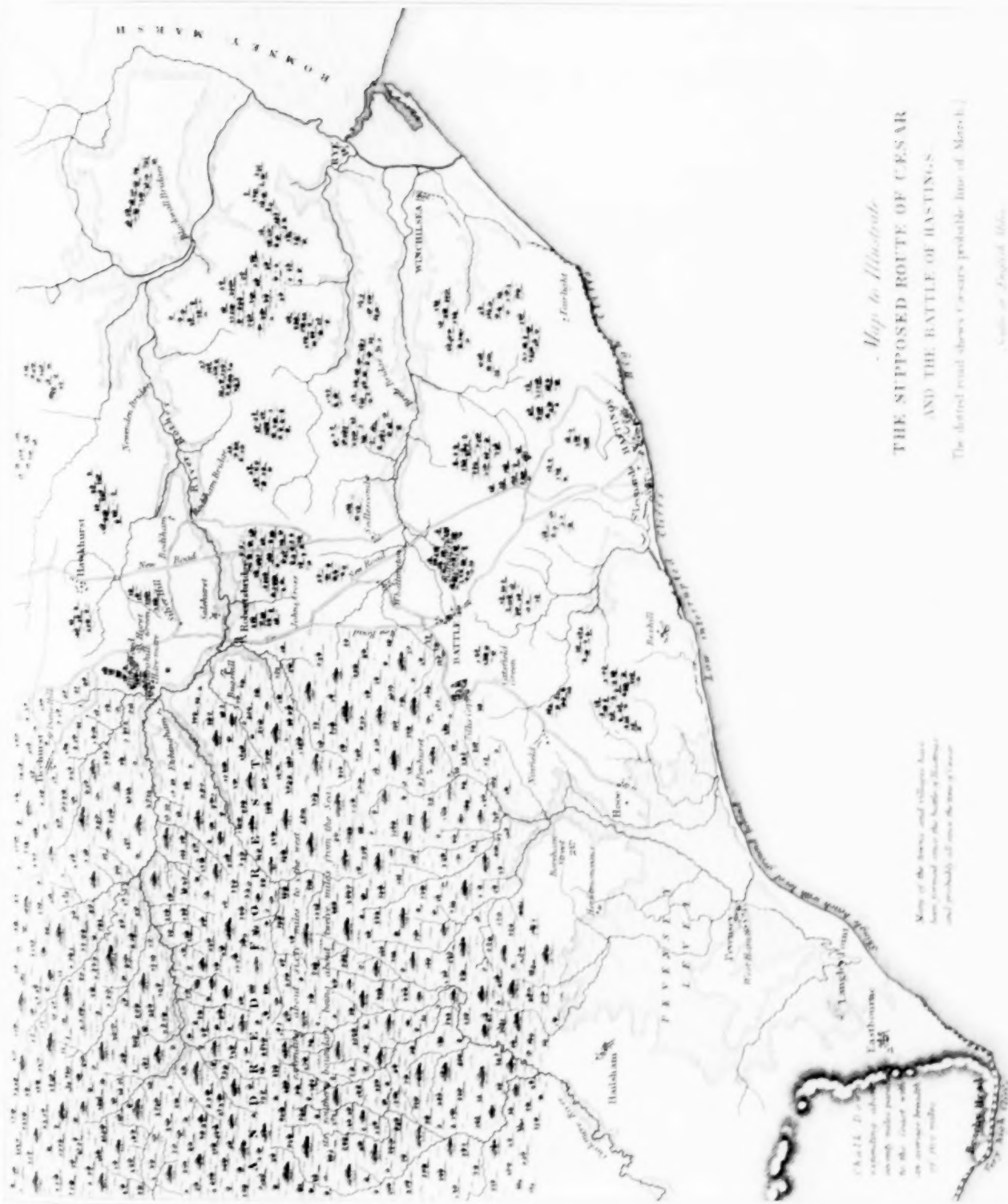
I can scarcely doubt that the Burghill of Burg-wood is the fortress which Caesar stormed. Mr. Cooper remarks, "The plain there would well suit Caesar's description, and the fact of another Bugshill or Burghill being found further south becomes valuable only as demonstrating that this was the line of the Saxon, and hence in all probability of the British, line of fortifications." Caesar's account implies that no marshes were passed between the place of the battle and the fort, and that the wall (which was attacked by raising a bank of earth and forming the *testudo*) was approached on that side from level ground. These circumstances are inconsistent with the position of the Bugshill south-west of the Rother, but agree perfectly with that of the Burghill of Burg-wood.

In reference to the change of the line of coast in Pevensey Bay, Mr. Cooper remarks:—

"At Pevensey there has been a more important change in the sea-shore, since the days of the Romans, than is supposed in the Essay. The castle of Pevensey was, so late as the time of Edward I. close upon the shore. Since that time the sea has receded at least a mile. The strongest evidence of the former proximity of the sea is in the forms of the different sides of the castle itself. The provisions for defence on the sea side differing so largely from those on the other three sides, and the existence of the Water-gate as the only exit on the sea side, seem to me to shew that it was on the margin of an estuary. Of the large changes which have taken place in this district within the time of written evidence, the following will give proof. Firstly, the increase of land had not been completed to its present extent down to the fourteenth century. In the Custumial of Pevensey of an earlier date than that century (Suss. Arch. Coll. vol. iv. p. 213) the mode of death for a felon who was of the franchise was, that he should be taken to the town bridge at high water and drowned in the harbour. In 1317 Edward II. granted to one Sassy, by the annual service of presenting a pair of gilt spurs, the liberty to inclose certain lands within the marsh of Pevensey 'then overflowed and in the tenure of no man' (Lowes's Pevensey). And by the chartulary of Lewes Priory (Suss. Arch. Coll. vol.

ii. p. 15) it appears that, in the thirteenth century, Richard, who was portarius (q. port-reeve?) of Pevensey, granted to the priory a free passage for the 'water of the sea' through his marsh to their mill at Langney. In the second place there is evidence that land which had been reclaimed has been there submerged. In 1478 the Godfrey chantry at Winchilsea was endowed with a messuage called Hauseham and 180 acres of land in Westham; on the dissolution of the chantry that land was granted to the Sackvilles (*Hist. of Winchilsea*, pp. 131, 132), and a large portion has since been lost (*Burrell MSS.* 5697). The termination of the names 'ey,' *i. e.* 'ig' Sax. 'an island,' seems also to mark the character of the district. You will find Hidney, Mankseye, Chilley, Horsey, Northey, Langney, &c. all close."

It will be remarked that I have drawn no inference from the supposed invariability of the coast, except that the tidal currents of the English Channel have not been sensibly altered; and this inference is in no degree disturbed by the supposition that the line of coast near Pevensey Castle has advanced by one mile. Still I cannot imagine that the land has been so much increased. The village of West Ham and the Castle of Pevensey are on the sound ground, which has not been formed by the sea; and the accretion of low land in front of Pevensey Castle has therefore been going on from pre-historic times, and a large portion of it must have been deposited before the time of Julius Cæsar. The extracts cited by Mr. Cooper show clearly that the course of the waters near the Castle has been sensibly different from what it is now; but they appear to me to refer rather to the streams running through the marshes than to the sea.



XXI.—*An account of the Opening of some Tumuli in the East Riding of Yorkshire.*
By the Right Hon. the LORD LONDESBOROUGH, F.S.A.

Read Dec. 4, 1851.

DEAR MR. AKERMAN,

Piccadilly, Nov. 28th, 1851.

I send you an account of the opening of some Tumuli, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, under my directions, in the autumn of the present Year, and will thank you to lay the same before the Society of Antiquaries at some early meeting. I am happy in this opportunity of adding to the information which the Society has already acquired on the subject of the primæval remains of our native land; and I am,

Yours, very sincerely,

LONDESBOROUGH.

To J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

Secretary, Society of Antiquaries.

October 17th. In a field in the occupation of Mr. Hopper, of Kellythorpe, and situated behind the Kings Mill, near Driffeld, is a large mound, which forms a very conspicuous object, being from seven to eight feet above the ground, on the east side, where, it is evident, the soil has been taken from, to form the hill. On the west side, it is but slightly elevated above the adjoining ground, with which it is connected by a neck or ridge. On its summit was discernible a slight depression or basin. At the base, it measured nearly twenty yards in diameter.

A cutting was made in the centre, four yards by five; the soil lay in the most irregular manner, in small heaps of different kinds, interspersed with fine gravel. On going lower down, the chief composition was a stiff clay. At about three feet from the top, traces of bones were discovered; but, as it was getting dark, further research was deferred till next morning.

Oct. 18th. At 6 o'clock the following morning, the work was resumed; and the traces of bones followed, which proved to be those of a skeleton lying in the usual contracted position, with the hands bent up towards the face from the elbow. It

lay nearly due east, with the face looking to the south; the skull was much crushed, but the other bones appeared to be in a very fair state of preservation. Immediately above the skull was a rude spear-head of flint (Plate XX. fig. 1,) which was all that accompanied this body.

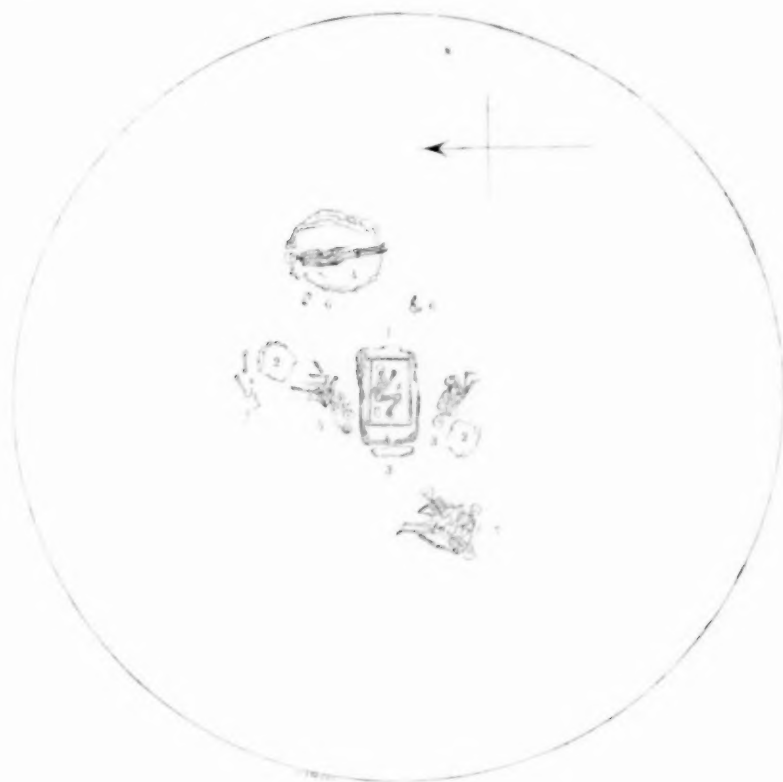
There seemed every probability that this was the original interment, from its proximity to the centre, and the undisturbed soil appearing immediately under it. A considerable surface having now been bared, without any further indication of more burials having taken place, the sides were pulled into the cutting, but nothing more was discovered.

Not far from the first barrow, is another, of about the same diameter, but not more than four feet high; although several persons can recollect its having been much higher previous to the inclosure of the land. It is situated in a field called The Greets, skirted on two sides by the Beverley and Market Weighton roads, and is in the occupation of Mr. Hopper. The individuals before mentioned spoke of quantities of bones having been turned up by the plough when the hill was brought into cultivation, which were re-interred. This proved to be correct; for at a very slight depth in the centre were found the disturbed remains of several skeletons. On the north side of the cutting, a few inches from the top, was a large sand-stone flag, in a slanting position, and on coming to the natural bottom was another, but of much larger size, laid flat, and a smaller one standing upright; at the west end, a little to the south, was a fourth, much in the same position as that first discovered. The hollow sound emitted by the largest of the stones on being struck favoured the opinion that it might be the cover to a vault, which, on clearing away the earth from its edge, was found to be the case; for, at one corner was a hole just of sufficient size to admit a hand and arm, by which means the sides of the interior could be felt. As the stone was more than seven or eight men could remove, a tripod or set of tackle poles and windlass were borrowed from Mr. Hopper, by means of which the lid was raised, but again lowered to its original position till Monday.

The removal of the surrounding soil was again resumed, and on the south side was discovered a very large skeleton (close to the fourth stone before mentioned): it lay in the usual contracted position, on the left side, and about twenty inches from the side of the cist, but was unaccompanied by any weapon or ornament.

Towards the east end were traces of an extensive fire, the chalk-gravel having evidently been subjected to intense heat, which had turned it to a brick-red colour.

The day being far spent, the work was suspended till the following Monday.



REFERENCE.

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| No. 1. Cist, showing position of skeleton, cover, &c. | No. 5. Two skeletons, with urn, spear, and piece of bone, &c. |
| " 2. Sand-stones set round the vault. | " 6. Fragments of Roman, British, or Saxon pottery. |
| " 3. Large skeleton. | " 7. Several skeletons, with spear, fibula, &c. |
| " 4. Traces of fire, with a skeleton laid at full length across. | |

On Monday the operations were resumed, and in a short time, on the north side were discovered a considerable mass of bones, which, on examination, proved to be those of two skeletons laid one upon the other; the bones were so intermixed that it was impossible to distinguish to which they belonged. One of the skulls was in excellent preservation, the other much crushed and broken. Just above the whole head was an urn of coarse British pottery (Plate XX. fig. 9), ornamented with rows of large perforations; also a flint spear-head neatly formed and chipped (fig. 3). Amongst the bones of the hand belonging to one of those skeletons was a curious piece of bone of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and $\frac{1}{4}$ an inch thick, with a small projection

in the middle. On one side in this projection was a hole, through which had been fastened a small hollow iron ball the size of a marble, to which had been attached a thin strip of wood and iron, as if the metal had been fastened between two sides of thin wood; this ran in a straight direction from the little ball at the top (Plate XX. fig. 2); but, with the exception of the bone to which the whole had been attached, and part of the ball, corrosion had completely destroyed it, for on being touched it crumbled into dust; what it had been could not be conjectured, but from the position in which it was found it seemed as if the bone had lain across the hand, and the part suspended from it had passed between the fingers in a straight line. There is every probability that the individual to whom the urn and spear-head belonged had been of an earlier date than the vault, as the urn, which was within six inches of the cover, had a long thin stone of the same description placed over it, with one end resting on the top of the large stone, evidently for the purpose of protecting it when the soil had been thrown on the vault. The iron would indicate a still more recent date, but whether it belonged to the topmost of the two skeletons was impossible to determine.

Having completely removed these two interments, and a considerable quantity of the surrounding soil, without meeting with anything more, preparations were made to investigate the contents of the vault.

The tackle poles being fixed, the lid was again raised and deposited on one side, displaying the contents of the tomb, which was entirely free from soil, so that everything could be seen at a glance exactly in the position in which it was placed when interred.

This rude sarcophagus was sunk in the ground till the top of the sides, which were formed of four slabs of sand-stone, came on a level with the natural surface, and was paved with small irregular pieces of the same. The dimensions were: on the north side, 3 feet 9 in.; on the south, 4 ft. 2 in.; on the east, 2 ft. 5 in.; and on the west, 2 ft. 11 in.; and 2 ft. 6 in. in depth.

On the floor lay a skeleton of large size, the thigh bones measuring 19 inches; it was placed in a similar position to those before mentioned, with the knees drawn up and lying on the left side, the hands bent towards the face (Plate XX. fig. 7); the bones of the right arm were laid in a very singular and beautiful armlet, made of some large animal's bone, about six inches long, and the extremities (which were a little broader than the middle) neatly squared (fig. 8); in this were two perforations about $\frac{1}{2}$ an inch from each end, through which were bronze pins or rivets with gold heads, most probably to attach it to a piece of leather which had passed round the arm, and been fastened by a small bronze buckle, which was found under-

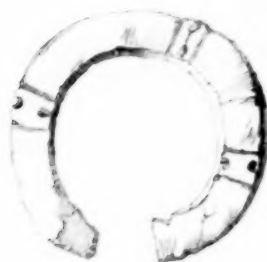
neath the bones. Immediately behind the vertebræ, and as if it had fallen from the waist, was a small bronze dagger in a wooden sheath, having a handle of the same; round the neck were three large amber heads (figg. 4, 5), of conical form, having the under side flat, and which were pierced by two holes running upwards in a slanting direction till they met at the centre. At the lower end of the vault, between the extremity of the spine and the feet, was a highly ornamented drinking cup (fig. 6), completely covered with rows of marks and indentations, each row being divided by ridges or bands; about the centre of the pavement in front of the body, was the upper part of a hawk's head and beak. A mass of what seemed to be linen cloth lay under the entire length of the skeleton, but the interstices were so filled up with animal matter as to give it the appearance of leather; there was, however, a portion about 2 inches long and $\frac{1}{4}$ wide, laid across one of the thigh bones, which shewed the texture of the fabric very plainly, and from the quantity of these remains it is very likely the body had been wrapped in linen from head to foot.

The skull was in a much worse condition than several others which had been found, the whole of the facial bones being decayed; it is of a very peculiar round form, and quite different from any other belonging to this tumulus.

The contents of the cist having been thoroughly examined, attention was next turned to the traces of fire before alluded to. It covered a space of about five feet in diameter; and fragments of bone belonging to different skeletons more or less burnt were met with throughout the extent of the fire. In the centre of the burnt gravel, and where it was evident the heat had been most intense, lay a skeleton at full length, the vertebræ and middle portions completely calcined, but the extremities not so much destroyed; quantities of charcoal were met with, both above and below the bones; the red gravel formed a conical heap, and it was evident the fire had subsided before the earth had been placed over it, as there is no appearance of the latter having been subjected to any heat.

Portions of two vases of Romano-British or Saxon pottery were found scattered over the north and eastern parts of the barrow; being at a considerable depth, it was remarkable they should have been so much disturbed, which must have been caused by the depositing of a later interment, but there was nothing to prove which were the remains of the individual last interred.

The number of interments in this tumulus had been very considerable, the remains of ten different skeletons having been exhumed during the investigation. The head of one is peculiarly long and narrow, and near it was found a circular fibula of bronze (figured in the next page); this was at the west end: but, several other skeletons being laid close together, and at all angles, nothing satisfactory



could be made of them. There was also a rude flint spear-head and a joint of some large animal's back-bone turned up in the same place.

The mound having been nearly all turned over, and to every appearance being on the outside of the deposits, all the bones were collected and placed in the vault, the lid was again lowered to its former position, and, after placing the other stones round it in the manner they were found, the remainder of the day was occupied by filling in and restoring the hill to its former shape.

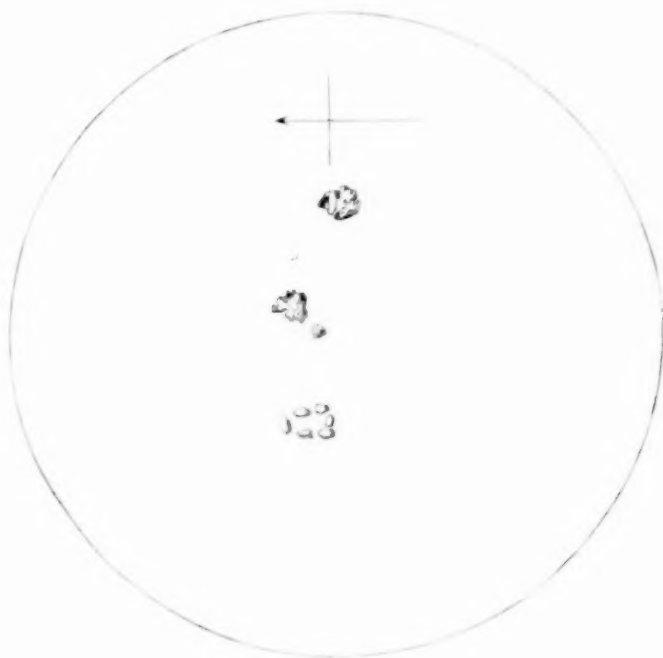
Preparations were made to open some of the very numerous barrows on and in the neighbourhood of Goodmanham Wolds, near Londesborough; they number between thirty and forty in a space not more than a mile across. Some of them are of great size, varying in height from two to eleven or twelve feet. There is no appearance of any of them having been opened, except one in the barn-field, which was nearly levelled some six or seven years ago by Mr. Appleton, the tenant. Mr. Leighton, of Goodmanham, who was present at the opening and had the objects found in his possession, describes the contents as follows, which he believes to be pretty nearly correct:—

The cutting was commenced on the west side; a little way towards the centre great quantities of charcoal, ashes, and burnt bones, mixed with red or burnt soil, were discovered, which ran completely over the interior of the mound. In the centre of this coloured strata was an urn of unbaked clay, perfect, another partially damaged, and a considerable number of fragments of one or two more.

Immediately on the top of these interments were two whole skeletons unburnt. Another barrow, of much less size and near to the first, was partially opened at the same time, but did not produce anything.

On Wednesday, October 23d, operations were commenced on a small hill near to the one mentioned as having been opened by Mr. Leighton: it measured about twelve yards across, and was about two feet and a half deep in the centre. The rock was soon reached and bared for a considerable space. Slight traces of fire

were observable throughout the centre ; but, towards the north-west side, the indications of cremation were much stronger, which, on being followed, led to a small hole in the rock about twenty feet in depth, and the same in diameter at the mouth, and drawing to a point at the bottom : this was completely filled with bones, very much burnt, and almost all reduced to ashes. There was also a considerable quantity of charcoal mixed with them. In the middle of this hole was a small rude incense-cup, perfectly plain ; about three inches across in the widest part ; and near the bottom was another of the same proportions and shape, but ornamented by a row of parallel lines running in a vertical direction, and another row reversed. The second did not seem to have been so much burnt as the one first found, which was black, or nearly so. No other deposit was found in this tumulus.



A much larger mound in the same field was the next examined. It was a little more than six feet high, and nearly twenty yards in diameter. A cutting was made in the centre about four yards square. The top was composed of soil to the depth of from two to three feet, under which the remainder of the structure was a stiff and tenacious clay.

The first object of interest discovered was an oval, formed of six large flint bolders, about four yards on the north-west side of the centre. From the appearance of this curious structure, it seemed as if it had been formed to contain an urn. Whatever was the object of its construction, nothing was found within several yards of it.

Near the centre, and at the depth of six feet from the top, was a deposit of burnt bones, accompanied by a very highly ornamented British urn (fig. 10); it measures 44 inches in height, and 6 inches in width at the top. A little below the rim is a band or groove, in which, at regular distances, are four small knobs or projections. It is completely covered with sharp incisions, and on the bottom is a cross, made by double rows of small holes running from side to side and crossing in the centre. The urn, when found, was twelve or fourteen inches from the deposit of burnt bones, but there was every appearance of its belonging to them.

Six feet to the east of the last-mentioned interment was another large mass of burnt bones, but unaccompanied by any article usually found in connexion with similar deposits.

In the clay composing this barrow were discernible several seams of decayed wood, or charcoal, following the conical shape of the hill throughout.

From the great difficulty in removing the clay much time was spent without producing anything encouraging; therefore, the most of it having been turned over the hill was made up again.

Another small mound, on the north-east side of the large one just mentioned, was opened, but with little success, as it contained nothing but a small mass of calcined bones.

October 29. At Little Driffield, in a field in the occupation of I. D. Conyers, Esq. is a hill of great height for the circumference. It is composed entirely of sand. On the removal of most of the mound, nothing was found to indicate its artificial formation, except a few pieces of red pottery (from appearance Roman), and some bits of much corroded iron.



Septulchral Remains from Tumuli near Driffield, Yorkshire.

(Enlarged for the Society of Antiquaries of London April 17th 1850)

Illustrated by

XXII.—*Supplementary Observations on an Astronomical and Astrological Table-Clock, together with an account of the Astrolabe.* By C. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., M.A., F.R.S. and S.A., in a Letter to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq. Resident Secretary.

Read June 19, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,

9, Pall Mall, 19 June, 1851.

I have placed on the table of our Society, for exhibition this evening, my curious Astronomical and Astrological Table Clock, which has been so well figured and described in the paper of our excellent Director, which was read at the early part of this season, and printed in the last part of the *Archæologia* just published; and I will therefore take the liberty of adding a few Observations supplementary to those which he has made, as they will point out more clearly, now that the instrument is before us, its interest and peculiarities.

The instrument is a Clock and standard Astrolabe. The base has already been described in Captain Smyth's paper. On the pillar, or stem, which supports the dial and astrolabe, is engraved a calendar, by which is shewn what planets rule over the different hours of the day and night in each day of the week. As the names of these days are in French, and as one of the projections of the sphere engraved on the lower plate of the dial is for the latitude of Paris, it is most probable that the Clock was made there. It bears the date 1560. At that time was living at Paris, Oronce Finée, the celebrated astronomer, who was mathematician and mechanist to the king. In 1553 he constructed for the Cardinal of Lorraine a very curious astronomical clock, of which he published a description in 1557. From the period when the present clock was made, the clever ingenuity in its construction, and the beauty of the workmanship, it is by no means improbable that it may have been one of his works, for the engraving on the pillar corresponds with a table given in his "*Cosmographia*," and the Ptolemaic system, as engraved on the upper disc of the base of the clock, is the counterpart of the diagram given in the same work.

The dial-work or astronomical portion of the movement is curious, inasmuch as it is a moving astrolabe, and shews at any hour of the day, besides the relative

motions of the sun and moon, and the tides, (the earth being stationary in the centre, according to the Ptolemaic theory,) the position of certain of the principal fixed stars with relation to the earth, as well as the aspects of the heavenly bodies, whether in conjunction, sextile, quartile, trine, or opposition; matters at that time of the highest interest, when Astrology was so much in vogue. It will be seen that on the dial-face of this clock there are four concentric movements, by which are shewn the revolution of the sun round the earth in twenty-four hours, his annual course through the signs of the zodiac, the age and phases of the moon, and the tides. Each index is a perforated diagram, and serves at the same time as a dial to the one above it, thus showing the relative motion of one body to the other. The back of the dial is an Astrolabe for making astronomical observations, taking the altitude of the sun and stars, and ascertaining the height of objects on the earth's surface; finding the day of the month, and making other calculations. The usual form of the astrolabe was such that it was suspended by a ring, and so hung perpendicularly; this, however, being a standard instrument, required some arrangement for setting it in a *perpendicular position*, and this is done by a contrivance for a plumb-line in the ruler or volvel at the back of the instrument.

The ancient Astrolabe, from its long disuse, has now become an object rarely met with. I have, therefore, placed on the table another similar instrument, being a portable astrolabe of the more usual kind, suspended by a ring. This has also a great and interesting peculiarity, inasmuch as it contains within it a striking-clock, whereas the usual astrolabes were without that addition, which they of course could not have had previous to the invention of portable clocks and watches shortly after 1500. The construction of this clock, it having no fusee, and the wheels being all made of steel, would indicate its date to be about 1525, or at latest a few years after. Gemma Frisius, the Dutch astronomer, is said to have suggested, about the year 1530, that portable clocks might be taken to sea, to find the longitudes; and here is an instrument just calculated to carry out that suggestion, inasmuch as it enables any one to take the altitude of the sun or stars, and indicates the hour at the same time; and may thus be considered as a prototype of marine chronometers.

The index to the hours is what is termed the "net" of the astrolabe, and which, at the same time that it showed the hour, showed also the relative position of the fixed stars to the earth. There is, however, a part of the instrument wanting, namely, a loose plate of metal beneath the "net," engraved with a projection of the sphere for some particular latitude. It is a pity that this is lost, as it would show for what part of the world the instrument was made, which would be very

interesting, as another curious peculiarity is, that all the engraving of the figures for the hours and other matters, together with the names of the signs and months, is in Arabic characters, thus serving to show that it was made for some Oriental region. It is, however, I think, of German manufacture, and was probably made at Augsburg, with which place, it being a great mart of European commerce from the ports of Genoa and Venice, there was much intercourse with the East.

The Astrolabe is an astronomical instrument of great antiquity, and, though our present name for it is of Greek origin, it was probably an eastern invention, as the writers on astronomy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who mention it generally give, with explanations, the Arabic names of its several parts. In a manuscript of the thirteenth century, called "*Le Breviaire de St. Louis*," which is said to have belonged to Queen Blanche, the mother of St. Louis, is an illuminated miniature of a lesson in astronomy, where the teacher is represented as taking an observation with an astrolabe, which he holds in his left hand, whilst he is taking a sight through the holes in the "ruler" of the instrument. The best, and indeed only clear description of this instrument and its use that I have found is in a scarce tract, printed in London in 1587, and entitled "*A Mirror for Mathematics*," by Robert Tanner; and, as from its long disuse no account of it is to be found in modern works, and as in the *Archæologia* there is only a very short notice respecting it in vol. xxix. p. 374, I have transcribed that portion of Tanner's book which relates to its form and construction, thinking it may be of some interest in explanation of the instruments now before the Society. Robert Tanner's book is throughout very quaint; the title of it is, "*A Mirror for Mathematics, a Golden Gem for Geometricians, a sure Safety for Saylers, and an auncient Antiquary for Astronomers and Astrologians. By Robert Tanner, Gent. Practitioner in Astrologie and Physic, &c. &c. &c.*"

The "*Epistle dedicatourie*" to the Right Hon. Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, commences with the announcement of a curious and quaint fact in natural history almost worthy of being communicated to the Royal or Zoological Societies.

"The cranes when they fly out of Cilicia, over the mountains Taurus, carrie in their mouths a pebble stone, lest by their chattering they should be *ceased* (seized) upon by the eagles; which birds, Right Honourable, might teach me silence, &c."

The first chapter is intituled, "*The Traveller's joy and felicitie*," and "*declareth the composition of the instrument called astrolab*," as follows:—"This present instrument is divided into four parts: the first part doth contain two things; the first is the face or form of the astrolabe, divided into 24 hours, after the manner

of a middle horologe, with 360 degrees of the æquator, the lines of the divisions being added with their numbers from 10 to 10; and this is termed of manie the limb of the astrolabe. To this form is joined a certain hollowness, for the imposition of other parts. This is called the mother of the astrolabe—

“Hollowness the mother of the astrolabe.”

This and the following descriptions are illustrated by diagrams.

“In the second place cometh the back of the astrolabe, in which the degrees of the altitudes of every fourth part of the circle, with their numbers from 10 to 10 unto 90, do offer themselves. After these do follow the degrees of the zodiac, serving with their numbers from 10 to 10, for every sign adding 30; to which immediately do cleave the names of the signs. Afterwards the days of the year do follow, distinguished with their numbers, after the order and custom of the Church; between which the altimetrical lather, for the divers geometrical divisions of his place, and that there might be no void room, the bows or arcs of unequal hours being described do shew themselves.”

“The second part in one table being plaine upon one side, whereof are graven the almicanthareth, that is, the circles of the progressions from 6 degrees to 6 from the horizon to the zenith of the head; and the first almincarath of them is called the oblique horizon, that is to say, the terminator or ender of sight in an oblique sphere, because he doth divide the higher hemisphere from the lower, and whatsoever is under that circle is under the horizon, and whatsoever is above the same is above the horizon.

“The centre of the inner almincareth is named the zenith of the city or country to which the table is made.”

Then follows a description of the projection of the sphere, as drawn and engraved on a plane table of metal, according to the latitude of the place for which the instrument is made. This plate was usually engraved on both sides, on one side for 45, on the other for 42, degrees of elevation of the north pole; and occupied the hollow space before mentioned, constituting the third part of the instrument.

“The fourth part is the volvel, so called, containing the zodiac of the twelve signs, with their degrees and numbers from 10 to 10. Also the most noble fixed stars, most necessary for those which judge of stars, which is called by the Arabians Alencabuth, but in Latin aranea or rete, a cobweb or net, whose fardest and extreme part being hollow is said to be the way of the sun or the ecliptic; and about the beginning in the same zodiac is left a certain little tooth, which the

Arabians call almuri, but in Latin a pointer-out, because it is that which pointeth out the degrees described in the limb.

“You must know that all signs, with their degrees and stars, which are contained between the equinoctial circle and the centre of the astrolabe, are called septentrional, and that all which are without, towards the circle Capricorn, are called meridional.

“And last, these things are joined together by a pin, with rules and indices as followeth:—The rule or volvel, which is turned in the back of the astrolabe, which ruler is called altriada, or mediclinium, in the which are put two little pins or tables to take the height of the sun in the day, and of the stars at night, of which one side which goeth through by the centre of the astrolabe is called The line of Trust, because it bringeth credit of things practised there.

“The ring hanging is an instrument by which the astrolabe is hanged to take the height of the sun in the day time, and of the stars in the night; and in the Arabian tongue is called alantica or alphantica.”

So far for the form and construction of the instrument; and, to demonstrate its use, I shall subjoin a list of the various observations to be made with it, according to the instructions given in the different chapters:—

“Cap. 2.—To find out the motion of the sun.

- 3.—To know the height of the sun every hour of the day.
- 4.—To enquire out the equal hour, that is, the usual hour of the horologe or dyall.
- 5.—To know the equal hour in the night time.
- 6.—To try the height of the stars in the night time.
- 7.—To find the rising and setting of the sun.
- 8.—To know the length of an artificial day and night.
- 9.—The rising and falling of the fixed stars.
- 10.—To find out unequal or planetical hours.
- 11.—To number the declining of the fixed stars, and every degree of the ecliptic.
- 12.—To find out in what climate any one is which strayeth in the sea or wilderness.
- 13.—The taking of the height of some place, region, or town.
- 14.—To know to what climate, region, or town the mother of the astrolabe is formed.
- 15.—To know the degree in the ecliptic with which the star described in the net doth rise and fall.

- Cap. 16.—To search out the zenith of the rising and setting of the sun and fixed stars.
- 17.—To find out the zenith of the sun and fixed stars.
- 18.—One fixed star being known, to find another unknown.
- 19.—To come artificially to the knowledge of the stars of the eighth orb, being unknown.
- 20.—The ascension or descension in a right sphere of one sign of the zodiac or more.
- 21.—The ascension of the degree of the ecliptic of a star.
- 22.—By the right ascension known of a star, to find the bow of the ecliptic ascending with it.
- 23.—To know what signs rise and fall rightly, and what signs rise and fall crookedly, in a right sphere.
- 24.—To know what signs rise rightly in an oblique sphere, and what signs arise crookedly.
- 25.—To find the beginning of the twelve houses of the heavens for divers astronomical judgments.
- 26.—Of certain geometrical measures of heights and lengths.
- 27.—To find out by the astrolabe or quadrant the height of any object in an even plane, without any shadow.
- 28 to 32 give directions for measuring the height, depth, and distance of objects with the quadrant, together with its composition and other matters connected with it."

We here see that our forefathers had invented and constructed a very clever and useful instrument, and one which was remarkably portable, and there is probably no one instrument of modern time by which so many operations could be performed and so much knowledge acquired.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

OCTAVIUS MORGAN.

TO J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Resident Secretary,
&c. &c. &c.

XXIII.—*On a Silver Disc from Tarentum, in the possession of Henry Vint, Esq., F.S.A. of Colchester.* By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq.

Read March 27th, 1851.

THE object I propose to describe is a Disc of silver of very thin substance, being scarcely one-sixteenth of an inch thick, and beaten up from behind in the kind of metallic work called sphurelaton by the Greeks. It has apparently formed the top of a mirror-case, or box. (See Plate XXI.) The account of its discovery, which Mr. Vint, its possessor, has placed in my hands, is as follows:—"This bas-relief I purchased in Naples upwards of twenty years ago of a travelling jeweller, who collected and dealt in relics of antiquity. The following, to the best of my recollection, is the account he gave me of the place where it was found, and the manner in which it came into his possession. On one of his customary visits to Tarentum, in Calabria, he was invited by a silversmith, with whom he transacted business, to take some refreshment, and on entering a room behind the shop he observed this bas-relief placed against the wall, and two small lamps burning before it. Being at the very first sight sensible of its antiquity, he carefully asked the silversmith's wife, who was present, where it was found. Her answer was to this effect. Some excavators brought to their shop for sale a quantity of silver which they had found in digging among the ruins of the old city. On breaking up the mass her husband discovered these figures within it, and was about to put them into the crucible to melt them, when she snatched the rare relic from her husband, exclaiming with religious horror, 'Would you melt the Madonna?' Her husband confirmed his wife's account, and moreover stated it was soldered within a conical-shaped silver vase that was found covered up in the tight cavity of a large stone among the ruins of Tarentum."

The subject of the Bas-relief is as follows: A female is seated upon a rock in a direction facing to the right, but turning round and looking to the left. She leans her left hand upon a tortoise, which comes out from beneath it. With her right hand she takes some ointment out of a shell (*concha*), which is in the hand of a small figure in a diploid tunic, standing on a square pedestal, and facing her. This figure is gilded round the waist, and the pedestal is ornamented with a wreath and

festoons. Behind the principal and seated figure is a naked youth running away, and holding on his head inverted a conical basket. The figure on the rock has her hair gathered up from behind, but is naked to the waist; round her head is a wreath, and on her wrists are the bracelets called *ζεῖδες*. A thin garment wraps the lower part of her form, and her left leg is bent under her right. In the area are a thyrsus, flower, butterfly, and letter; in the exergue a lyre laid horizontally, a grasshopper; above, a star, a crow, and another star.

There can be no doubt of this being one of the cases which held the *κάτοπτρα* or *ἐκτοπτρα*, as the mirrors were called which were used at the toilet of females. Its circular form and its size leads to this conclusion. Similar discs in silver, and of the same beaten-up work, are in the principal museums of Europe; and for general resemblance may be cited the bas-relief of Mr. Hawkins with the subject of Venus and Anchises,⁴ and the votive shield of the Vienna Museum, having for its story the apotheosis of Germanicus.⁵ Some other mirror-cases of bronze are figured in the work of M. Gerhard, and their general form is there shewn as a flat disc of metal, about half an inch thick, beaten hollow, so as to form the box to hold a circular mirror without any handle, and having above a circular cover, with a subject executed in chased work upon the top.⁶ The general relation of the subjects of these mirrors to the cases is by no means clear; for they are derived from other works of art, or legends particularly current in their day, such as the amours of Bacchus and Ariadne⁷, the arms of Achilles brought by the Nereids, the death of Neoptolemos at Delphi⁸, Venus and Anchises, and even the amours of Cupid and Psyche. It appears, indeed, from the writings of the pseudo Anacreon⁹ that such

⁴ Millingen, *Anc. Un. Mon.*

⁵ Arneth, *Gold und Silber-Monumente*, fo. Wien, 1850, sup. taf. v.

⁶ Gerhard, *Metallspiegel*, taf. xxi.

⁷ Mirror-case from Toscanella, in the British Museum.

⁸ Gerhard, *l. c.* taf. xxii.

⁹ Anacreon a Barnes, 8vo. London, 1734, p. 146. Ode 51. It was of silver chased, *ἀπὸ τῆς τρέφουσας πόρον*, i. e. with the figure of Venus in bas-relief, *ἀπὸ λανθῆ χάραξε Κύπρον*, l. 789, and the Cupids, *ὑπὲρ ἀργύρου ἐκχέοντο*. From the whole description evidently a Roman work of art.

The mirrors of the Etruscans, like those of the Egyptians, consisted of a disk with a spike, which was inserted into a handle of some other material, such as wood, ivory, and possibly even other metals; but at the time of the Roman empire square or circular mirrors were adopted, and the latter placed in circular boxes. Some of the later mirrors of the Etruscans were circular like the Romans, and provided with boxes; their covers with embossed work like the present. See Gerhard, *Metallspiegel*, l. c. Some of the Roman mirrors have medallions cut into two, and inlaid into the cover and lower part, as the one found at Coddensham. *Archæologia*, xxvii. p. 354, with the medallion of Otho. Several large brass coins of Nero have been found in France cut into two, and served up for boxes.

works were by no means uncommon in his day : and the subject of the disc which he describes was Aphrodite sailing across the sea, attended by the Erotes.

Pliny states that the best mirrors in Italy came from Brundisium ;^a and Praxiteles, an artist who lived during the first triumvirate, is mentioned by that author as the inventor of silver mirrors, which had become so common at Rome in his time that the maid-servants used them.^b Lais dedicated her mirror to Aphrodite.^c Unfortunately, considerable difficulties occur in the explanation of the subject of this specimen (of toreutic work), a highly valuable and beautiful example of ancient chasing, undoubtedly later than the age of Alexander. This charming composition reminds us of the celebrated Portland Vase, and must have been executed when the glyptic art was highly advanced.

The accessories or objects which are grouped round the figures confer on it a pantheistic character, which is indeed found on certain works of art of the Roman period, when the introduction of new religious notions derived from oriental mythology exercised so potent an influence over the Roman mind.

In the principal figure is apparently to be recognised a type of Aphrodite, or Venus, considered in her marine character, at her toilet. It is thus that the goddess is represented either as borne in the pecten shell in her character of Venus Cythereia,^d swimming in the water, or as Anadyomene arrived at the sea-shore, and wringing out her wet tresses ;^e or else seated upon a tortoise—emblem, according to some authors, of her telluric influence,^f and, according to others, of her celestial power ;^g which is sometimes replaced by a hippocamp,^h a shell,ⁱ or a sepia,^k also indicative of her marine influence. But the dolphin was particularly emblematic of

^a N. H. xxxiii. 45. *Lamnas duci, specula fieri non nisi ex (argento) optimo posse credimus. Fucrat id integrum, sed id quoque jam fraude conrumpitur, etc. Atque ut omnia de speculis peragantur in hoc loco, optima apud majores fuerant Brundusina; stanno et aere mixtis prælata sunt argentea. Primus fecit Pasitiles (or Praxiteles) Magni Pompeii ætate. See Sillig, Cat. of Artists, voce Praxiteles, etc. For these mirrors cf. Philostratus Imag. i. vi.; Dio Chrysost. xvii. p. 124.*

^b *Specula quoque ex eo laudatissima, ut diximus, Brundusii temperabantur, donec argenteis uti cœperent ancillæ. N. H. xxxiv. 48. Euripides, in the Troades, v. 1096, speaks of the χρυσάεινα ἑνερπυα, but this is a poetic phrase. See Gerhard, Metaspiegel, s. 77-8; Beckman, Gesch. der Erfindung, iii. s. 277, u. ff.*

^c See the Anthologia, Lubini, i. infra cit.

^d Festus, voce Cythereia. Clarac, Mus. de Sculpt. pl. 606 A, No. 1379 B; pl. 606 B; pl. 607, 608. Cf. the bas-relief, Clarac, ii. pl. 224, No. 82.

^e Clarac, Mus. de Sculpt. iii. pl. 626, Nos. 1406, 1408.

^f Clarac, pl. 629, No. 1415.

^g Gerhard, Ueber die Venusidole. Abhandl. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. 4to. Berlin, 1845.

^h Clarac, pl. 613, No. 1369; pl. 614, No. 1363; pl. 615, No. 1365.

ⁱ Clarac, pl. 627, No. 1413; pl. 630.

^k Clarac, pl. 610, No. 1316.

her marine origin, and occurs attached to a great number of statues^a and other representations of the goddess. For, as to express her passage through the air the artists of antiquity represented her either borne by the winged loves,^b mounted on a swan,^c or drawn by sparrows,^d mounted on which the Erotes fly around her,^e so to express her passage across the sea she is constantly accompanied by dolphins and other marine animals. The difficulty of interpreting the present subject is caused by its being the product of an age when the artists treated by preference allegories rather than the old hieratical myths, and by the tortoise, which forms the key to the explanation, being connected with several myths very different in their character. The only chance is an examination of the less obvious portions of Greek literature, and even these rarely aid the inquiry. The first and most prominent analogy is that of the statue of the goddess at Elis,^f one of the chryselephantine statues of Phidias, in which the goddess was treated as the Aphrodite Urania or celestial Venus—the tortoise possibly alluding to her standing on the earth, of which the terrestrial tortoise appears to be the emblem. According to Plutarch,^g the tortoise was the symbol of the silence and domestication of married females—while modern authors see in this reptile the vault of the heaven,^h or the emblem of Spartan valour.ⁱ The present disc, which cannot be a copy of any artist of that period, but of one later than the age of Alexander, shews, from the rock upon which the goddess is seated, and from the dolphin below it, that there is an allusion to the marine Aphrodite, and not to the Aphrodite Urania. It is such a scene as an artist may have conceived of the goddess when she was supposed to have revisited Paphos and her Idalian groves. On the coins of the Crepereia family a head like the present is often repeated, and each time accompanied by a different emblem, such as a stork, a dolphin, a sepia,

^a Clarac, pl. 613, Nos. 1391, 1392 A; pl. 625, No. 1403; pl. 626 A, No. 1363; pl. 626 B, No. 1401; pl. 627, No. 1412; pl. 628, No. 1564 A; pl. 631, No. 1422; pl. 632, No. 1398 A; and Adonis, pl. 634, No. 1429; pl. 634 B, No. 1386 A.

^b Müller, *Denkmäler*, xxii, 286.

^c *Ibid.*, 287.

^d Achilles Tatius; *Clitophon*, 8vo, Lips. 1821, a Jacobs, p. 6.

^e Pausanias, vi, 25, 2.

^f Plutarch, *Præc. Conj.*, xxxii, 142.

^g Panofka, *Skiron und Theseus*, s. 10; Gerhard, *Ueber den Venusidole*, s. 4.

^h Gottling, *Verzeichniss d. Museums d. Universit. Jena*, 8vo, Jena, 1848, s. 13. Die Schildkröte aber ist ein Symbol spartanischer Tapferkeit, denn sie lässt sich wie diese, den Schild nur mit dem eigenen Leben zugleich rauben. This notion, that the tortoise is an emblem of Spartan valour, because it only parts with its shell or shield after its life, is very ingenious, but I do not know on what ancient authority it is founded. Gottling supposes that the Venus of Milo stands on a tortoise.

a tortoise.^a It is difficult, however, to decide whether the goddess is not here in the character of Pontia, Limenia, or Paralia.

The subject of Aphrodite at the Bath, so often repeated upon works of ancient art, represented a particular incident in the history of the goddess—the bathing in the fountains of Ida previous to submitting herself to the judgment of Paris.^b The moment chosen by the artists for the figures of the goddess *Λοιομένη* was generally when she was on the point of fastening her sandal. As on the disc in question—the Erotes, generally two, Pothos and Himeros,^c and rarely three, Eros, Himeros, and Pothos, aid her at her toilet.^d A bronze figure, published by Millingen,^e as the Venus Urania, represents her at the toilet adjusting her sandal, and on her side a heap or column made of the attributes of different deities, giving her a pantheistic analogy. On the top of this mass of emblems are two Erotes standing; one of them holds the conch shell for the unguents of the goddess—the other holding a mirror. A similar object is represented in Gori,^f evidently taken from a figure of Aphrodite Lyomene. All these pantheistic attributes prove the late era of the type when the artists emulated the philosophical writers of the Roman empire, who endeavoured to identify the individual types of deities with the whole working powers of animated nature. The boyish figure flying from the scene is apparently Cupid; yet his back is not provided with the usual wings, the almost universal type of the active power or inspiration of love. On his head he places by both hands a conical object, probably a vase or mirror, which he has been holding to the goddess. Artistically speaking, this figure balances in the composition that of Peitho—the one female, and indi-

^a Morell, *Thesaurus Creperia*, 1-6. What this head means on the Creperian denarii is quite undecided, Riccio, *Monete*, 4to, Napoli, 1834, pp. 75, 76; Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* Tom. By some it has been supposed to be a Nereid, or Venus Anadyomene. It bears a great resemblance to the head of the goddess on Mr. Vint's mirror. The adjuncts after the head are—A and a dolphin; B, a tortoise; C, a pelamys; D, a fish; E, a sepia; F, a sepia or echinus; G, a shrimp; H, an echinus; I, unknown; K, a stork.

^b See the *Anthologia*. Lubini, p. 744; Agathias, p. 742; Cyrus, p. 745; Marianus, *ibid.* 744; Democharis, p. 746, on the baths of Byzantium.

^c Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 606 A. No. 1405 A.; *Nap. Mus. Borb.* No. 306.

^d Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 622 A., 622 B. No. 1383. Cf. Horat. *Od.* lib. i. n. 2. According to this author, Iocus and Cupido.

^e *Trans. Roy. Soc. of Liter.*, new series, vol. i. p. 62. Only one on the Naples group; *Mus. Borb.* 306; Clarac, iii. pl. DCVI. A. No. 1405 A. Two, *ibid.* pl. DCXXIII. A. Small group, *Bu.* pl. DCXXV. No. 1406; pl. DCXXXI. 1420-1-2.

^f *Inscr. Antiq.* The principal persons of whom we have toilet scenes are Venus, l. c.; Diana, Clarac, pl. 113. No. 769; 114. 67; Müller, xviii. 183; Leda, *Sarcoph.* in Paris; and Helen, *Mirrors*; Gerhard, *Metallspiegel*. Jaln. O. Peitho.

ating the persuasive power of female charms; the other male, and indicating the first glances of love. This god, introduced into compositions rarely with Aphrodite, about the third century before Christ,* constantly appears till the age of the later Caesars and Antonines, when numerous Cupids, winged or unwinged,^b replaced the original Erotes or the triple form of Eros, Himeros, and Pothos. In order to allegorise the force of love, they were represented seizing the arms and emblems of the different deities, and subduing them into their power; but they are essentially the knaves of Venus, whether she is seated in Olympus or Ida, cleaving the air and revisiting Paphos and the Idalian groves, caught in the arms of Mars, or swimming through the sea. No doubt that the idea of Eros is like that of Hermes and of Iris, that of a messenger, the means by which the divine will works; and, as Hermes had the caduceus, and Iris or Nike the tania, so Eros uses arrows to effect the purpose for which he is sent. The appearance of Eros at the bath and toilet of Venus is constant on works of ancient art, and evidently because Venus is rendered more attractive by the Graces, by Persuasion, by Love in its three-fold state. In the pantheistic groups, the dual form of Cupid seems to shew that the Eros and the Anteros of the Neoplatonists was intended.

In the present instance the female figure is probably Peitho, the Charis who particularly attended upon the goddess—as herself the goddess of Persuasion—and in performance of this function she holds the unguent vase, or alabastron, or the stylus, with which to elongate the eyelids of the goddess of beauty.^c The position of the goddess upon a pedestal is also in accordance with monuments of art of a later period than the age of Alexander; and on a gem published by Müller, engraved with the subject of Venus at her toilet, the Cupids stand, one on a high stele or pillar, and the other on the ground. From the smaller proportions of the figure, it is apparently a statue, which is often introduced in this manner into various compositions; and, if it were not that the idea of Peitho appears preferable, the figure might be conjectured to be rather the nymph of the fountain in which Aphrodite is bathing; these local Naiads being on bas-reliefs of the Roman time represented standing, and holding shells, to indicate their aquatic nature. On the Pompeian wall-painting, representing the interview between Paris and Helen, and the latter persuaded by Aphrodite, Peitho is represented upon a column.

* The earliest appearance of the winged Erotes is on the vases of Vulci, with red figures, as on that with Ulysses. Monumenti, i. 8.

^b M. O. Jahn, *Peitho*. 8vo.; Greifswald, 1846. For the nymphs holding a shell, cf. Clarac, pl. 750, No. 1837. *Nymphe on Appiade*, pl. 754. No. 1838 A. ix. 1840.

^c Winckelman, *Mon. Ined.* 115; Millin, *Gal. Myth.* 173; Inghirami, *Gal. Omer.* 10; Guignard, *Rel. de l'Antiq.* 246-751; *Mus. Borb.* iii. 40.

The emblems in the area have all allusion to Aphrodite; the thyrsus connects her with Dionysos, by whom, according to one tradition, she became the mother of the Charites,—the flower is specially her symbol; the butterfly is the emblem of Psyche,^a or the soul, which she harasses, and which she is sometimes represented holding by its wings in her hand; the square object is probably the *δέλταρον*, the tablets or letter, connecting her with Hermes or Athene, the inventress of writing.

The emblems on the exergue refer particularly to Apollo, being—the lyre, which, it will be remembered, was made by Mercury out of the shell of a tortoise, and presented to him—the crow, the bird sacred to the god—and the grasshopper, also his emblem. There are also here two stars, which are either intended to symbolise the Dioscuri, or else to connect the goddess with the celestial planisphere, and with the gods of light. From the appearance here of the butterfly, and its allusion to the story of Psyche, which is not known in art earlier than the middle ages of the Roman empire, it is evident alone that this specimen cannot be older, while the pantheistic attributes of the goddess tend to show that the work may be between the reign of Domitian and the close of the Antonines.

I have already mentioned that the tortoise, *χελώνη*, enters into several traditions of different Hellenic races, and that it is found as the attribute of their deities. Its general position is at the feet, and hence its name, for an obvious reason, was one of the expressions for a footstool; and it was with these wooden footstools that the Thesalian women killed the courtesan Lais in the temple of Aphrodite Anosia.^b The tortoise was placed at the foot of Aphrodite or Venus, of Hermes or Mercury,^c of Pan,^d of Apollo,^e and of Æsculapius^f his son—as well as upon the arm of Zeus.^g It has been supposed that its relation to Hermes is on account of his invention of the *chelys*, or lyre, for which purpose this god employed the shell as a sounding board;^h

^a Cf. Minerva animating the men made by Prometheus with a butterfly. Clarac, pl. 215, No. 29.

^b Athenæus, xiii. 588. From Timæus.

^c Clarac, Musée, tom. iii. pl. 317, No. 2314.

^d Panofka, Skiron.

^e Clarac, Mus. iii. pl. 471, No. 959; pl. 493, No. 959.

^f Panofka, Skiron, iv. 13, gem of the Berlin Museum.

^g Paste of the Berlin Museum, Tolkien Verzeichniss, s. 95; Kl. iii. Abth. ii. 1-77; Winckelman, Cat. El. iii. s. 3, 37, 38. Its connection with the Zeus Aphesios is very doubtful.

^h Homer, Hymn. It appears from the Paroemiographical writers, (8vo. Götting, 1854, pp. 59, 103,) that there was a story about Mercury and a turtle and a fisherman. This, however, may have been an extract from some fabulist. A gem published by Winckelman, Mon. Ined. 39; Müller, Archæologie der Kunst, xxx. 331, represents Mercury bearing off Pandora, and having on his shoulder a tortoise. Cf. *ibid.* xxix. Nos. 326, 327, for Mercury holding a tortoise. According to the Arcadian tradition this took place at Mount Chelydorea. Panofka, Skiron, tav. iv. 5; Annali, tom. ii. 183-185; Mus. Napl. i. 54.

or from the part performed by the god in changing the envious nymph Chelone into this animal. According to another Arcadian tradition, the tortoise was sacred to Pan;^a and this god, in the old theogony, was the son of Hermes and Dryope;^b but the details of the amour in which Hermes, like the Apollo Nomios, tended the herds of a mortal, are wanting, and might throw considerable light upon this subject. The usual tradition, in which Mercury, surnamed Akakesios, discovers the tortoise upon Mount Chelydorea, is all that can be deemed certain.^c Not so with respect to Apollo: it appears that he became enamoured of Dryope,^d the only daughter of Dryops, King of Oeta, and that, in order to effect his purpose, while she was playing with the Hamadryad nymphs the god changed himself into a tortoise, and when taken up as a plaything by her and placed in her bosom, suddenly changed himself into a serpent, terrified the nymphs, and became, by her, the father of Amphiesus. The collections of Antoninus Liberalis^e are so filled with traditions totally distinct from those of the earlier writers, that it is extremely difficult to verify the notices he gives; yet there is reason for believing that the tortoise anciently had an intimate connection with Apollo, for when Cræsus^f sent to the oracles of Asia Minor, Greece, and Libya, to try their discernment, he cut up and seethed in a brazen pot a tortoise and lamb,—a very significant act, if it is considered that they were the animals sacred to the gods Apollo and Ammon. Yet, considering the whole of the composition, it is not possible to suppose that the subject of Apollo and Dryope is here intended, for the representation has a more cosmical scope than such an episode. It is possible, indeed, that the adventure of Dryope may be the subject in the painting of an Apulian vase^g in which a youth or female holds a tortoise tied by a string round one of its hind feet, to which a dog looks up, but it is not at all likely that they are intended here. Nor can it be identified with that of the Artemis Chelytis. It would have been indeed desirable to have discovered its connection with the local history of Tarentum, which however, unfortunately, cannot be traced.

^a Servius ad Virgil. *Aeneid.* i. 505.

^b Pausanias, viii. c. 54. s. 5.

^c Homer, *Hymn. ad Panem.* l. 30-39.

^d Pausanias, viii. 17, 5.

^e Nicander, in Anton. Liberal. c. xxxii.

^f The story of Dryope, but without the incident of the tortoise, is repeated. Ovid, *Met.* ix. l. 329-395. Dryope is turned into a tree; according to Antoninus Liberalis, a pine-tree, *Ἰλάρη*, as Lotis (Ovid, l. c. 347-8) had been before her. All these stories, such as that of Daphne, Pinus, Hyacinthus, and Narcissus, are of a late period, co-ordinate with the ultimate development of Pantheism.

^g Herodotus, i. 47, 48.

^h Millingen, *Vases de Coghill*, pl. 44. I have passed over here the consideration of the tortoise of Skiron, and its appearance on the coins of Ægina; see Panofka, *Skiron*, s.



Silver Disc— from Tarentum

XXIV.—*Notes made during a Tour in the West of France.* By JOHN HENRY PARKER, Esq., F.S.A. Communicated in two Letters to Captain W. H. SMYTH, R.N., F.R.S., Director.

Read March 20, 1851, and February 19, 1852.

LETTER I.—THE COUNTY OF ANJOU.

MY DEAR SIR,

ACCORDING to your kind suggestion, I venture to address to you some notes made during a tour in the west of France last summer. You will probably remember that some years ago the late Mr. Rickman commenced a series of papers on the "Architecture of a part of France compared with that of England," which were printed in the *Archæologia*. He concluded them by expressing a hope that others who may have time and opportunity would follow up what he had so well begun. His observations are confined to the northern part of France—Normandy and Picardy. The object which I had in view in undertaking my tour, was to pursue these observations in the other provinces of France which belonged to England in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. As I believe that their architectural character is very little known, you may perhaps think these notices worthy of being submitted to the Society of Antiquaries, more especially as I was accompanied by an artist who has made me some very careful drawings to illustrate my observations.

The architecture south of the Loire is so different from that of the northern part of France, that some account of it may probably be interesting, especially when drawn from actual observation. The northern architects aimed at height, the southern at breadth, their object seeming to have been to cover the greatest possible space with a stone vault, without pillars or arches.

According to some well-informed French antiquaries, the original type of these peculiar churches was the Cathedral of Saint Front, at Perigueux, and this is said to have been built by a Venetian colony very soon after St. Mark's at Venice, or between 976 and 1047. The very massive character and extreme plainness of that building agrees very well with the early date assigned to it, and the use of the pointed arches to carry the cupola may be accounted for by its Eastern origin. However this may be decided, the general character of these buildings is clearly

Byzantine; each bay is square, and covered by a domical vault, or cupola, in some cases lofty, in others nearly flat, and concealed externally by the roof.

Instead of attempting to draw out a chronological series of these interesting buildings, it will be more convenient to follow the route which I actually traversed, and which is most likely to be taken by English travellers, commencing with Angers, and proceeding southward through Poitiers and Angoulême, to Bordeaux, returning by Périgueux and Limoges. According to the French antiquaries, the churches of this style do not extend south of the Garonne, and they are confined to just this central district of France. There is, however, one example north of the Loire, at Le Mans, and there may be other straggling instances.

My own impression was, that these churches were generally of the twelfth century, and I found in the same district another description, also of very fine character, which appeared to me to be of the eleventh.

The latter are of the usual plan, with narrow aisles, barrel vaults, and massive round arches; the capitals and bases, and the general character of the work, agreeing with that of the eleventh century, as for instance with the churches at Caen, of the time of William the Conqueror. But some in Poitou are much larger and finer than are to be found elsewhere of that period. May we venture to conclude that this part of France was in a very flourishing state in the eleventh century, and its architecture consequently in advance of other parts?

This state of prosperity appears to have continued through the twelfth century, and then to have suddenly ceased. Scarcely any churches appear to have been built between the twelfth and the end of the fifteenth century. This interval exactly agrees with the period of the English dominion, which seems to have been a continual struggle; and the constant state of civil war was not favourable to the building of churches.

ANGERS.

The Cathedral of St. Maurice is a very striking and important building; the earliest part is the nave, which is of about the middle of the twelfth century.^a It is fifty-four feet wide, and eighty high; divided into bays, or compartments, which are nearly square, and each is covered by a domical vault, not a plain dome, but the central point is the highest, and the ribs, which are square and enriched with the zigzag, meet in this central point; they are on the groins, the space being divided into eight cells. The bays or compartments of the church are separated by

^a Built by Bishop Normand de Douay. See Bodin, *Recherches sur l'Anjou*; and De Caumont, *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. i. p. 354.

massive square-edged arches, which are slightly pointed, and are carried on enormous buttresses, about ten feet square at the sides, and fourteen feet at the angles: whilst the cornice or corbel-tables and strings are carried round them, so that they form rather a thicker part of the wall than buttresses in the ordinary sense. Between each pair, or in the side-wall of each compartment, is a low pointed arch, recessed in the wall, springing from the bases of the piers, and carrying the triforium gallery at about half the height of the walls. The windows are entirely above this gallery; they are round-headed, in couplets, and filled with very fine original glass of the twelfth century, very similar to that at Canterbury. The inner face of the square buttresses is ornamented with shafts, having capitals and bases of Norman character: these carry the transverse arches and the ribs, and complete the design; the triforium gallery is supported by a Norman corbel-table. The west front of this church is very fine and rich, though somewhat spoiled by alterations at the period of the Renaissance. The central doorway is perfect, its jambs and tympanum filled with fine sculpture, the figures of the stiff Byzantine character. The rose-window has been destroyed and the arcades mutilated, and in the upper part a range of figures under canopies, and a sort of cupola of the Renaissance style, have been introduced in the place of the original gable. The two side-towers remain, and have rather good flamboyant spires added to them.

The next part of the church is the choir with its apse, which are of more decided transition character, and belong to quite the end of the twelfth century; while the transepts, though still partaking of the transition character, are said to have been built as late as 1240. There is a fine rose window at the end of each transept; the southern one is the earliest, and of plate tracery.

Flamboyant chapels have been added on both sides of the nave near the west end, and there is a cloister of late date on the south side joined on to one of these chapels. Both the cloisters and chapels appear to have been rebuilt on older foundations. The vaults of the choir and transepts have round ribs, instead of square. There is some fine original ironwork on the west door.

ANGERS.—*Church of Ronceray,*

said to have been founded by Foulques, Earl of Anjou, in 1025, and dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin in 1028^a, and re-dedicated in 1119 by Pope Calixtus II. It is

^a Foulques Nerra, the founder, was a great builder, and paid three visits to the Holy Land. These dates are given by Mr. Godard, on the authority of the charters which were in his possession at the time of the meeting of the French Society of Antiquaries under Monsieur de Caumont in 1841.—*Bulletin Monumental*, vol. vii. p. 531. See also Huet, *Des Antiquités d'Anjou*: Gallia Christ. vol. iv. p. 792.

evidently one of the oldest churches in Angers, and a very fine example of the early type; it is not of Byzantine character, but its plan at present is a simple parallelogram with a plain barrel-vault. To compare great things with small, it bears considerable resemblance to the chapel in the White Tower in London; the details also agree in character with the churches of William I. at Caen. All the capitals have the small volutes, in imitation of Corinthian; and the central piece for the caulicoli is in many left uncarved, a very common feature of the eleventh century. Some, however, are more elaborately carved, as in those of the Holy Trinity at Caen; but, in both instances, the sculpture is probably somewhat later than the rest of the work.

To return to the Church of Ronceray, the vault is carried upon plain square-edged transverse arches of semi-circular form, and has no other ribs. The windows are plain, round-headed (mostly blocked up); the vaulting shafts are half rounds, and have the capitals before mentioned; the windows are all in the upper part of the wall above a string, below which the wall is plain; the shafts are all cut off at about one-half their length, and have modern corbels. It had originally apses, aisles, and transepts, which were destroyed in the last century.^a

ANGERS.—*St. Laurent.*

The ruins of this church, near to that of Ronceray, are of similar character, though not, perhaps, quite so early.^b The plan is cruciform, with an apse to the choir, and an apsidal chapel on the east side of each transept. The vaults are destroyed, but the greater part of the walls remains. It is chiefly of slate, the principal building-material of the district, but there are tiles mixed with it. The windows have shafts, the capitals of which are of rather a Greek character; the work shallow, but with volutes in the angles. The masonry, and the character of the work, is very rude. The vaults of the transept apses remain, and are of the half-dome form, constructed of small square stones in regular courses. The vaulting shafts and springing of the transverse arches show that the other vaults were barrel-shaped, like that of Ronceray.

^a Bulletin Monumental, vol. vii. p. 531.

^b After the dedication of the church of Ronceray by Pope Calixtus II. in 1119, the Pope mounted on a tomb in the adjoining cemetery of St. Laurent, and addressed the people assembled on the occasion, exhorting them to repentance and confession, remitting the seventh part of their penances, and endowing the church with this privilege in perpetuity, that whosoever should come to it in pilgrimage on the anniversary of the dedication should have the same benefit. Gall. Christ. vol. iv. p. 794.

ANGERS.—*St. Martin.*

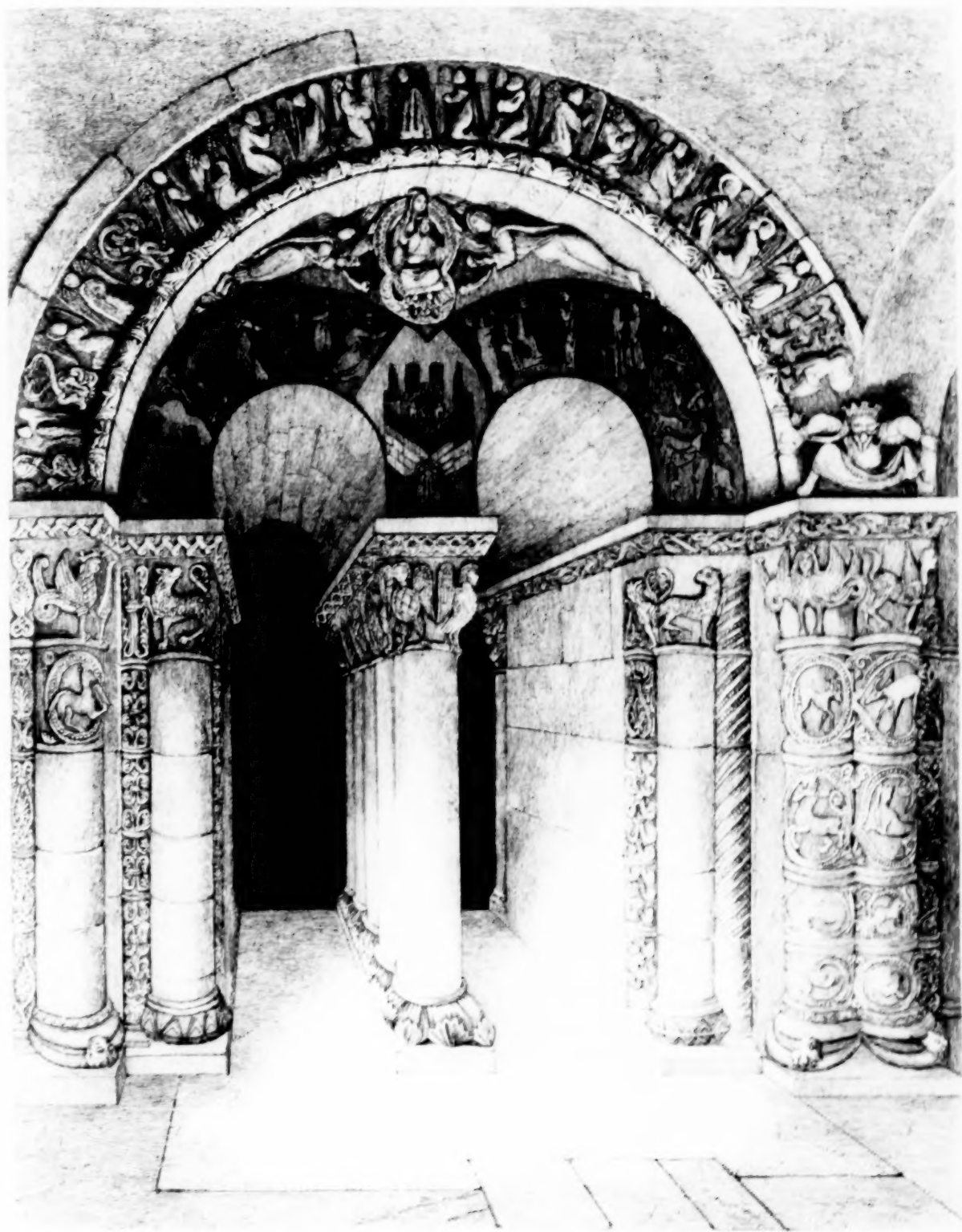
Another ruined church of great interest, from the character of antiquity and the peculiar features it possesses. The plan is cruciform, with a central tower, and without aisles; the walls of the original portions are built of squared stones in layers, alternately with layers of tiles, three rows together, having an equal thickness of mortar between each row, exactly as in Roman work. The nave is in ruins, and has lost its vault; the central tower is tolerably perfect, and is vaulted with a dome. The piers of this tower are constructed in the manner just described, but they have imposts exactly like the usual Norman impost. There are large shafts in the angles, with capitals of the character of the eleventh century, and on these rest small shafts, carrying the angles of the vault—an arrangement common in Norman work. The arches are plain, semi-circular, with flat soffits; the dome has a plain surface without ribs. The transepts are of the same style as the central tower. The choir is considerably later, and is of transition character. The vaults domical, with square ribs. The apse is still later, and almost of early-French style, but the vault here has round ribs. All these ribs are enriched with ornament. Monsieur De Caumont states that the nave and transept of this church are parts of the structure erected by the Empress Hermengarde in the beginning of the ninth century; and considers it as a precious fragment of the works of the Carlovingian period (now extremely rare).^a

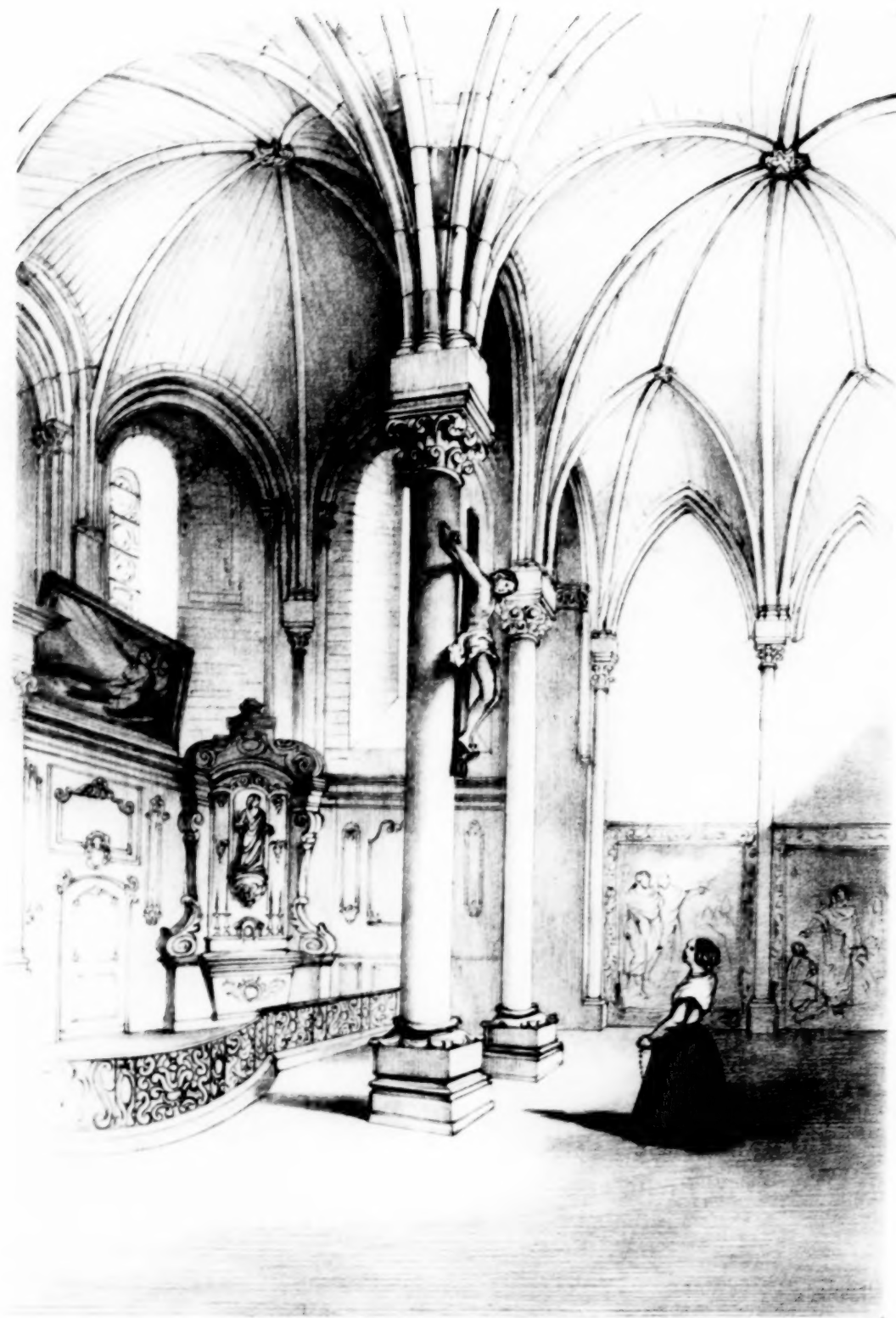
ANGERS.—*Trinity Church.*

This is another very remarkable church, chiefly of transition character. The nave is wide, and has a series of semi-circular recesses for altars down the sides, vaulted with half domes; the arches pointed, and very much enriched with a great variety of late Norman ornaments. The nave itself is vaulted by a series of cupolas, or low domical vaults, each divided into eight cells, as at the Cathedral. The eastern part, or choir, is divided into three portions; the choir itself, with two aisles, each having an apse. This triple apse has a fine effect on the exterior. Over the central division is a small tower or square lantern, with a cupola. The windows are all plain, and round-headed; the arches all pointed, and enriched with ornament. The windows of the nave are pointed, and more of early-French character.

At the north-west angle of the nave is an older tower, partly in ruins, and clearly of the character of the eleventh century, with a barrel-vault and capitals to the

^a Bulletin Monumental, vol. i. p. 353.





The Choir of the Cathedral of St. Peter, Rome.
Engraved from a drawing by J. G. S. P. 1847.

and the buildings are said to have been completed in his time. The hall is a fine building, divided into three aisles by very light pillars, carrying transition pointed arches, and vaults slightly domical. It is eight bays in length, each bay having a separate vault; there are, therefore, twenty-four of these small domes, but they are so low as not to interfere with the external roof. They have bold round ribs on the groins of the eight cells into which each dome is divided, as at the cathedral; but these round ribs occur only in the eastern part of the cathedral, which was built after 1200. The chapel (Plate XXIII.) is of precisely the same character, and equally good, with very light pillars and vaults, as in the hall. The windows are all round-headed. The doorways are also round-headed, but richly moulded with very late Norman work. The effect of the chapel has been much injured by altering the position of the altar, blocking up the original entrance, and making a new one in a bad situation. The east end is square, but the vaults are so arranged as to give the effect of an apse. The cloister is good late Norman, or rather transition; two sides of it are perfect.

The barn is very fine and of the same period; it is divided into three aisles by two ranges of round-headed arches, on double shafts. The windows are in couples, with a diamond-shaped opening in the head; the doorway is round-headed, and opens on an external stone staircase. The mouldings are of late Norman character. The cellar under it is large, but very plain, with a good plain vault.

The other buildings of the Monastery are modern.

ANGERS.—*St. Serge.**

This is another very remarkable church of late transition character, almost early-French, with a strong resemblance to the Hospital of St. John. The plan is cruciform, with short transepts, scarcely projecting, and with aisles to the nave and choir. The most striking feature is that the choir has two rows of tall, slender pillars to carry the vault, independent of the piers and the arches which separate the choir from the aisles. These pillars are said to be thirty feet high by one foot in diameter; they have octagonal bases, and capitals with foliage of the stiff-leaf character. The vaults are slightly domed and eight-celled, with round ribs meeting in a central boss, which is the highest point of the vault. At the east end is the Lady Chapel, which is square, with a flat east end: but the vaults arranged to give

* The abbey was founded in 711.—*Gall. Christ.* vol. iv. p. 820. The church was re-built between 1036 and 1056, by Vulgrain, the abbot of the monastery, afterwards Bishop of Le Mans.—*Bull. Mon.* vol. vii. p. 468. But this date will not apply to any part of the present structure.

the effect of an apse, as in the chapel of the Hospital. The piers between the choir and aisles are massive and square, with shafts attached, the arches pointed, the mouldings and vaults of the aisles the same as the choir; the windows are round-headed. The transepts are of similar character, but rather earlier, and have round windows of plate-tracery at each end. The nave appears to have been originally of the same character, but has been entirely refaced in flamboyant work. At the west end is a large porch, with rather a curious double vault. There is a tower at the south-west angle, unfinished. The exterior is plain and poor.

ANGERS.—*The Castle*

is large, of striking appearance, and well placed. It is distinguished by an amazing number of massive round towers at short intervals. The material is slate of a dark colour, with layers of white stone at regular intervals, after the fashion of the layers of tiles in Roman buildings. It was commenced in the thirteenth century, under Philip Augustus, but not completed before the fifteenth, under Louis IX;* but, from the extreme plainness of the work generally, it may be of any age. Part of the work must be of the sixteenth century, as the embrasures are evidently made for cannon. There is a small portion of the Roman wall remaining in the open space near the castle. It is faced with small squared stones, with layers of tiles at intervals, as usual.

The Tower of *St. Aubin* is a fine structure of the thirteenth century, and a good specimen of the early-French detached towers. The buttresses rise from the ground on all four sides, and it has never had any other building attached to it; the windows are lancets, and the details are all of the same style.

ANGERS.—*All Saints (now belonging to the Museum).*

The ruins of an early French church of the thirteenth century, the vaults destroyed, but the walls nearly perfect. The plan is cruciform, without aisles; the windows are lancet-shaped, with shafts having capitals with the stiff-leaf foliage, and round abacus. The east window is a wheel of plate-tracery, but of flamboyant work. The vaulting shafts are terminated on the canopies of figures of the same periods. This is also the case with the vaulting shafts of the choir of *St. Martin's*, which is nearly of the same character. There is a curious double font, oblong, with two basins, carried on an arcade of early-French character. It stands in the north

* De Caumont, Bull. Monumental, ii. 330.

transept, and is said not to have been moved. Several good tombs and other fragments of Roman and mediæval work are preserved here; the ruins having been attached to the Museum, which is at a short distance from them. This Museum is a fine flamboyant house, with a good staircase, having a curious and very elegant vault at the top. There are a great number of good old wooden houses in Angers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and several of stone also. One called the House of the Merchants, near the river, is attributed to the thirteenth century, but is really plain flamboyant work of the fifteenth or sixteenth.

SAUMUR.—*St. Peter.*

A fine church of the period of transition, cruciform, with a central tower, an apse to the choir, and apsidal chapels to the transepts, eastward. The choir is very narrow, and the apse has only a single window, large and round-headed; the vault is a plain semi-dome, but the vault of the choir has flat ribs, and the transverse arches are pointed; the vaults are of the eight-celled flat domical form, as at the cathedral and the hospital of St. John at Angers. The transepts are also narrow; the apsidal chapels have semi-dome vaults without ribs. The nave is wider, and has no aisles, but side-chapels, which are not original. The vaults are of the same character as those before mentioned. The windows are all round-headed externally, but very large, and some of the inner arches are pointed. The transverse arches are *all* pointed, and square in section. The capitals are very rich, with foliage of late Norman character. The church is so constructed that each bay from the west is smaller than the preceding, the eastern bay being very much narrower and smaller than the western; this seems done for the perspective effect only, to make the church appear larger. The exterior of the church is of the usual Angevine character, and shows very clearly the transitional date. The apses are very distinct, and have round buttresses. The tower, by itself, might be called early-French, but it is all of the same period. There is a rich late Norman doorway on the west side of the south transept. The west front is of the seventeenth century. The tooth-ornament is used in the dripstones, and in some other situations. There are arcades of paneling along the surface of the walls, both internally and externally.

SAUMUR.—*St. Nicolas.*

A small church of the usual transitional character. It consists of three parallel aisles of nearly equal width and height, five bays in length, each bay having a vault

of the eight-celled domical character; the arches are pointed. The chief peculiarity of this church is that the altar has been removed from the east end to the west, and a modern choir built for it, while the original apses at the east end have doorways pierced in them. This change has obviously been made for convenience, because the church is situated at the western extremity of the town.

The Hotel de Ville is a small but very good flamboyant building, with fine machicolations on the exterior; these have trefoils between them, and add much to the picturesque character. The interior court is richer, and also good in its way.

CANDES,—near Fontevault.

A fine village church on the south bank of the Loire, of the same late Norman and transitional character which prevails in the neighbourhood. The plan is the usual one, but good and well marked; the choir has a considerable decoration towards the north. The west front is a fine example of transition work, approaching more to the early-French character. There are two square corner turrets, which have machicoulis at the top, evidently intended for defence. The west doorway is small, of early-French style, deeply recessed, having five shafts on each side, and the arch well moulded. Over this doorway is an arcade resting on a corbel-table. The buttresses on each side of the doorway are almost turrets, square at the bottom, octagonal above, and terminated by small spires against the wall of the west gable, with a circular window between them. On the north side of the nave is a very remarkable porch, with a room over it, as high as the nave itself, and defended by machicoulis. The vault of the porch is supported by a central pillar like a chapter-house; the work is unfinished in several parts. There are niches in the front, some of which have figures in them; others the plain stones, not carved, showing the practice of carving the figures after the stones were placed, which may be observed in many other instances, but seldom so distinctly as here, some having the figures carved, and the pedestals left unfinished. The windows on this side the nave are of enormous length, and very narrow; the height is fourteen times the width; the heads are round. The nave has two aisles, of the same height with the central division, and these long windows give ample light to all these divisions. The pillars are very tall, octagonal in plan, with clustered shafts, having small capitals, each with square abacus and foliage. The bases are of early-French character, with the deep hollow to hold water, and corner foot-ornaments. The vaults are of the usual

Angevine character, domical, with eight ribs and a central boss. The choir and transepts are very short and plain, and have been repaired in the seventeenth century.

THE ABBEY OF FONTEVRAULT.—1100–1119.

The church is a very large and fine building,^a though sadly mutilated. The plan is cruciform with aisles, a central tower, and five apses to the choir, and four transept chapels. The character of the whole is transitional. The windows are mostly round-headed, but those of the transepts are pointed. There are shafts attached to the buttresses in the lower part; in the upper part shafts serve as buttresses. The capitals have foliage of nearly early-French character; there are three series of corbel-tables at the east end. The central tower is square, lofty, with late Norman windows, round-headed, and shafts in the angles. The interior of the choir is very remarkable; the pillars unusually tall, with plain capitals and small round arches, a small triforium arcade and clerestory, both of which have round-headed openings. The vault of the apse is a semi-dome, that of the choir barrel-shaped, with arch ribs, only square in section, and quite plain. The transepts are of the same character as the choir. The nave has been vaulted by a series of small domes, the arches and pendentives of which remain. The upper parts of the domes have been cut off by a modern floor; the arches are slightly pointed, but quite plain, square in section, recessed, but not chamfered. The large arches do not spring from the outer walls; there is a passage behind them. The capitals are very richly sculptured with groups of figures, the abacus square, chamfered with the billet ornament on the sloping surface.

The tombs of Richard I. and Henry II., with their queens, have been very carefully restored, including the colouring. The four tombs are all alike, the

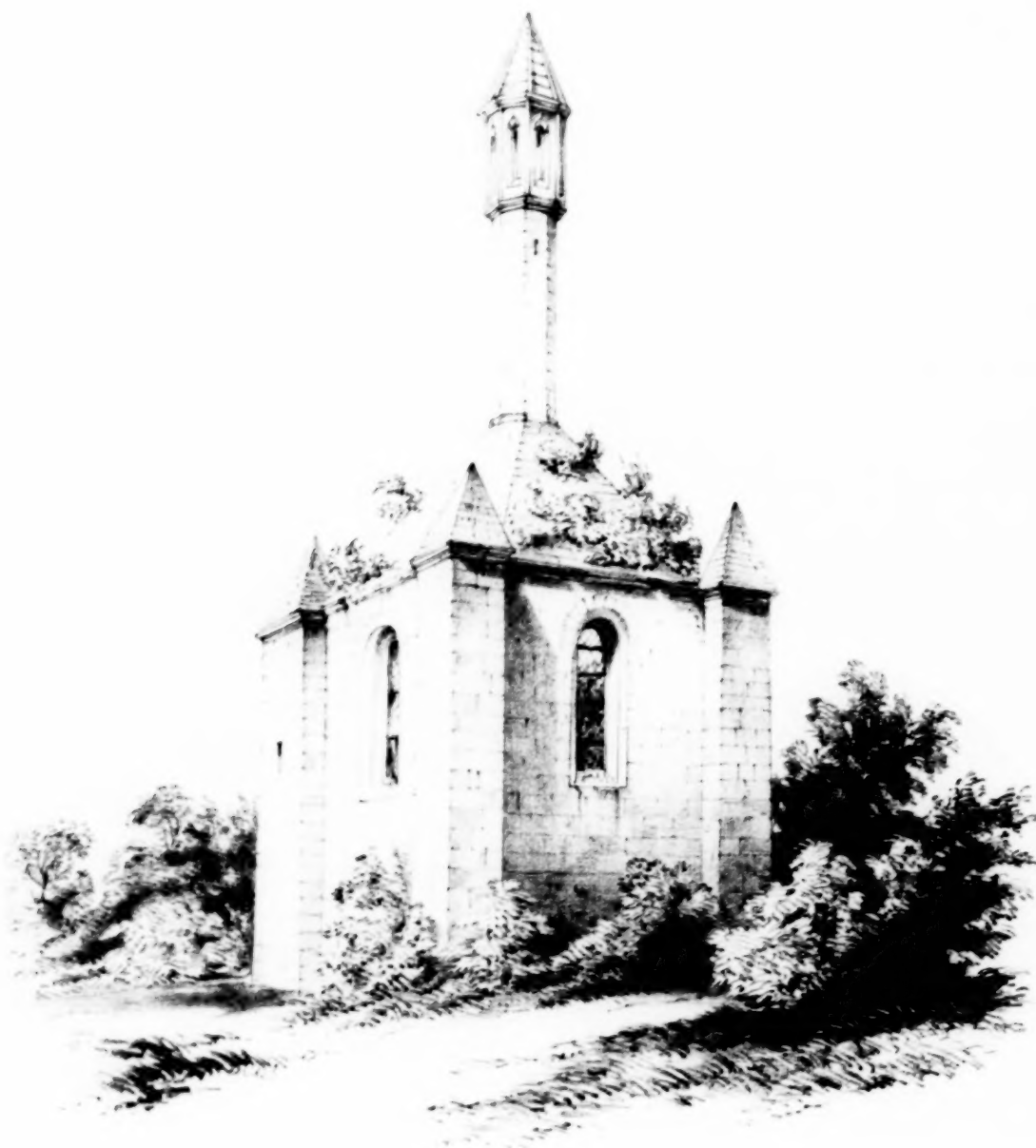
^a Mr. Gally Knight considers the church as the one commenced by Foulques, fifth Earl of Anjou, but does not give his authority for this date. The abbey is said to have been founded by "Robertus or Robertus de Arbruscule" in 1100, and consecrated in 1119. The Acts of Donation and Consecration are given at length in the *Gallia Christiana*, vol. iv. pp. 409–416. The authorities there quoted are the *Chronicum Turonense*; *Chronicum Malleacense*; and *Guillelmus Neubrigensis*, lib. I *Rerum Anglicarum*, cap. 15. The second abbess was Matilda, daughter of Foulques or Fulk fifth Earl of Anjou and King of Jerusalem, the virgin widow of Henry I. of England (who was drowned before the marriage was consummated). She presided over the Abbey from 1148 to 1164; and it appears, from the complimentary letter of *Petrus Cellensis* (lib. ii. ep. 10), that a considerable part of the buildings was erected or completed in her time. "*Si enim sanctius adoraris in animabus sanctis, quam in templis lapideis, et manufactis, etc.*"

figures lying on beds, but the figures themselves have all the appearance of portraits; three are of stone, one of wood. They are now carefully preserved in the apsidal chapel of the south transept. The figures are all of the natural size; Richard I. is short, his wife tall, with a book in her hand. Henry II. tall, his wife short. The costumes are similar, but not alike, especially the ladies. They do not appear to be so ancient as the period of their deaths, but all four to have been made at the same time, probably in the fourteenth century. The date of the foundation and of the consecration of the church are both distinctly recorded.

At a short distance from the church, and separated from it by some other buildings, is what I believe to be the kitchen, commonly called the octagon chapel or tower of Evrault. It is a very good and rare example of a kitchen of the twelfth century. The general form resembles that at Glastonbury, but this one is much more ancient. The ground plan is octagonal. The first story is square, carried on four lofty arches, each across two sides of the octagon; above this the plan is again octagonal, but much reduced in size. The octagon is formed by squinches across the angles of the square, and on these is carried the spire, terminating in an open smoke louvre. There are shafts in the angles of the octagon on the ground, alternately high and low. The low ones carry the springing of the arches, as usual; the high ones are connected with the points of the arches, to which they serve as buttresses. The four large arches cross the alternate angles, and the tall shafts being in these angles, are connected with the points of the arches by short open ribs. Under each of the large arches are two small ones, which serve as the openings of the fire-places; each had its separate chimney-flue, the lower part of which remains.

The capitals are of late Norman character, with plain foliage; the arches are quite plain, and square in section. The smoke louvre at the top has trefoiled openings, but it is not so old as the rest, and may be of the fourteenth century. The exterior has a series of small apses, with a shaft in each recess. There are openings into the spire; between the top of the apsidal vaults and the springing of the spire there is an interval of modern masonry, and it is here that the shafts of the chimneys have been cut off. It would appear that they were originally carried up in straight shafts resembling pinnacles round the base of the spire, but there is no positive evidence of this. I could not trace the flues more than a few feet from the lower opening; but the two artists who have sent me sections of the building, have both drawn the flues straight up as far as the base of the spire, where they appear to be cut off. The masonry of the spire is of small stones of an early appearance.





*Mortuary Chapel dedicated to St. Catherine
in the Cemetery of the Abbey of Fontevault*

Engraved by J. Smith from a drawing by J. Smith. 1837.

M. de Caumont considers this structure as a sepulchral chapel. Any opinion of his is always entitled to the highest respect, and it is not without considerable hesitation that I venture to differ from so high an authority; but for several reasons I cannot agree with him in this instance. It appears to me to be close to the abbey, and, although the louvre at the top has some general resemblance to that of the cemetery chapel, yet the plan is very different, and the existence of the lower parts of the chimney-flues appears to me conclusive.^a

At a short distance from the abbey, in the ancient cemetery, is another curious building, a mortuary chapel dedicated to St. Catherine, founded in 1225, by Ala, Duchess of Bourbon, a nun of the abbey.^b (Plate XXIV.) It is a structure of the thirteenth century, square in plan, with a lofty vault, which has six ribs meeting in an open louvre at the top, having very much the appearance of a chimney. The mouldings are all of the character of the thirteenth century; the arrangement of the double squinches across the angles is very good. The arches spring from plain corbels, but they are all mutilated; at the points of the arches are small figures of angels, one carrying a chalice. At one corner is a turret staircase, very narrow, almost concealed in the walls; this staircase leads to the outside of the roof and up an angle to an opening in the base of the louvre, probably for the purpose of inserting a lighted candle in the louvre, which has a trefoil-headed window at the top of each face, just below the small pyramid which covers it. This louvre is called a bell-turret, but is much too small and narrow for that purpose. It may probably have been used for the lantern for the dead, a custom well known to French antiquaries. There are several lanterns for the dead in different parts of France. At Mauriac, in Auvergne, there is one of these lanterns in the cemetery, and a deed is extant of the donation in 1268 by one of the clergy, for a candle to be lighted every Saturday in the lantern which he had built.^c

The parish church is a small church or chapel of transition work. The choir has a square east end, but the vault is arranged so as to look like an apse. The shafts are detached, with capitals of rich foliage.

^a See De Caumont, Cours. vol. vi. p. 338. Since the above was written I have had an opportunity, in a subsequent visit to France, of discussing this point with M. De Caumont himself, and he is now convinced that it is a kitchen.

^b The Charter of Foundation is printed in De Caumont's Bulletin Monumental, vol. vii. p. 543.

^c De Caumont, Bulletin, vol. iii. 432. Also at Parthenay; see Letter II., p. 293.

LETTER II.—THE COUNTY OF POITOU.

MY DEAR SIR,

Oxford, Feb. 15, 1852.

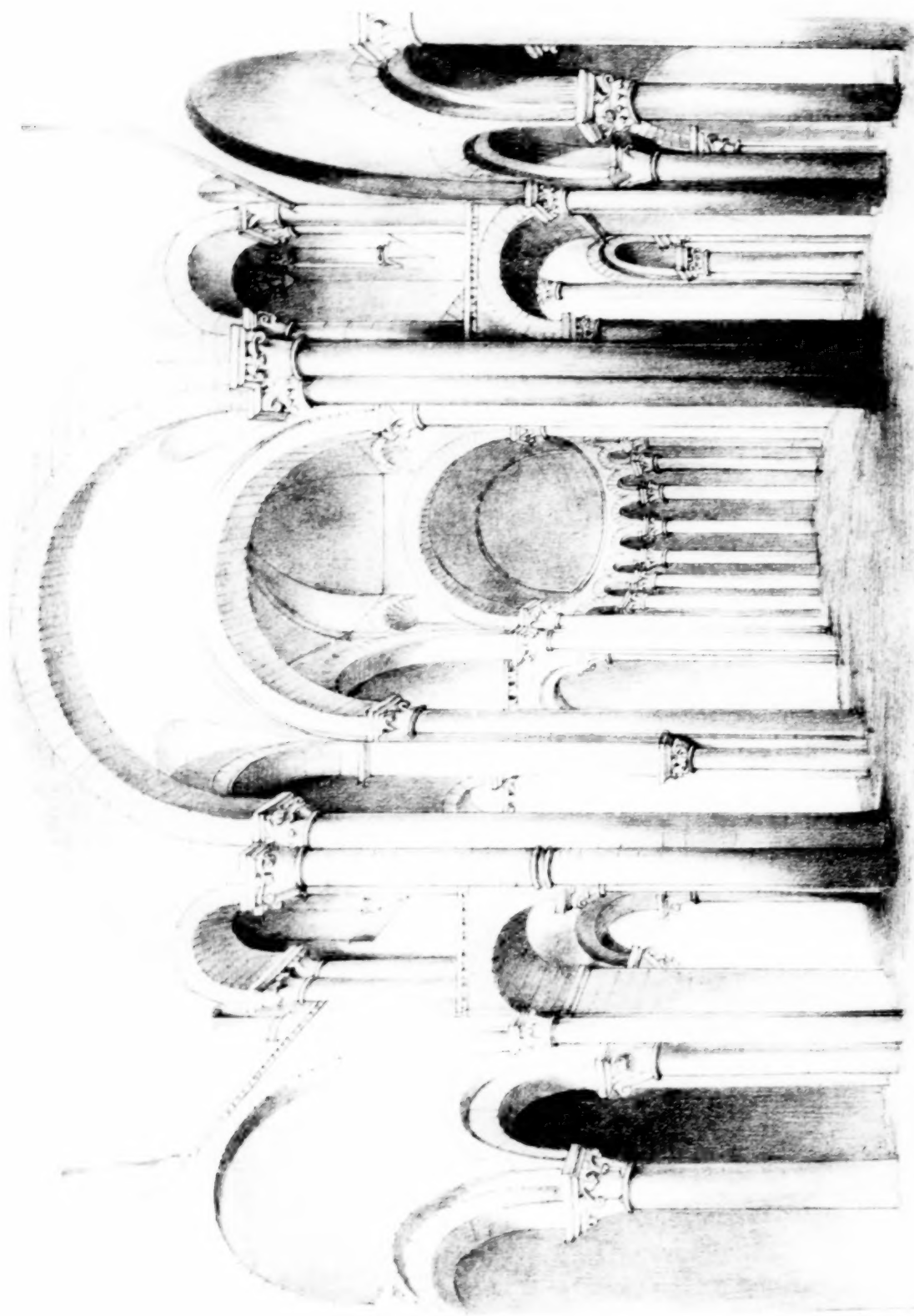
On a former occasion I endeavoured to give some idea of the principal buildings of the middle ages in the county of Anjou, more especially in the city of Angers. On the present occasion I propose to continue my remarks, beginning with the city of Poitiers.

This is well known to have been an important Roman station, and any account of its ancient buildings would be incomplete without mentioning that there are still some remains of a very extensive Roman Amphitheatre, sufficient to indicate its former extent and importance, but of no architectural value. The site is now occupied by vineyards, but portions of the walls, with the arches of the passages, peep out here and there through the rich foliage. The great Vomitoria still exist in a mutilated state; and fragments of ornament and portions of the cornice may still be seen at intervals.

The next building in point of antiquity is that called *The Temple of St. John*, the original part of which belongs to the debased Roman period, or probably to the eighth century. This part is oblong in plan, the greatest length being from north to south; the walls are of brick, with layers of tiles at regular intervals; at each end near the top are small round windows, and sunk arcades of two round arches, with a triangular straight-sided arch between them; under these are round arches recessed in the wall. A similar arcade is carried along the upper part of the wall on the east side, but in the lower part an apse has been thrown out of a semi-circular form, with an arcade of small round-headed arches, the shafts of which have capitals of foliage of a debased Corinthian character, and Roman mouldings. This apse appears to have been added in the eleventh century, and built chiefly of fragments of Roman work. It has a vault of the semi-domical form, with paintings on it of early character.

On the west side a sort of short nave has been added, and three arches opening into it, pierced through the Roman wall. This additional structure is also of a half nexagon form, but considerably larger than the eastern apse, extending the whole width and height of the original building. This addition was made probably at the same time as the other, for the purpose of forming the whole into a church.

What was the purpose of the original structure is still a doubtful point. One party contends that it was a baptistery, because there is a well in the centre; another,



Interior of the Pantheon

that it was the tomb of a Roman lady, called Claudia Varenilla, because her tombstone, with the inscription, was found in the wall, and is still preserved in the building which is now used as the Museum of Antiquities of the excellent and active Society of Antiquaries of the West of France. For whatever purpose this building was erected, it bears so much resemblance in the character of the work to the gateway at Lorsch, in the Bergstrasse, usually attributed to Charlemagne, that there can be no doubt they are both of the same age.

Four churches are recorded to have been built in Poitiers in the eleventh century, and, after a careful examination, and a comparison with other buildings assigned to the same period, especially the work of William the Conqueror at Caen, I am satisfied that considerable portions of the present churches belong to the original structures. St. Hilary and St. Nicolas were founded and built by Agnes of Burgundy, Countess of Poitou, who died in 1068.

2. *St. Hilary* was dedicated, in 1049, with great pomp, in the presence of thirteen bishops and archbishops.* This church has, however, been so badly treated, first by its partial destruction in the great revolution, and afterwards by an injudicious and clumsy attempt at restoration, before the proper mode of restoring such buildings was at all understood, that it is now very difficult to distinguish the original parts. The nave has been almost entirely destroyed; a large modern barrel-vault has been thrown over the remains of it, and a west front built up of old materials. Fortunately, however, by these clumsy means, one bay of the nave has been preserved, with the whole of the apse, with its aisle and chapels, so that enough remains to distinguish the original plan, and to show that it was a very remarkable one. (See Plate XXV.)

The choir and apse have eight tall round pillars with capitals, in the style of the eleventh century, and small round plain arches. The vault is plain and barrel-shaped, with a semi-dome at the end, and without ribs. There is an aisle or procession-path round the apse, with a plain groined vault; and from this project four apsidal chapels, two on each side, with none at the east end. These have semi-dome vaults, and small round-headed windows, with shafts having capitals and bases of peculiar and early character.

The central tower rests on four tall square piers, with shafts attached, similar to those of the apse-windows; under the tower is a domical vault, with squinches

* *Gallia Christiana*, vol. iv, p. 514; ex Chron. Malheriens.

across the angles of the square tower. The transepts have plain barrel-vaults, with transverse arches only, without ribs; the ends are square, but one is painted to look like an apse. At each end is a large plain round window; there is an aisle on the west side of the transepts, and there are corbel-tables inside to carry the barrel-shaped vaults. The exterior of the apse has round shafts, with capitals and bases attached to the wall in the place of buttresses, and is richer than the interior.

By the kindness of M. Thiollet, I have been furnished with a plan of the church entire, as it existed before the revolution in 1790. (Plate XXVI.) From this it is evident that the nave was originally vaulted by a series of cupolas, which is further confirmed by the portion which remains, having the small transverse arches one over the other across the aisles, to serve as buttresses to these cupolas. The work is of rather later character than the choir, but very good and unusual; and the whole is evidently a carrying out of the design of the eleventh century, if it is not all actually built at that period.* There are two aisles on each side, the inner one lofty, and the outer one considerably lower, the height of the arches only. These aisles have plain barrel-vaults; there are also arch-buttresses to the tower across the angles of the first bay of the aisles, on each side. The capitals of this part of the building are more richly sculptured than those of the eastern part.

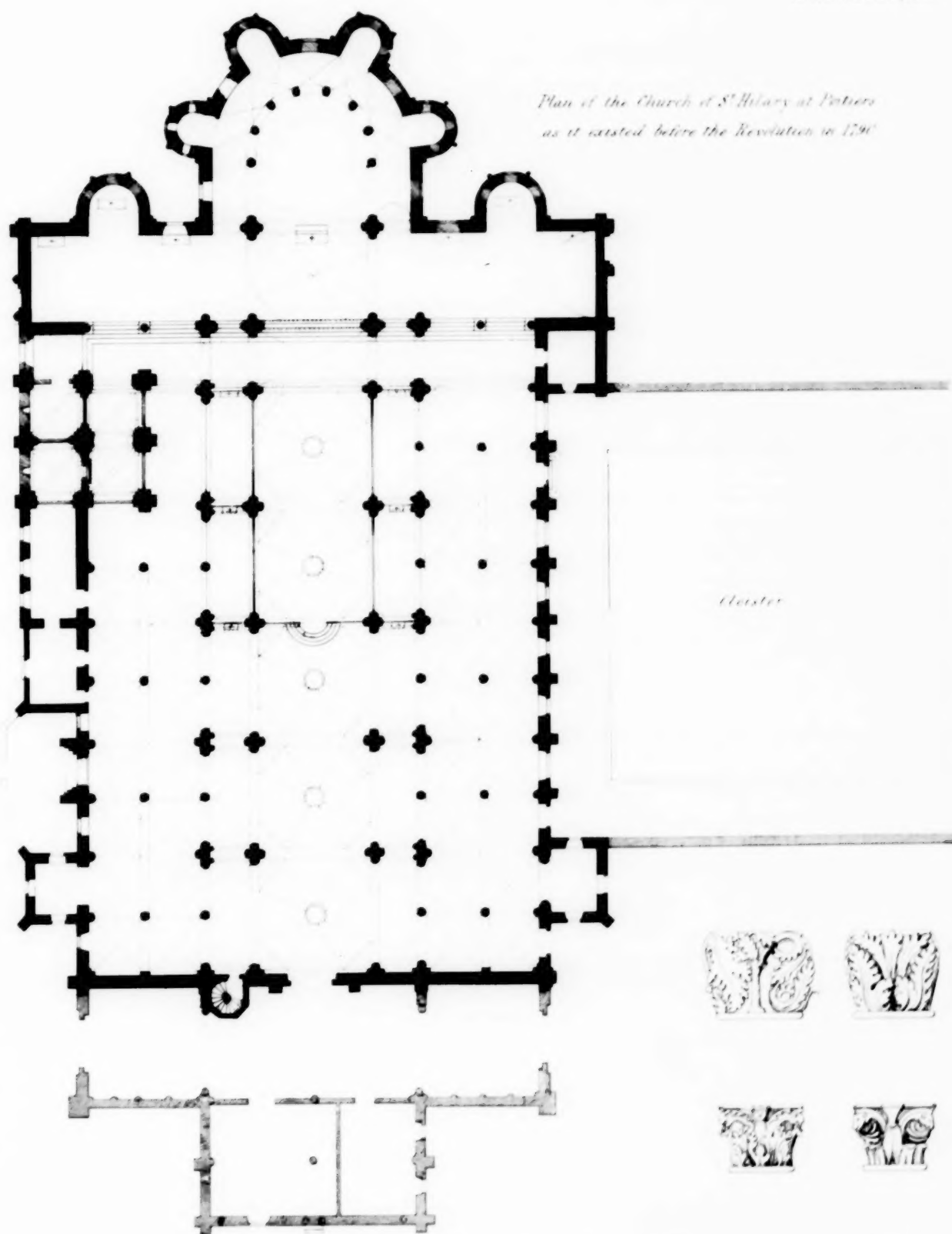
3. *St. Nicolas' Church* is now in ruins; the crypt and the apse are the only parts that remain. The general character is plain and early.

The crypt is of the usual plan, divided into three aisles, and had originally two entrances, one on each side; the capitals have plain volutes. The apse has tall pillars with small round arches; the capitals are the same as those of the crypt; the bases are unusual, and appear to be early; they resemble some of those attributed to William I. at Caen. The vault is groined without ribs, and has remains of ancient painting upon it.

The exterior is richer than the interior, and has a good corbel-table, and the shafts have sculptured capitals. The rest of the church is destroyed, but the chancel-arch remains, and is pointed, yet this appears to be part of the original work. There is a close resemblance between the work here and at St. Hilaire. St. Nicolas is said to have been commenced in 1066, completed in 1087, and conse-

* According to M. Thiollet's observations, a small portion on the north side, which was evidently the lower part of a tower, is of earlier character than any other part of the building, and belongs to a previous structure; and, as it is not probable that this earliest part is older than the eleventh century, it follows that the greater part is of the twelfth.

*Plan of the Church of S^t Hilary at Poitiers
as it existed before the Revolution in 1790*



0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 metres

Published by the Order of Architects of Poitiers, 17th April 1850.

H. B. 1850.

crated, by Pope Urban II., on his return from the council of Clermont, where he had preached the first crusade, in 1096.

4. The history of *St. Porchaire* is not so well known; it is mentioned in 1068,^a and the present tower is supposed by the French antiquaries to belong to the original church of about that period. It is a fine tower, of early character, with a good doorway and porch under it, with a plain barrel-vault; the doorway is recessed, and the arch moulded; the shafts are thick and heavy, with large capitals, having sculptures of early character, shallow and rude: on one are lions, with the word "LEONES" cut in the stone; on another, two birds drinking out of the same cup; on a third, a figure of Christ in a vesica, with an early inscription; on the fourth are nondescript animals, whose heads form the volutes.

Over the doorway is a pannel of mutilated sculpture. On the first story are two recessed arches with loops under them; on the second story is an arcade of four small arches; over this the belfry, with double windows, with shafts having early capitals. The buttresses are square below, turned into half-round pilasters above, between the belfry windows. There are three corbel-tables, the corbels carved chiefly into heads; and there are strings of the billet-ornament; part of the plain surface is formed of diamond-shaped masonry. The rest of the church is poor flamboyant work, divided into two equal portions by a row of arches, without any distinction into nave and aisle or chancel.

5. The church of *Montierneuf* was founded in 1075, by William Grey Geoffrey, Count of Poitou, and Duke of Aquitaine, who died in 1086, and was buried in this church. The architect was a monk of the abbey, of the name of Pons, and the church was dedicated, in 1096, by Pope Urban II., on the same occasion as *St. Nicolas*.^b

These dates are recorded on an inscription which has been preserved by the care of the Society of Antiquaries of the West of France.

The exterior of the church is very similar to the others before mentioned; the interior has had its character destroyed by the bad restorations executed in 1817, under the auspices of the Count of Artois, afterwards Charles the Tenth. But many of the original capitals have been preserved, and are lying about in the churchyard, and other places in the neighbourhood; they are of unusual and early character, rather different from those of the other churches. The nave is very long,

^a Gall. Christ. vol. i. p. 206.

^b Ibid. vol. iv. p. 653.

and has a plain barrel-vault; the small side vaults are carried into this transversely, in a singular manner, and form pointed arches at the intersection. This arrangement is original.

6. *St. Radégonde*, queen of France, founded a monastery at Poitiers, in the sixth century, in which she became a nun, and died there. Her tomb is still shown in the crypt of the present church, and is much honoured by the peasantry.

The church has been several times destroyed and rebuilt. The last time it was burnt was in 1083, and the new church consecrated in 1099,^a to which period the present choir and apse belong. The tomb and the crypt, which are quite plain, may possibly be part of the original building; the crypt has a barrel-vault, and a half-domical vault at the end; the entrance to it is by a central flight of steps from the nave. The choir is small, with a hexagonal apse, and plain barrel-vault; an aisle or procession-path round the apse, and apsidal chapels. All this is of early Norman character, and the walls are covered with paintings of the style of the thirteenth century, carefully restored. The aisle has a groined vault without ribs; the chapels have barrel-vaults; the nave is larger in proportion to the rest, and is the same width as the choir with its aisles. It is in the style of the Angevine churches of the early French period, with the same kind of domical vaults. On the lower part of the walls are arcades of round arches, over these a bold string, with a corbel-table, and over this the windows, which are of different styles. At the west end is an early porch, with a plain barrel-vault, with arches recessed in the wall on both sides under one of which is a figure of Christ seated on a throne of curious design. The sculpture is rude and shallow. Over this porch is a tower of good Norman character, the lower part square, in three stages, with an octagonal belfry at the top. There are three corbel-tables, one to each story, of good style, and windows with sculptured capitals to the shafts, and a very good round stair-turret of the same style. Attached to the west front is a good flamboyant doorway, with a curious wooden penthouse over it, which appears to be of the same period. The exterior of the rest of the church is very plain, with small narrow pilaster buttresses at the angles of the apse.

7. The church of *Nôtre Dame la Grande* at Poitiers is celebrated for its west front, which is one of the richest pieces of Norman work in existence, being entirely covered with sculpture.^b The exact date is not recorded, but it must be about the

^a Ex Chronico Malliacens. ap. Besly, *Histoire des Comtes de Poitou*.—Bull. Mon. vol. ix. p. 399.

^b For a full account of this church and its sculpture, see *Bullet. Mon.* vol. iv. pp. 435—444.

middle of the twelfth century. The central tower, with its conical top, is also very good and characteristic; and the two turrets which flank the west front are diminutives of it. The plan of the church is the usual one of this district and period—a every long nave of eight bays, with narrow aisles, a short choir with an apse, an aisle round it, and chapels. The nave has a barrel-vault, with square arch ribs; the aisles have groined vaults; the piers are square, tall, with shafts attached, the capitals sculptured—some with a sort of inter-laced Runic patterns, others plain, but all with volutes at the corners. The central tower stands on four lofty round arches, and the lantern is open to the church. In the west front are three doorways, the central one round-headed, the other two pointed; the spandrels filled with groups of sculpture. Over them is a boldly-projecting string, carried on a corbel-table. Over this two rows of small figures in shallow niches, all richly carved: a large round-headed window in the centre, over which, in the gable, is a figure of Christ, in the vesica or aureole. The surface of the wall of the gable is constructed partly of small round stones, with pieces to fit in between, partly of diamond-shaped masonry. The exterior of the south side has a series of arches carried from buttress to buttress, over the windows. These have hood-moulds, enriched with the star ornament; the surface masonry is of small stones—part square, part diamond-shaped. There is a stair-turret on the south side of the nave, two bays from the west end, and another to the central tower. The painting of the walls and pillars has lately been restored, in very good taste, and good painted glass inserted in the west window.

8. *The Cathedral Church of St. Peter* at Poitiers was founded by Henry II. in 1161,^a but a small portion only was completed in his time, consisting of the two eastern bays of the choir, with their vaults complete, but the structure over the vaults is of a later period. The work of the original part is of transitional character; the east end is flat, according to the English custom, which is very unusual in France. In the interior the vaults are so arranged as to give the appearance of an apse, and the same arrangement is followed on the east side of the transepts, which are a little later, but not much. There is another break in the work on the west side of the transept; the nave is considerably later, and part of it as late as the fourteenth century. The structure over the vault of the choir is very poor and shallow work of the thirteenth century, corresponding so closely with the Hall of the Palace (now the Palais de Justice),

^a *Annales d'Aquitaine* par Bouchet, p. 57.

that there can be no doubt that they are the work of the same architect; but, unfortunately, the date of the Palace is not known, any better than that of this part of the cathedral. The greater part of the church is in the early-French style, with the domical vaults, like the Angevine churches. The nave has good arches and pillars, with capitals and bases of the thirteenth century. The west front is a very fine example of that style, with three doorways deeply recessed, and filled with sculpture in the tympanum and arches: the large figures in the jambs have been destroyed. The turrets at the angles are of two periods, the lower part of the thirteenth, the upper of the fourteenth century, and a fine rose window of the latter period is introduced in the centre of the west front. The sides of the church are plain. The gurgoyles are singular, consisting of plain stone spouts, carried each on a shaft with a richly-sculptured capital and a good corbel. There is a pierced parapet of quatrefoils of the fourteenth century on the sides of the nave. Most of the original windows are filled with good painted glass of the same period.*

PARTHENAY.

The church of *Old Parthenay* is said to have been built about 1050 by the Lord of Parthenay, Guienne, and Poitou, in expiation for the death of a child which was accidentally killed by his horse at a time when he was out hawking; in commemoration of which event there is in the west front a sculptured figure of a man on horseback, with a child under the feet of the horse, but, as the same figure occurs in several other churches, it is more probable that the legend has been made to suit the sculpture—a practice which may often be observed in the legends of the saints. The date assigned to this event may, however, agree pretty well with the earliest part of the church, which is the east end, though the greater part of it is clearly of the twelfth century. The plan is the usual one of the district, cruciform, with a short choir, short transepts, a tower over the intersection, a long nave, and aïles. The choir is quite plain, with a barrel-vault; the transepts similar; the lower piers have their capitals sculptured with figures of animals; these arches are slightly pointed; the nave arches are also pointed, and of quite late Norman character, as indicated by the mouldings of the bases, &c.; the side windows are also pointed; the west front is very fine, and richly ornamented, with recessed doorways, finely moulded, and also with sculpture. Amongst the ornaments is one nearly approaching to the tooth ornament, and another resembling early-English crockets. In the south wall of the choir are two curious piscinas of the fourteenth century, close

* For an account of this glass see Bulletin Mon. vol. ix. p. 599.

together. In the churchyard there was formerly a sort of beacon or pillar, with a place for a light at the top, in honour of the dead, called a "*Lanterne des Morts*," of which M. de Caumont has published an engraving, but it has since been destroyed.^a

The church of *St. Laurent* at Parthenay is of the usual plain character of the transitional work of the district, quite late in the twelfth century; but the east end is square, instead of the usual apsidal form; and at the west end there is a plain massive porch of much earlier character, probably of the eleventh century. In the choir are some stone stalls of transition Norman work, which have lately been restored, but enough of the original work remains to show that the restorations are tolerably faithful.

The church of *St. Croix* at Parthenay is so much of the same character as not to require a separate description.

Part of the west front of another church (*Nôtre Dame de la Coudre*) is late, and very rich Norman work, with some very beautiful ornaments and fine mouldings, and a mutilated figure of a man on horseback.^b

In the town of Parthenay are several remains of medieval houses, amongst them a good doorway of flamboyant work, with a battlement over it for ornament only—a very rare feature in France.

AIROU.

At Airou, about half way between Parthenay and Poitiers, is a good specimen of the usual country houses or châteaux of this part of France, extremely picturesque from the number of small turrets, with their spiral roofs, but of no particular architectural character; so that often it is difficult to determine their age. Nearly the same fashion seems to have continued through the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

CHAUVIGNY.

Chauvigny, situated about twelve miles eastward of Poitiers, has the remains of three castles and three churches. The former are mere ruins, and more remarkable for their situation and picturesque effect than for any particular architectural character. The churches are in a more perfect state, and are worthy of attentive

^a There was an endowment to defray the expense of the light. See Bull. Mon. vol. vi. p. 12. See also Letter I., p. 285.

^b A detailed account of the sculptures of this rich west front, which is of Byzantine character, is given by M. de Caumont in the Bull. Mon. vol. vi. p. 336.

study. *St. Just* is a small church of early romanesque style, very similar to those of Poitiers of the eleventh century. The plan is cruciform, with aisles to the nave, and three apses. The vaults are all of the barrel form, carried on plain arch ribs with the usual semi-dome vaults to the apses, and the aisles have their vaults groined without ribs. The central tower has a domical vault, carried on four round arches, the capitals of which are enriched with sculptures of curious and early character, a description of which would hardly be intelligible without drawings. The arches of the nave are round, on octagonal piers, with plain imposts. The windows are all small, and round-headed. The exterior of the nave and transepts is very plain; the choir is more enriched, the apse having good corbel tables and half pillars for buttresses; the hoodmoulds have the billet and other ornaments, and there is a string with a remarkable ornament of Roman character.

Chauvigny St. Pierre is another curious church of the same plan and character.^a The choir has the procession path continued round the apse; the pillars are massive, round, with clumsy capitals of curious sculpture, and figures of birds, animals, &c. The four shafts of the tower-arches are cut off upon corbels with the same curious early sculpture. The procession-path, or aisle, has a plain barrel-vault, and there are three apsidal chapels projecting from it. The choir has a good triforium arcade with richly sculptured capitals, and the arches ornamented. Over the arcade are three small clerestory windows, pierced through the domical vault. The transepts are of similar style. The nave is rather later, apparently twelfth century. The central tower is square with arcades of shallow paneling of the same period as the nave. The west doorway is transition work, with a pointed arch. The exterior of the choir and apse are enriched in a similar manner to the other churches of this early character, but the sculpture not quite so early.

St. Père des Eglises is a small early romanesque church of curious style, very plain; the masonry of part of the walls is of small ashlar work, resembling Roman; and there are remains of early painting in the interior.

ST. SAVIN.

The most remarkable church in this part of France is that of St. Savin; but the splendid and elaborate work upon it, published by the French Government, renders it unnecessary to attempt any minute description of it.^b The general character is the same as that which has been before described as the style of the

^a See *Bullet. Mon.* vol. ix. p. 417.

^b See also *Bullet. Mon.* vol. ix. p. 419.

eleventh century. The church is a large and fine one, cruciform in plan, with a very long nave, short choir and apse, with narrow aisles to the nave, and round the apse; and chapels radiating from the latter: a tall tower and spire at the west end, and a crypt under the choir. The larger vaults are all of the plain barrel form; the aisles have groined vaults; the tower is of very early character; the spire a flamboyant addition. Nearly all parts of the interior of the church, including the vaults of the nave, of the crypt, of the apsidal chapels, and the interior of the tower, are covered with very curious paintings of remarkably early character, clearly anterior to the twelfth century, and probably the work of Greek artists. Some antiquaries have assigned a very remote period to these paintings, and consequently to the building which they ornament. Various coincidences, however, seem to lead to the conclusion that the whole is the work of the eleventh century. In the chapels round the apse are plain massive altars, and on the edges of the altar-slabs are inscriptions which agree, in the form of the letters and the custom of putting small letters within the large ones, with that period. None of these inscriptions record any actual date, but one of them mentions Pope Clement as the reigning Pope: this must be either Clement II. in 1047, or the Anti-pope Clement III. in 1080. An abbey was founded on this site by Charlemagne,^a but was destroyed by the Normans, and it is not probable that the original church was spared; nor does the style of the structure agree with other known works of Charlemagne.^a Its large size and perfect plan would rather lead us to attribute it to the twelfth century; but the style of the work, and especially the paintings, will not admit of so late a date.

Being fearful of intruding too long on your time and patience, I now conclude for the present, but am ready at any time to continue the subject if wished to do so.

Your very obedient Servant,

J. H. PARKER.

^a Teste Chronico Malleacensi: Gall. Christ. vol. iv. p. 817.

XXV.—*A Narrative of the principal Naval Expeditions of English Fleets, beginning with that against the Spanish Armada in 1588, down to 1603. In a Letter from Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., Secretary, to JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Esq., Resident Secretary.*

Read May 22, 1851.—March 4, 1852.

British Museum, May 22, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Cottonian MS. Titus B. viii. contains, among numerous other articles, a Narrative of the principal naval Expeditions of English Fleets, beginning with that against the Spanish Armada in 1588, down to 1603. The beginning of this curious Memoir is wanting, and the writer is unknown; but the facts through its several divisions are detailed with so much spirit, and the statements of the expeditions are so strongly mixed with contemporary feeling and contemporary anecdote, that I submit a transcript of them to our Society's notice. They contain many particulars of striking interest, which I have not found elsewhere. It is evident from several passages that the writer was in the armament with the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral at the attack on Cadiz in 1596; with the Earl of Essex in his voyage to the Islands in the following year; and with Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson in 1602. Whoever he was, he was closely connected with Sir William Monson, if he was not Sir William himself.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Most truly yours,

HENRY ELLIS.

J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq.

THE first Action undertaken by the Spaniards was in 1588. The Duke of Modena^a Generall. They were encountered by our fleete, the Lord Admirall beinge at sea himselfe in person.

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Arke Royall	The Lord Admirall
The Revenge	Sir Francis Drake, Vice-Admirall
The Lyon	The Lord Howard
The Beare	The Lord Sheifield
The Elizabeth Jonas	Sir Robert Southwell

^a Medina Sidonia.

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Tryumph	Sir Martyn Frobusher
The Victory	Sir John Hawkins
The Hope	Captain Crosse
The Bonaventer	Captain Reymon
The Dreadnought	Captain George Beeston
The Nonparill	Captaine Thomas Fenner
The Ranyebowe	The Lord Henry Seymor
The Vantgarde	Sir William Winter
The Mary-Rose	Captaine Fenton
The Antilopp	Sir Henry Palmer
The Foresight	Captaine Barker
The Aide	Captaine Fenner
The Swallowe	Captaine Hawkins
The Tiger	Captaine Bostocke
The Scout	Captain Aishley
The Swiftsuer	
The Bull	
The Tremontary	
The Acatice	
Pynnaces, Gallies, Hoyes, 10	

Notwithstandinge the great spoyle and hurt Sir Francis Drake did the yeare past in Cadiz Roode, by interceptinge some part of the provisions for this great navie, the kinge strived by all indeavors to revenge himselfe this yeare, least that in takeinge longer tyme his designes might be prevented as before, and arrested all shipps, men, and necessities wantinge for his fleete, and compelled them perforce to serve in this action.

He appointed for Generall the Duke of Medena Sidonia, a man employed rather for his birth then experience; for soe manie dukes, marquesses, and earles voluntarily goeing, would have repined to have bene commaunded by a man of lesse estate then himself. They departed from Lishbone the 19th daie of May, 1588, with the greateste pride and glory, and least doubt of victorie, that ever any nation did. But, as it appeared, God beinge angrie with their insolencie, disposed of them contrary to their appointment.

The directions from the Kinge to the Generall were to repaire, as winde and weather would give leave, to the Roade of Callis in Piccardie, there to abide the comeinge of the Prince of Parma and his armie, and upon their meetinge to have opened a letter directed to them both with further directions.

He was especially commaunded to sayle longst the coast of Brittanie and

Normandy, for geivinge daunger of discovery to us, and if he mett with the English fleete, not to offer fight, but seeke to defend themselves. When he came athwart the North Cape, he was taken with a contrary winde and fowle weather, and forced into the harbor of the Groyne, where part of his fleete laie attendinge his comeinge. As he was redie to departe from thence there came intelligence by an English fisherman that had bene taken prisoner, of our fleetes late beinge at sea and puttinge backe againe, not expectinge theire comeinge that yeare, insomuch that moste part of our men belonginge to our shippes were discharged.

The intelligence made the Duke alter his direction given him by the kinge, not without some difficultie; for the Councell was devided into three opinions, some held it good not to breake the king's commaund, others not to loose the opportunitie offered to surprise our fleete at unawares, with a purpose to burne and consume them.

Diego Flores de Valdes, who had the commaunde of the Andalusia squadron, was a man the Duke relyed most upon for his experience and judgement; and he it was that only perswaded the attempt of our shippes in harbor, and with that consent and resolution they directed their course for England.

The first land they fell withall was the Lizard, the southermost part of Cornwall, which they took to be the Ram's head athwart Plymouth; and the night beinge at hand they tacked off to sea, makeinge account in the morninge to give the attempt upon our shippes in Plymouth.

But whilest they were thus deceived of the land, in the meane tyme they were discovered by Captaine Flemminge, a pyrate, that had bene at sea pilferinge, who, upon the viewe of them, and knoweinge them to bee the Spanishe fleete, he repaired with all speede to Plymouth, and gave warninge and notice to our fleete, who were then riding at an anchor; whereupon my Lord Admirall hastened with all expedition possible to gett forth the shippes, and before the Spaniards could drawe neere Plymouth, they were welcomed at sea by my lord and his navie, who continued fight with them untill he brought them to an anchor at Callis.

Thus much have I thought good to shewe of the Spanishe Invasion intended in 1588. Now shall ensue Her Majesties preparation to prevent all his designes, who by her wisdom and care had intelligence of his purposes from tyme to tyme.

And because she knewe his intent was to invade her at sea with a mightie and huge fleete from his owne coast, she furnisht out her Royall Navie, under the charge of the Lord High Admirall of England, and sent him to Plymouth, as the likeliest place to attend theire cominge, as you have heard.

Then knoweinge that it was not the Fleete alone that could endainger her safetie,

for that they were of smale power to annoy her by land, without the assistance of the Prince of Parma and his armie in Flaunders, therefore she appointed thirty sayle of Holland shippes to lye at an anchor before the towne of Dunkerk, where the prince was to embarque in flattbottombe boates, made purposely for the Expedition of England.

Thus was the Prince, by the Queene's providence, prevented, if he had attempted, to putt out of harbor with his boates; but, indeede, neither his vessells nor his armies were in readines, which caused the kinge ever after to be jealous of him, and, as it is supposed, to hasten his end.

Her Majestie, notwithstandinge this vigilant care to foresee and prevent all daunger that might happen at sea, would not holde herselfe too secure of her enemie, but prepared a royall armie to welcome him upon his landinge; but it soe fell out that it was not the will of God they should sett footeinge on shoare in England, but made the Queene a victorious prince over him, with little hazard or bloudshedd of her subjectes.

Haveinge shoven the designe of the Spaniards, and the prevention of Her Majestie, I will collect the errors committed as well by the one as by the other, as I have promised in the beginninge of my discourse.

And it was of most likelyhood and reason, after the Duke had gotten intelligence of the state of our Navie, to surprise them in harbor at unawares, knoweing that if hee had taken awaie our strength by sea, hee might have landed both when and where hee listed, which is the cheifest advantage in the invador; yet, though it had tooke that effect he desired, I see not howe he was to be commended in breaking that direction given by the kinge; then, contrarywise, what blame did he deserve to alter his instructions, soe evill event followeing of it as it did.

It was not lacke of experience in the Duke, or layeing it upon Valdes, that excused him at his returne; but that he had smarted bitterly for it, had it not bene for his wife, who obtayned the king's favour unto him.

Before the arrivall of the shippes that escaped in this journey, it was knowne that Diego Flores de Valdes was the only perswader to breake the king's articles; whereupon he commaunded in all his ports, where the said Diego Flores de Valdes should arrive, to apprehend him, which was accordingly executed, and he carried to the Castle of Saint Andrea, where he was never seene or heard of after.

If the king's directions had bene reallie followed, then had his fleete kept the coast of France, and arrived in the roade of Callis, before they had bene discovered by us, which might have endaungered Her Majestie and realme, our shippes beinge soe farr of as Plymouth, where then they laye, and though the Prince of Parma had

not bene presently readie, he had gayned tyme sufficient by the absense of our fleete to make himselfe readie.

And moreover, whereas the prince was kept in by the thirty sayle of Hollanders, soe many of the duke's fleete would have bene able to have put the Hollanders from the roade of Dunkerke and possest it themselves, and soe have secured the armie and fleetes meetinge together; and howe easie a thinge it had bene after their joyninge to have transported themselves for England, as alsoe what would have ensued upon their landinge in England, may be imagined.

But it beinge the will of Him that directs all men and their actions that the fleetes should meete, they, beaten as they were, put from their anchorage in Callis roade, the Prince of Parma beleaguered at sea, their navie enforced about Scotland and Ireland with great adventure and losse, sheweth howe God did mervelously defend us against their daungerous designes.

Heere was another opportunitie offered to have followed the Victory upon them, for after they were beaten from the roade at Callis, and all their hopes and designes frustrate, if wee had once more offered them fight, the Generall by perswasion of his confessor was determined to yield, whose example it is very likely would have made the rest to have done the like; but this escape cannot be imputed to the negligence or backwardnes of the Lord Admirall, but meerely to the want of providence in those that had the charging and managing of the fleete, for at this tyme of most advantage, when they came to examine their provisions, they found a generall scarcitie of powder and shott, for want whereof they were forced to return home. Another opportunitie was lost not much inferior to the rest, by not sendinge part of our fleete to the west part of Ireland, which the Spaniards of necessitie were to seeke after soe manie daungers and disasters as they had endured.

If wee had bene soe happie as to have followed this course, and it was both thought and discust of, we had bene victorious over this great and conquering navie, for they were brought to that necessity that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confest that were cast away in Ireland.

Heerein is to be noted howe weake and feeble the designes of men are in respect of the Creator of man, and howe indifferentlie he dealt betwixt the two nations, sometimes givinge one sometimes the other advantage, and yet soe that *he* only ordered the battaile.

The Action of Portugall, 1589:—

SHIPPES.	COMMANDERS BY SEA.	COMMANDERS BY LAND.
The Revenge . . .	Sir Francis Drake . . .	Sir John Norris
The Dreadnought . .	Captain Thomas Fenner . . .	Sir Edward Norris
The Ayde . . .	Captain William Fenner . . .	Sir Henry Norris
The Nonparill . . .	Captain Sackfeild . . .	Sir Roger Williams
The Foresight . . .	Captain William Winter . . .	Captain Williams
The Swiftsuer . . .	Captain Goeringe . . .	Serjeant-Major The Earle of Essex voluntary.

The last overthrowe of 1588, given to the Invincible Fleete (as they termed themselves) did soe encourage every man to the warr, as happy was he that could put himselfe in action against the Spaniards, as it appeared by the voluntaries that went in this journey: considering the great losse the Kinge of Spaine received in the yeare past, whereby it was to be imagined how weakelie he was provided for at home, made the Queene willinge to countenance this action, though she undertooke it not wholly of herselfe, which is to be imputed to the overthrowe of it.

For whosoever he be of a subject that thinks to undertake soe great an enterprise without a prince's purse shalbe deceived; and therefore these two generalls in my opinion never overshott themselves more than in undertakeinge soe great a charge with soe little meanes, which is the only cause to be imputed to the ill successe of it, for where there is victualls and armes wantinge, what hope is there of prevailinge.

The project of this journey was to restore a distressed kinge to his kingdome, usurped as he pretended; and, though the meanes for the settinge forth of this voyage was not soe great as was expedient, yet in the opinion of all men, if they had directed their course whither they intended it without landinge at the Groyne, they had performed the service they went for, restored Don Antonio to the crowne, dissevered Portugall from Spaine, and united it in league with England; which would have answered the present charge, and have settled a continuall trade for us to the West Indies and the rest of the Portugalls dominions; for soe wee might have conditioned.

But, as I have said, the landinge at the Groyne was a lingring of the other designe; a consuminge of victualls; a weakeninge of the armie by the immoderate drinckinge of the souldiers, which brought a lamentable sicknes amongst them; a warninge to the Spaniards to strengthen Portugall; and, as great as all this, a discouragement to proceede further, beinge repulsed in the first attempt.

Notwithstandinge this ill successe at the Groyne, they departed from thence towards Portugall, and arrived at Penech, a maritan town twelve leagues from Lishbone, where with smale resistance they tooke the Castle, after the Captaine understoode Don Antonio to be in the armie.

From thence Generall Norris marched with his land forces to Lishbone, and Sir Francis Drake with his fleete sayled to Caske Cadez, promisinge from thence to passe with his shippes upp the river to Lishbone, to meete with Sir John Generall Norris; which he did not, and therefore he was much blamed by the common consent of all men, imputinge the overthrowe of the action to him.

It will not excuse Sir Francis Drake in his promise made to Sir John Norris, though I would utterly have accused him of want of discretion if he had put the fleete to soe great an adventure to soe little purpose; for his beinge in the harbour of Lishbone was nothinge to the takeinge of the Castle, which was two miles from thence in circumference of height, for the Castle being taken the towne was tooke by course.

And moreover the shippes could not furnishe the armie with more men or victualls then they had; wherefore I understand not wherein his goeing up was necessary, and yet the fleete was to endure many hazards to this little purpose.

For betwixt Caske Cadez and Lishbone there are three castles, Saint John, Saint Francis, and Bellin. The first of them three I hold one of the impregnablest fortes to seaward in Europe, by which the fleete was to passe within calliver shott; though I doe not confesse the greatest daunger was in it to passe in, for with a reasonable gale of winde anie forte is to be past with smale adventure.

But at this tyme there was a generall want of victualls, and beinge entered the harbour their comeinge out againe was uncertaine, the place beinge subject to contrary windes; in which space the better part of the victualls would have bene consumed, and they would remayne in soe desperate estate as they would have bene forced to have fired one halfe of the fleete for the bringinge home of the rest: for beinge as they were, after the armie was imbarqued for England, many dyed of famine homeward, and more would have done if the winde had tooke them short, or if by the death of some, others had not bene releived.

And, besides all these casualties and daungers, the Adalantina was then in Lishbone with the gallies of Spaine, and howe easily he might have annoyed our fleete by toweing fired shippes amongst us, wee may suppose by the hurt wee did the Spaniards the yeare before in Callis roade, and greater we had done if wee had had the helpe of gallies.

It is a world to observe every man's opinion of this journey, as well those that

were actors in it, as others that staid at home, some imputinge the overthrowe to the landinge at the Groyne, others to the Portugalls faylinge of their helpes and assistance, as was promised by Don Antonio, and some of Sir Francis Drake's not coming up the river with his fleete.

Though anie of these three might seeme probable reasons to manie men that shall but heare them, and the landinge at the Groyne the cheifest of the three alledged, yet waigh truly the defect, and where it was, and the action was overthrowne before their settinge from home, beinge weakely provided of all things needefull for soe great an expedition.

For when this journey was first in speeche, the number of shippes was not concluded on accordinge to the proporcion of men, wherefore they were forced to make staie of divers Easterlings mett in our channells, and compelled them to serve in this action for the transportation of our souldiers; and though these shippes were an ease to our men, which would have bene pestered, yet their victualls was nothinge augmented, but they put aboard on shippes liked banished men, to seeke their fortunes att sea; for, by confession, divers of the shippes had not four daies victualls when they departed from Plymouth.

Another impediment to this journey was feild peeces, the want whereof was the losse of Lishbone; for the strength consistinge in the castle, and wee haveinge only an armie to countenance us, noe meanes for batterie, wee were the losse of the victory ourselves, for it was apparent by intelligence wee received, if wee had presented them with battery, they were resolved to parley and soe by consequence to yeild, and this was the mayne and cheife reason of the Portugalls excuse in not joyninge with us.

There is one other reason to be alledged on the Portugalls behalfe, and their love and favour to our proceedings; for though they shewed not themselves forward upon the occasion aforesaid in aidinge us, yet they opposed not themselves as enemies against us, for if they had pursued us in our retraite from Lishbone to Caske Cadez, our men beinge weake, sicklie, without powder and shott and other armes, they had put us to a greater losse and disgrace then we had on it. And if ever England have occasion to sett upon a competitor in Portugall, our carriage and good entreatie to the people of that countrie have gained us great reputation amongste them, for the Generall moste advisedlie forbadd the rifelinge of their howses in the countrie and suburbs of Lishbone, which they possess, and commaunded royall payment for every thinge they tooke without compulsion or rigorous usage: this hath made those that stood but indifferently affected before, nowe readie upon the like occasion to assist us.

A Voyage undertaken by the Earle of Cumberland with one ship royal of Her Majesties, and six of his owne and other adventurers. A° 1589.

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Victory	The Earle of Cumberland
The Margaret	Captaine Christopher Lister
And five others	Captaine Monson, now Sir William Monson, Vice-Admirall.

As the fleet of Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake returned from the voyage of Portugall, my Lord of Cumberland proceeded upon his towards that coast, who, meetinge with divers of the shippes, he relieved them with victualls, which otherwise had perished.

This voyage was undertaken at his and his friends charge, excepting the Victorie, a shipp royall of the Queenes, which she adventured.

This journey is amplie and largely writt by that famous mathematitian, Mr. Wright, who was an actor in it himselfe, and what is heere sett downe is but a breife collection of his discourse.

The service performed at sea was the takinge of three Frenche shippes of the League in our channell. Upon his arrivall upon the coast of Spaine, he encountred with thirteen hulkes, who made some resistance, out of the which he took to the valewe of £7000 in spices belonginge to Portugall.

From thence he crost over the islands of Terceras, and comeinge to Saint Michaelles with boates, he fetched out two Spanish shippes from under the Castle, which the same night arrived out of Spaine.

In his course from thence to Flores, hee tooke a Spanish shipp laden with sugars and sweete meates, that came from the Maderos.

Beinge at Flores he received intelligence of divers Spanish shippes to be in the roade of Phyll; he made his sudden returne to that island, where Captain Lister and Captaine Monson gave a desperate attempt in their boats upon the said shippes, which after longe fight they possessed: one of them beinge in burden 300 tunnes, carrying eighteen peeces of ordinance and fifty men, was moored to the castle. This shipp, with one other, came from the Indies, two of the rest out of Giney, and one laden with oade, which that island affoards in great plenty. Puttinge from thence to sea, and comeinge to the island of Graciosa, after two daies fight, it yielded us by composicion some victualls; off that island wee tooke a shippe of France, of two hundred tunnes, that came from Newfoundland, and of the League.

After saylinge to the eastward of the roade of Terceras in the eveninge, wee beheld eighteen talle shippes of the Indies enteringe into the said roade, one whereof wee after tooke in her course to the coast of Spain; she was loaden with hides, silver, and coocheneale, who, comeinge for England, was cast awaie upon the Mount's Bay, in Cornewall, valued at £100,000.

Two other prizes of sugar wee tooke in our said course to the coast of Spaine, each shipp esteemed at £7000, and one from under the castle of Saint Maries, to the same value.

There was noe roade about those Islandes that could defend their shippes from our attempts and takeinge them; yet in the last assaulte we gave upon a shipp of sugars, we found evill successe, for wee were there sharpely resisted, and two partes of our men suddenly slaine and hurt, by the occasion of Captaine Lister, who would not be perswaded but to land in the face of their fortifications.

The service performed by land was the takeing of the island of Phiall, some months after the surprizeinge of those shippes you have formerly heard. The castle yielded us forty-five peeces of ordinance, great and smale: wee sacked and spoyled the towne, and after ransomed it, and soe departed.

These sommer services and shippes of sugar proved not so sweete and pleasant as the winter was afterwards sharpe and painefull, for in our returne for England wee founde the calamitie of famyn, the hazard of shippwracke, and the death of our men, that the like befell not any shippe in the tyme of the warr. All which disasters must bee imputed to Captaine Lister's rashenes, upon whome my Lord Cumberland cheifely relyed, wantinge experience himselfe.

He was the man that advised the sendinge the shippes of wine for England, otherwise we had not tasted the want of drinke. He was as earnest in perswadinge our landinge in the face of the fortifications in Saint Maries against all reason and sence. As he was rashe, soe was he valiant, but paid dearely for his unadvised counsell; for he was one of the first hurt, and that cruelly, in the attempte of Saint Maries, and after drowned in the rich shippe cast awaie in Mount's Bay.

Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobusher, their Voyage undertaken this
yeare. 1590:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Revenge	Sir Martyn Frobusher
The Mary Rose	Sir John Hawkins
The Lyon	Sir Edward Yorke
The Bonaventer	Captain Fenner
The Raynebowe	Captain George Beeston
The Hope	Captain Bostocke
The Crane	Captain Burnell
The Quittance	
The Foresight	
The Swiftsuer	

From the yeare 1585 untill this present yeare 1590, there was the greatest possibilities of enricheing our nation by actions at sea, if they had bene well followed; forasmuch as the Kinge of Spaine nether did or could defend his subjects trades, soe weake he was growne in shippinge, by the overthrowe hee had for England in 1588.

Her Majestie beginninge nowe to finde howe necessary it was for her to maintaine a fleete upon the Spanishe coast, as well to forbidd his preparacions against her, which she imagined he would the rather doe in respect of the disgrace he received in 1588, as also to intercept his trade from the Indies, by which he grew great and mighty.

She sent this yeare, 1590, tenn shippes of her owne in two squadrons, the one to be commaunded by Sir John Hawkins, the other by Sir Martin Frobusher, two gentlemen of tryed experience.

The Kinge of Spaine understandinge of this preparacion of hers, sent forth twenty saile of shippes under the direccion of Don Alonso de Bassan, brother to the late famous Marquesse of Saint Cruze: his charge was to secure home the Indie fleete and carrecks.

But Don Alonso beinge at sea, and as it happened the Kinge of Spaine beinge better advised, then to adventure twenty of his beste shippes to ten of ours, sent for Don Alonso backe againe, and soe frustrated the expectation of our Fleete.

He likewise made a dispatch to the Indies, commaunding the fleete there to winter, rather then to hazard theire comeinge home that sommer. This was not done without great hinderance and losse to the merchants of Spaine, to be soe longe without returne of theire goods, which caused many bankruptes in Civill and other places; besides it was soe great a weakeninge to theire shippes to winter in the Indies, as it was many yeares before they could recover their losses, as by the yeare followeing it appeared.

One fleete, as you have heard, beinge thus prevented, and havinge spent seven monethes in vaine upon the coast of Spaine and Islands, in that space they could not possesse themselves of one shipp of the Spaniards, for the carrocks upon which one of theire hopes depended, came home without sight of the islands, and arrived safe at Lishbone.

This journey was a bare action to sea, though they attempted landinge at Phiall, which, as you have heard, the Lord Cumberland the yeare before had taken; but the castle beinge refortified, they did not prevaile in theire enterprise. Thenceforward the Kinge of Spaine soughte to strengthen his coasts, and laboured to increase in shipping, as might appeare by the next ensuing yeare.

Two fleets, the one by us under the Lord Thomas Howard; the other by the Spaniards, commanded by Don Alonso de Bassan. Anno 1591:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Defiance	The Lord Thomas Howard
The Revenge	Sir Richard Greenefield, Vice-Admirall
The Nonparill	Sir Edward Dennie
The Bonaventer	Captain Crosse
The Lyon	Captain Fenner
The Foresight	Captain Vavasor
The Crane	Captain Duffield

Her Maiestie, understandinge of the Indie fleete winteringe in the haven, and that necessitie would compell them home this yeare, 1591, she sent a fleet to the Islands under the charge of the Lord Thomas Howard.

The Kinge of Spaine, perceiving her drifte, and how much the safety of that fleete concerned him, caused him disambogue soe late in the yeare, as it indaungered the shipwracke of them all; and thus you may see he was rather willinge to hazard the losse of shippes, men, and goods, then indaunger the fallinge into our hands.

He had two designes in bringinge home this fleete soe late. By the one he thought the Lord Thomas would have consumed his victualls and have been forced him. In the other, he was in the meane tyme furnishinge a great fleete, little inferior to that of 1588. By the first he found himselfe deceived, for my lord was supplied both with shippes and victualls out of England. And by the second he was as much prevented, for my Lord of Cumberland, who as then lay upon the coast of Spaine with a fleet, had intelligence of the Spanishe preparacions, and advertised the Lord Thomas thereof with all expedition, and even the night before the Spaniardes arrived at Flores, where my lord lay.

The daie after this intelligence, the Spanish fleete was discovered by my Lord Thomas, whom he knewe by their number and greatnes to be those shippes of which he had warninge; and by that meanes he escaped the daunger that Sir Richard Greenefield his Vice-Admirall rashely rann into. Upon the viewe of the Spaniards, which were fifty-five in number, the Lord Thomas warily, and like a discrete generall, waighed anchor, and made signes to the rest of his fleete to doe the like, with a purpose to gett the winde of them; but Sir Richard Greenefield, being a sterne man, and imagininge this fleete to come from the Indies, and not to be the Armado of which they were informed, would by noe meanes be perswaded by his master or companie, to cutt his mayne saile to followe his Admirall: soe headstronge and rashe he was, that he offered violence to those that councelled him.

But, as the old sayinge is, a wilfull man is the cause of his owne woe; it could not be trulier verified then in him, for when the shippes approached nigh him, and he beheld the greatnes of them, he began to see and repent him of his follie, and when it was too late would have acquitted himselfe of them.

But in vaine, for he was left a prey to the enemie, every shipp accountinge himselfe happiest that could board him speediest.

This wilfull rashenes of Sir Richard made the Spaniards much triumph in their victory, beinge the first shippe that ever they tooke of her Majesties, and the best shipp, as she was commended to them by some English fugitives that served them; but their joy continued not longe, for they possessed her but five daies ere she was cast awaie, with many Spaniards in her, upon the Islandes of Tercera.

Commonly one misfortune is accompanied with another, for the Indies fleete, for which my lord lay the whole sommer, the day after this mishapp, fell into the companie of the Spanish Armado; who, if they had staid but one daie longer, or the Indies fleete come home but one daie sooner, wee had possest them and enjoyed them, and with them manie millions of treasure which the sea devowred; for, from the tyme they mett with the Armado untill they recovered home, nigh an hundred of them received shippwracke, besides the Ascencion of Civill, and the double fly-boate that was suncke by the side of the Revenge.

All which occasioned by their winteringe in the Indies, and the late disambogueinge from thence; for the worme which the countrie is subject unto doth weaken and consume their shippes.

Notwithstandinge this crosse and perverse fortune which Sir Richard Greenefeild brought his fleete into, the Lord Thomas would not be dismayed or discouraged, but kept the sea the tyme of his victualls; and, by such shippes as himselfe and the rest of his fleete tooke, defrayed the better parte of the charge of the whole action.

The Earle of Cumberland to the Coast of Spaine, 1591:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Garland of Her Majesties	The Earle of Cumberland
Seaven other shippes of his and his friends	Captain under him Captain Monson, nowe Sir William Monson.

The Earle of Cumberland keepinge the coast of Spaine, as you have heard, whilst the Lord Thomas remayned at the islandes, all to one end, viz., to annoy and dam-nifie the Spaniards, though in two severall fleetes, he found fortune in a kinde as much to frowne upon him as it had done upon the Lord Thomas Howard.

In this course from England to the Spanishe coast, he encountered with divers shippes of Holland, which came from Lishbone, in which he founde a great quantitie of spices belonginge unto Portugalls. Soe greatly were we abused by that nation of Holland, that though they were the first that engaged us in the warr with Spaine, yet did they maintaine theire trade into those parts, and supplie the Spaniards with municion, victualls, shippinge, and intelligence against us.

Upon my lord's arrivall upon the coast of Spaine, it was his happ to take three shippes at severall tymes, one with wines, which he unladed into his owne, and two sugars, which he enjoyed not longe, noe more did he the spices which he tooke out of the Hollanders.

For one of the shippes of sugar, by meanes of a leake that sprunge upon her, was forced to be cast of, and with much difficultie shee recovered the shoare and saved mens lives.

The other beinge sent for England, and tossed with contrary windes for want of victualls, was forced into the Groyne, where they put themselves to the mercie of the enemie.

The spices were determined to be sent for England, and a shippe appointed for that purpose, with other shippes to guarde her. Captain Monson was sent on boarde her to the Islands of the Burlings, with charge to see her dispatched for England.

But, the other shippes faylinge theire directions, and the night fallinge calme, early in the morninge this scattered shipp was sett upon by six gallies, and after a longe and bloudie fight, the captaine and the principallest men beinge slaine, both ship and spices were taken. But whether it was in respect they had to the queenes shipp, which was Admirall of that fleete, or honor to my lord that commaunded it, or hope by good usage of our men to receive the like again, I knowe not; but true it is, that the ordinary men were treated with more courtesie then had bene from the beginninge of the warrs.

My Lord of Cumberland perceiving the disasters that thus befell him, and knoweing the Spanish fleet's readiness to put out of harbour, but especially findinge his shipp but evill of sayle, it being the first voyage she ever went to sea, she durst not abide the coast of Spaine, but thought it more discreacion to returne for Englande, havinge (as you have heard) sent a pinnace to my Lord Thomas with intelligence aforesaid.

A Voyage undertaken by Sir Walter Rawleigh, but himself returninge left the charge thereof to Sir Martyn Frobusher. Anno 1592:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS BY SEA.	COMMAUNDERS BY LAND.
The Garland	Sir Walter Rawleigh	Sir John Borough
The Foresight, with divers other	Captain Crosse	
Merchants Shippes	Sir Walter went not, but Sir Martyn Frobusher	

Sir Walter Rawleigh, who had tasted abundantly of the Queenes love, findinge it nowe began to decline, put himselfe into a journey at sea, and drewe unto him divers and sundrie friends of great quallitie and others, thinkinge to have interprized some place in the West Indies, and with this resolucion he put out of harbor; but spending two or three daies in fowle weather at sea, her Majestie was pleased to commaund his returne, and to committ the charge of the shippes to Sir Martyn Frobusher, who was sent downe for that purpose, but with an expresse commaund not to followe the designes of the West Indies.

This suddaine alteracion beinge knowne unto the rest of the captaines, for the present made some confusion, as commonly all voluntarie actions doe; their Generall leavinge them, they thought themselves free in their reputation, and as free in election what course to take; fewe of them did therefore submitte themselves to the commaund of Sir Martyn Frobusher, but chose rather each one to take his particular fortune and adventure at sea.

Sir Martyn, with two or three other shippes, repayred to the coast of Spaine, where he tooke a Spaniard laden with iron, and a Portugall with sugar; he remained there not without some daunger, his shipp beinge ill of saile, and the enemy havinge a flecte at sea. Sir John Borough, Captaine Crosse, and one other, stood to the islandes, where they mett with as many shippes of my Lord of Cumberlands, with whome they consorted. After some time spent thereabouts, they had sight of a carrecke, which they chased; but she recovered the Island of Fores before they could approche to her; but the carricke, seeinge the islands could not defend her from the strength and force of the English, chose rather, after the men were gott on shoare, to fier herselfe, then we the enemy should reape benefitt by her.

The purser of her was taken, and by threats compelled to tell of an other of their company behind, that had order to fall with that island; he gave that particular advertisement that indeede she fell to be ours.

In this meane tyme Don Alonso de Bassan was furnishinge in Lishbone twenty-three of his gallions, which the yeare before he had when he tooke the Revenge. He was directed with those shippes to goe immediately to Flores, to expect the

commeinge of the carracks who you have heard had order to fall with that island, there to put on shore divers ordinance for strengtheninge the towne and castle.

Don Alonso unadvisedly made his repaire first to Saint Michells with the breache of his directions, and there delivered his ordinance before he arrived at Flores, and in the meane tyme one of the carricks was burnt, and the other taken, as you have heard.

This he held to be such a disreputacion to him, and especially happeninge through his owne error and default, that he became much perplext, and pursued the Englishe one hundred leagues, but in vaine, they beinge soe farr ahead.

The Kinge of Spaine beinge advertised of his two carricks mishapp, and the negligence of Don Alonso, though he had much favored him before in respect of divers actions he had bene in with his brother, the Marquesse of Saint Cruz, as also for what he had lately performed takeinge the Revenge, the kinge held it such a blemish to his honor not to have his instructions obeyed and observed, that he did not only take from Don Alonso his charge and commaund, but he lived and died with his disgrace and disfavour, which in my opinion he worthilie deserved.

The Queenes adventure in this voyage was only two shippes, one of which, and the least of them two, was at the takeinge of the carricke, by the which title she resumed power by her regall authoritie, and made the rest of the adventurers submitt themselves to her pleasure, with whome shee dealt but indifferently.

The Earle of Cumberland, to the Coast of Spaine. Anno 1593:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Lyon	The Earle of Cumberland
The Bonaventer	Captain under him, Captain Monson
And seven other shippes	Sir Edward Yorke

The Earle of Cumberland findinge by profe that many voyages he attempted miscarried by the misgovernment of those he trusted, and beinge encouraged by the good successe of his shippes the last yeare, he obtayned two of her Majesties shippes, and victualled them himselfe, with seaven others that did accompanie them, and arrived upon the coast of Spaine. He tooke two French shippes of the Leaguers, which did more then treble the expence of his voyage. My lord beinge one daye severed from his fleete, it was his happe to meete with twelve hulkes at the same place where Captaine Monson was taken the same daie two yeares before. He required that dutie from them that was due unto her Majesties shippes, which they peremptorily refused, presuminge upon the strengthe of their twelve shippes

against one only; but they found themselves deceived, for after two howers fight, he brought them to his mercie, and made them acknowledge theire oversight; and willingly discovered and delivered a great quantity of powder and munition, which they carried for the King of Spaines service.

My Lord of Cumberland haveinge spent some tyme thereabouts, and understandinge that Fervanteles de Menega, a Portugall, and the kinges generall for the fleete of twenty-four saile, was gone to the islands, he pursued them, thinkinge to meete the carricks before they should joyne together. At his comeinge to Flores, he mett and tooke one of the same fleete, with the death of the capitaine, by whome he understood both where the fleete was and theire strength. The daie after he mett the fleete themselves, but, beinge farr to weake for them, he was foret to leave them, and spent his tyme thereabouts till he understood the carracks were past by without seeing either fleete or island.

Sir Martyn Frobusher with a Fleete to Brest, in Brittany, 1594:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Vauntgarde	Sir Martyn Frobusher
The Raynebowe	Captain Fenner
The Dreadnought	Captain Clifford
The Quittance	Captain Savill

About three yeares past, 1591, the queene sent Sir John Norris, with 3,000 souldiers, to joyne with the kinges partie in those parties. The Kinge of Spaine, who upheld the factions of the League, sent Don John de Aquila, with the like forces, to joyne with the Duke Mercurie, beinge of the contrary side. The Spaniards had fortified themselves very strongly neere the towne of Brest, expectinge newe succors from Spaine by sea, which the King of France fearinge, craved helpe of shippes from the Queene, which her Majestie was willinge to grant, because the Spaniard, havinge the haven of Brest to entertaine theire shippinge, might prove her most daungerous neighbours; wherefore she sent Sir Martyn Frobusher in this yeare, 1594, with fower of her shippes to make good that harbour. Upon his arrivall, Sir John Norris with his forces, and Sir Martyn with his seamen, came upon the forte; and, though it was as bravely defended as man could doe, yet in the end it was taken with the losse of divers captaines, Sir Martyn Frobusher beinge himselfe sore wounded, of which hurt he dyed at Plymouth after his returne.

A Fleete to the Indies, Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, generalls, wherein they ventured deeply and dyed in the journey, 1595 :—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS BY SEA.	COMMAUNDER BY LAND.
The Defiance	Sir Francis Drake	Sir Thomas Baskerfeild
The Garland	Sir John Hawkins	
The Hope	Captain Gilbert Yorke	
The Bonaventer . . .	Captain Throughton	
The Foresight . . .	Captain Winter	
The Adventer	Captain Thomas Drake	

Theise two generalls, presuminge muche upon their owne experience and knowledge, used many perswasions to the Queene to undertake a voyage to the West Indies, givinge much assurance to performe great services, promisinge to ingage themselves verie deeply, both with their adventure of substance and life. And as all actions promise good hope until they be performed, soe did this the more in opinion of all men in respect of the two Generalls experience.

There were many impediments and letts to this journey before they could cleere themselves of the coast, which put them to greater charge than they expected: the chiefest cause of their lingringe was a mistrust our State had of an Invasion, and the daunger to spare soe many good shippes and men out of England as they carried with them.

The Spaniards most subtiltie lett slipp noe opportunitie to put us in amazement, thereby to dissolve the action, and sent four gallies from Bleuret in Brittany, to seize some part of our coast, that wee might apprehende a feare of a greater force to followe. These gallies landed at Pensants in Cornewall, where they found the towne abandoned, which they tooke, sackt, and burnt; but this designe of theirs tooke little effect, for the journey proceeded notwithstandinge.

The intent of the voyage was to land at Nombre de Dios, from thence to march to Panumia, to possesse the treasure that comes from Perue; and, if they sawe reason for it, to inhabit and keepe it. But fewe daies before their goeing from Plymouth, they received letters from her Majestie of an advertisement she had out of Spaine, that the Indies fleete was arrived, and that one of them, with losse of her mast, was putt roome to the Island of Porto Rico. Shee commaunded, seeinge there was so good an opportunity offered as the readiness of that fleete and the weakenes of Porto Rico, to possesse themselves of that treasure, and the rather for that it was not much out of the way to Nombre de Dios. It is nether yeares nor experience

that can foresee and prevent all mishappes, which is a manifeste prooffe that God is the giver and disposer of men's actions; for this latter designe was as probable to be effected, considering the abilitie and wisdom of the two Generalls, as it was directed, and yet soe unadvisedly prevented as it failed in the execution. For there were five freegates sent out of Spaine to fetch the treasure at Porto Rico: in their waie it was their happ to take a pinnace of the Englishe flecte, by whome they understood the secretts of the voyage, and, to prevent the attempt of Porto Rico, they hastened thither with all speede. Whilest our Generalls lingred at Quadarupa to sett up their boates, they soe strengthened the towne with the souldiers brought in the freegates out of Spaine, that when our flecte came thither, not expectinge resistance, they found themselves frustrate of their hopes, which themselves were the occasion of, for not carryeing their actions with more secrecie. This repulse bredd soe great a greife in Sir John Hawkins as it is thought it hastened his daies. This disaster was great and unexpected, yet did it not discourage Sir Francis Drake's great mynde, but he proceeded upon his first resolved devise for Nombre de Dios, though with noe better successe; for the enemye, havinge knowledge of their comeinge, fortified their passage to Panama, and forst their returne with losse. Sir Francis Drake, whose was wont to rule fortune, nowe finding his errors, and the difference of the strength of the Indies since he first knewe it, grewe melancholie upon this defeate, and suddenly, and I hope naturally, died at Nombre de Dios, where he gott his first reputacion. The two Generalls dyeinge, all other hopes beinge taken awaie by their deathes, Sir Thomas Baskerfeild succeeded them in their commaunde, who was nowe to thinke upon his returne for England: but coming neere Cuba, he mett and fought with a flecte of Spaine, though not longe, by reason of the mortalitie of his men. This flecte was sent to take the advantage of ours in their returne, thinkinge, as it was indeede, that they should finde them both weake and in want; but the swiftness of our shippes, which gave us the advantage only against the Spaniards, defended us. You may observe that, from the yeare the Revenge was taken till this yeare 1595, there was no sommer but the Kinge of Spaine furnished a flecte for the guarding of his coasts and securing of his trades; and, though there was little feare of anie fleets from England to impeach him more then of this in the Indies, yet because he would shewe his greatnes, and give satisfaction to the Portugall of the care he had in preservinge their carricks, he sent the Earle of Ferra, a younge nobleman of Portugall, who desired to gaine experience, with twenty shippes to the islands; but the carracks did as they used to doe in many other yeares, misse both islands and flecte, and arrived at Lishbone safelie. The other flecte of the Kinge of Spaine in the Indies consisted of 24 shippes, their

generall, Don Bernardino de Villa Nova, an approved coward, when he came to encounter the English fleete, but his feare was redeemed by the valour of his vice-admirall, which our men did attribute much to his honor, whose name was John Garanay.

The Earle of Essex, and the Lord Admirall of England, generalles equally both by sea and land, 1596 :—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Repulse	The Earle of Essex; Captain under him, Sir William Monson
The Arke Royall . . .	The Lord Admirall; Captain under him, Ames Preston
The Meere-Honor . . .	The Lord Thomas Howard
The Warrspright . . .	Sir Walter Rawleigh
The Lyon	Sir Robert Southwell
The Raynebowe	Sir Francis Veare
The Nonparill	Sir Robert Dudley
The Vauntgarde	Sir John Winkfeild
The Mary Rose	Sir George Carewe
The Dreadnought . . .	Sir Alexander Clifford
The Swiftsuer	Sir Robert Crosse
The Acquittance . . .	Sir George Gifford
The Crane	Sir Robert Mansfeild
The Timontarie	Captain Kinge

The first of June, 1596, wee departed from Plymouth by meanes of the great paines, care, and industrie of the sixteen Generalls, who in their owne persons laboured the night before to gett out 100 of their shippes ridinge at Cattwater, which otherwise had not bene easily effected. The third wee sett saile from Causom Bay. The winde beinge when wee waighed at west and by south, instantly cast upp to the north east, and so continued untill it brought us upp as high as the North Cape of Spaine. This fortunate beginninge, with the like that after happened, put us in great hope of a luckie successe to ensue.

Wee beinge now come upon our enemies coast, it behoved the Generalls to be vigilant in keepeinge them from intelligence of us, who appointed the Litnes, the True Love, and the Lyons Whelpe (the three choice saylors of our fleete) to runn a-head, suspectinge the Spaniards had carvells of advice, which they did usually send forth to descrie at sea, upon any rumor of a lesse Fleete than this was made readie in England.

Noe shippe or carvell escaped from us, which I hold a second happiness to our voyage, for you shall understand hereafter the inconvenience that might have happened upon our discovery.

The 10th of June the said three shippes tooke three flyeboats that came from Cadez 14 daies before; by them wee understood the state of the towne was nothinge suspectfull of us, which wee did acknowledge as a third observation of good towards us.

The 12th of June, the Swann, a ship of London, was commaunded, as the other three, to keepe a good way off the fleete to prevent discovery: she mett with a fly-boate, which made resistance, and escaped from her. This flyeboate came from the straites, bound home, who, discoveringe our fleete, thinkinge to gaine reputacion and reward from the Spaniards, shapte their course for Lishbone, but she was luckely prevented by the John and Francis, another shippe of London, which Sir Marmaduke Dorrell commaunded, who tooke her within a league of the shoare; and this wee might accounte the fourth happines to our voyage. The first whereof was, the winde to take us so suddenly, and to continue soe longe, for our souldiers being shipt and in harbor would have consumed their victualls, and have bene so pestered, that it would have endaungered a sicknes amongst them. The second was, the takeinge all shippes that were seene, which kept the enemy from intelligence. The third was the interceptinge the flyboats from Cadiz, whether wee were bound. They assured us our comeinge was not suspected, which made us more carefull to hayle from the coast, then otherwise wee should have bene. They tould us of the daylie expectation of the gallions to come from Saint Jacar to Cadez, and of the merchantes that were bound for the Indies. These intelligences were of great moment, and made the generalls presently to contrive their busines both by sea and land, which otherwise would have taken upp a longer tyme after their comeinge thither; and whether all men would have consented to attempt their shippes in harbor, not knowinge the most parte of them to consist of merchants, I make it doubtfull. The fowerth and the fortunatest of all, was the takeinge of the flyboate by the John and Francis, which the Swann lett goe; for if she had reached Lishbone, she had bene able to make reporte of the number and greatnes of our shippes, and might have endangered the quantity of our men, she seeinge the course we bore, and that wee had passed Lishbone, which the enemy most suspected, and made his greatest preparacion for defence; and beinge out of that doubt he had noe place to feare, but Andolozia and Cadiz above the rest; soe that haveinge had the least warninge, the towne might have bene strengthened, and have put us unto great hazard. He might as well have secured his shippes by toweinge them out with gallies, and howsoever the winde had bene have sent them into the straytes, where it had been in vaine to have pursued them, or over the barr of Saint Lucas, where it had bene in vaine to have attempted them.

Wee, haveinge the experience of the good and ill intelligence of an enemy, of

the good in 1588, howe suddenly wee had been tooke and surprized when wee least suspected, had it not bene for Captaine Fleming: Of the ill in the yeare before, by the Spaniards takinge a barque of Sir Francis Drake's fleete, which was the occasion of the overthrowe of himselfe and his action.

The 20th of June wee came to Cadiz, earlier in the morning then the masters made reckoning of. Before our comeinge thither, it was determined by Councell, that wee should land at Saint Sebastians, the westernmost part of the land, and thither came all the shippes to an anchor, every man preparinge to land as he was formerly directed; but the winde beinge soe great, and the sea so growne, and four gallies lyeinge to intercept our boats, as there was noe attemptinge landinge without the losse of all.

This daye spent in vaine, in returning messengers from one Generall to another, and in the end they were forcete to resolve upon a course, which Sir William Monson, captaine under my Lord of Essex, advised him to the same morninge he discovered the towne, which was to surprize the shippes, and to be possessors of the harbor, before they attempted landinge.

This course being now resolved upon, there arose great question who should have the honor of the first goeing in; my Lord of Essex stood for himselfe; my Lord Admirall impugned it, knoweing his miscarryinge might hazard the overthrowe of the action; besides he was straightly charged by her Majestie that the Earle should not expose himselfe to danger, but out of necessitie.

When my Lord of Essex could not prevaile, the whole Councell withstandinge him, hee sent Sir William Monson that night on boarde my Lord Admirall, to resolve what shippes should be appointed the next daie to undertake the service. Sir Walter Rawleigh had the vanward given him, which my Lord Thomas hearinge, challenged it by right of his place of Vice-Admirall, and was graunted him. But Sir Walter, haveinge order over night to plye in, came first to an anchor, but in that distance from the Spaniards as he could not annoye them, himselfe returned on boarde, the Lord Generall Essex excusinge his cominge to anchor soe farr off, for want of water to goe higher; which was thought strange that the Spaniards which drewe much more water and had noe more advantage then hee of tyde, could passe where his shippe could not. Sir Francis Veare, in the Raynebowe, was appointed to second him, who passinge by Sir Walter Rawleigh his shipp, the second tyme he waighed and went higher. The Lord Generall Essex, who promised to keepe in the midst of the fleete, was tould by Sir William Monson, that the greatest service would depend upon three or fower shippes, and put him in minde of his honor, for that many eyes beheld him.

This made him forgetfull of his promise, and to use all meanes he could to be formost in the fight. My Lord Thomas Howard, who could not be suffered to goe up in his owne shipp, the Meere-Honor, betooke himselfe to the Nonparill; and, in respect the Raynebowe, the Repulse, and Warrspight had taken up the best of the channell, by their first comeinge to an anchor, to his grieve he could not gett higher. Heere did every shipp strive to be the headmost, but such was the narrownesse of the channell, as neither the Lord Admirall nor any other shippe of the Queenes could passe one by another. There was commaundment given, that noe shippe should shoote but the Queenes, makeinge account that the honor was the greater that was obtainned with soe fewe. This fight continued from ten till fower in the afternoone. The Spaniards then sett sayle, thinkinge either to runn higher the river, or els to bringe the other broadeside unto us, because of the heate of their ordnance; but howsoever it was, in their floatinge they came aground, and the men began to forsake their shippes; whereupon there was commaundment given, that all hoyes and vessells that drewe least water to goe unto them. Sir William Monson was sent in the Repulse his boate, with like directions. They possest the great gallions, the Mathewe and Andrew, but the Phillippe and Thomas fired themselves, before they could be quenched.

I must not forgett to describe the manner of the Spanishe shippes and gallies rideinge in harbor at our first comeinge to Caliz. The fower gallies singled themselves from out the fleete, as guardes of their merchants. The gallies were placed to flanke us with pouse at our entrie; but when they sawe our approche, the next morninge the merchants rann upp the river, the men of warr of Port Royall, to the point of the river; and brought themselves into a good order of fight, moveinge their shippes a-head and a-sterne to have their broadeside upon us. The gallies betooke themselves to the garde of the towne, which wee put them from, before wee attempted the shippes.

The Victory beinge thus obtainned at sea; the Lord Generall Essex landed his men in a sandie bay, which the castle of Poyntull commaunded, but they, seeinge the successe of their shippes, and mistrustinge their owne strength, neither offered to offend his landinge, nor defend the castle, but quitted it; and soe wee became possessors of it.

After my lordes peaceable landinge, hee considered what was to be done; and, whereas there was noe place the enemye could annoy us but by the bridge of Swasoe, which goeth over from the maine land to the Island, and that by makeinge good the bridge the gallies could not escape us, he sent three regiments, namely, Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Christopher Blunt, and Sir Thomas Garrett, to the bridge.

Att theire first comeinge they were encountered, but possest themselves of it, with the losse of some men ; but whether it was for the want of victuals or other reasons they acquitted it I knowe not, and the gallies, breakinge downe divers arches, past and by that meanes escaped.

My lord dispatched an other messenger to my Lord Admirall, entreatinge him to give order to attempt the merchants that rode in Port Royall, for that it was daungerous to geive them a night's respite, least they should convey away their wealth, or take example by the Phillipp and Thomas to burne themselves. This messuage was delivered by Sir Anthony Aishley and Sir William Monson, even as my Lord Admirall was in his boate, ready with his troupes of seamen to land, and, fearinge the Lord Generall Essex should be put to distresse with his smale companies, which were but three regiments, hastened by all meanes to second him, and gave order to certaine shippes the next day to pursue them.

Seeinge I have undertooke, to except against the escapes committed in any of our English voyages, without feare or flattery, they shall appeare to the judicious reader.

Though the Earle of Essex his forwardnesse and carriage merited much, yet if it had bene with more advisement, and lesse haste, it would have succeeded better. If he were now livinge he would confesse Sir William Monson advised him rather to seeke to be master of the shippes then of the towne ; for it was they that afforded both wealth and honor : for the riches in the shippes could not be concealed nor conveyed as in townes it might. Shippes beinge brought for England were alwaies in the eye of them that beheld them, and puts them in remembrance of the exploit : as the towne perhappes was soone wonne, not longe enjoyed, so it would be quickly forgott. And to speake indifferently, his suddaine landinge without the Lord Admirall's privitie, and his givinge advice by a messuage to attempt the shippes, which should have bene by a mature determinacion, noe doubt but the Lord Admirall did finde his honor a little eclipsed, and perhappes did hasten his landinge for his reputacion, when he thought it more reason to have possest the fleete.

Before the Lord Admirall could drawe neare the towne, the Earle of Essex had entered it, and, although theire howses were built in that manner as that every house served for a platforme, yet they were foret to quitt them, and to retire into the Castle.

My lord at last, in despite of the enemie, gained the market place, where he found greatest resistance from the howses thereabouts, and heere it was that that worthie gentleman Sir John Wingfeild was unluckely slaine. The Lord Generall Essex caused the drum to sound through the towne, that all those that would yeild should repaire to the towne-house, where they should have promise of mercie, and

those that would not, to expect noe favour. The Castle desired respite to consider untill the morninge followeing, and then by one generall consent they surrendered themselves to the two Lord Generalles mercies. The cheife prisoners, men and woemen, were brought into the castle, where they remayned a little space, and were sent awaie with honorable usage. The noble treatinge of the prisoners hath gayned an everlastinge honor unto our nation, and to the Generalles in particuler every one.

It may be supposed the Lord Generalles had leasure to be idle the daie followinge, haveinge soe great busines to consider of as the securinge the towne and enjoyninge the merchants shippes, and for the speedier dispatch of their busines they had speeche with the best men of the Citie what ransome would be given for their towne and libertie; 120,000 ducketts was concluded upon, and for securitie thereof many of themselves became hostiged. There was likewise an overture for the ransome of their shippes and goods, which the Duke of Medena hearinge, rather then we should reape commoditie by them, hee caused them to be fired.

We found by experience that the destroyinge of this fleete (which did amounte to the valewe of six or seaven millions) was the generall impoverishinge of the whole countrey, for when the pledges sent to Civill to take upp money for their redempcion, they were answered, that all that towne was not able to raise such a somme, their losse was soe great by the losse of their fleete. And to speake indifferently, Spaine never received so great an overthrowe, soe great a spoile, soe great an indignitie at our hands as this, for our attempt was at his owne home, in his port that he thought soe safe as his chamber, where wee tooke and destroyed his shippes of warr, burnt and consumed the wealth of his merchants, sackt his city, ransomed his subjects, and entered his country without impeachment.

To write all accidents of this journey were too tedious, and would weary the reader, but he that would be desirous to knowe the behaviour of the Spaniards, as well as of us, he may conferr with divers Englishmen that were redeemed out of the gallies, for ransome of others, and brought into England.

After wee had enjoyed the towne of Cadiz a fortnight, and that all men grewe riche by the spoyle of it, the generalles imbarcked their armie, with an intent to performe greater services before their returne: but such was the covetousnes of the better sort that grewe riche, and the feare and hunger in others that complained of victualls, as they would not willingly be drawne to any action to gaine more reputacion. The only thinge that was after attempted was Pharoah, a towne of Algarola in Portugall, a place of noe resistance or wealth, only famous by the library of Osorius, who was bishop of that place, which library was brought into

England by us, and many of the books bestowed upon the newe erected library of Oxford.

Some prisoners were taken, but of smale account. They discovered the greatest strength of the countrie to be in Lawguste, the chiefe towne of Algarola, twelve miles distant from thence. They commended that place for strength, and the rather because most part of the gentlemen thereabouts were gone thither to make it good, expectinge our comeinge. This newes was acceptable to my Lord of Essex, who preferred honor before wealth; haveinge had his will and spoyle of the towne of Pharoah and countrie thereabouts, aboarde shipp he went with his armie, and counsell of the Lord Admirall howe to proceede after. My Lord Admirall diverted his purpose for Lawgust, alleadginge the place was stronge, of noe wealth, alwaies holden in the nature of a fisher towne, belonginge to Portugalls, who in theire harts were our friends; that the winninge of it after soe eminent place as Cadiz could add noe honor; and if it should be carried, it would be the losse of his best troupes and gentlemen, who would rather desire to dye then to receive the indignitie. My Lord of Essex, much againste his will, was foret to yield to theise reasons, and desist from that enterprise.

About this tyme, there was a generall complaint for want of victualls, which proceeded rather out of a desire that some had to be at home then out of necessitie; for Sir William Monson and Mr. Dorrell were appointed to examine the estate of every shippe, and found seaven weeks victualls, drinke excepted, which might have bene supplied from the shore in water, and this put the Generalls in great hopes to performe some thinge more then they had done. The only service that was nowe to be thought on was lyeinge for the carricks, which by all possibilitie could not escape, though there were many doubts to the contrary, but easily answered by men of experience, but in truth some mens desire homeward was soe much as reason could not prevaile nor perswade with them.

Comeinge into the height of the rocke, the Generalls tooke counsell once again, and this the Earle of Essex and the Lord Thomas only offered, and that with great earnestnes, to staie forth the tyme of theire victualls, and to have but twelve shippes furnished out of the rest to staie with them; but this could not be granted. The squadron of the Hollanders offered voluntarie to staie. Sir Walter Rawleigh alleadged the scarcitie of victualls, and the infection of his men; my Lord Generall Essex offered, in the greatnes of his minde and the desire to staie, to supplie her want of men and victualls, and to exchange shippes, but all propositions were in vaine, for the riches kept them that gott much from attempting more, as if it had bene poore^a wante, though not honor, would have enforced them to greater enterprises.

^a Pure.

This being the last of all hopes of the voyage, and being generally resisted, it was concluded to steare awaie with the North Cape, after to viewe and search the harbor of the Groyne and Ferroll; and if anie of the kinges shippes of Spaine chance to be there, to geive an attempt upon them.

The Lord Admirall sent a carvell of our fleete into those two harbors, and apparalled the men in Spanish cloathes to avoid suspicion; this carvell returned the next day with a true relacion that there were noe shippes in the harbours; and nowe passinge all places of hope of doeing good, our returne for England was resolved upon, and the 8th of August the Lord Admirall arrived at Plymouthe, with the greatest part of the armie; the Lord Generall Essex, two daies after, who staid to accompanie the Saint Andrewe, he undertooke the charge of her, and was reputed of his squadron. The 10th of August he came to Plymouth, where he found the armie in that perfect healthe as the like hath not bene seene, soe many to goe out of England to prevaile in so great enterprises, and soe well to returne home againe.

He himselfe ridd upp to the Court to advise with her Majestie of the wyning of Cadiz, which the Spaniards tooke the Easter before. Heere was a good opportunitie to have enjoyed the auncient patrimonie of England; but the Kinge of France withstood it, thinkinge with more ease to regaine it from the Spaniard that was his enemie, then recover it from us that were his friends.

My Lord Admirall, with the fleete, went to the Downes, where he landed and left the charge of the navie to Sir Robert Dudley and Sir William Monson. In goinge from thence to Chattam they endured more fowle weather and contrary windes, then in the whole voyage besides.

A Voyage to the Islands, the Earle of Essex, general, 1597 :—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Meares Honor; after in the Repulse .	The Earle of Essex; Captain under him, Sir Robert Mansfeild
The Lyon	The Lord Thomas Howard
The Warrspight	Sir Walter Rawleigh
The Garland	The Earle of Southampton
The Defiance	The Lord Mountjoy
The Mary Rose	Sir Francis Veare
The Hope	Sir Richard Lewson
The Mathewe	Sir George Carewe
The Rainebowe	Sir William Monson
The Bonaventer	Sir William Harvey
The Dreadnought	Sir William Brooke

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Swiftsauer	Sir Gilly Mericke
The Antilopp	Sir John Gilbert (He went not.)
The Nonparill	Sir Thomas Vavasor
The Saint Andrewe	Captain Throgmorton.

Her Majestie haveinge knowledge of the Kinge of Spaines draweing downe his fleete and armie to the Groyne and Ferroll, which intended some action against her, and that, notwithstandinge the losse of thirty-six saile of his shippes that were cast away upon the North Cape in their comeinge thither, he prepared, with all possible meanes, to revenge the disgraces we did him the yeare paste at Cadiz; her Maiestie likewise prepared to defend herselfe, and fitted the moste parte of her shippes readie for the sea, but perceivinge his drift was more to feare her then offend her, though he gave it out otherwise, because she should provide to resist him at home, rather then to annoy him abroade, which the queenes Maiestie perceivinge, and what charge she was driven unto, she augmented her charge, and converted her preparations.

The project of this voyage was to assault the King of Spaines shippinge in the harbour Ferroll, which was the thinge the queene chiefly desired for her owne security at home; after to goe to the Islands of Tercera, to take it and keepe it, there to expect the comeinge home of the Indie fleete; but indeed nether of the two designes tooke that effecte that was expected; for, in our settinge forth, the same daie wee put to sea wee were taken with a most violent storme and contrarie windes, that the Generall was separated from the fleete, and one shippe from an other, that of force the one halfe were compelled to returne home: the rest that kept the sea, haveinge seized the coast of Spaine, were comaunded home by order from the Lord Generall.

Thus after their returne they were to advise upon a newe journey: findinge their shippes and victualls unable to performe their former designe, it was thought most convenient the armie should be discharged, for the prolonginge of victualls for the rest, except a thousand of the prime souldiers of the Lowe Countries, which were staid principallie to put into her Majesties shippes if they should chance encounter the Spanish fleete. Thus the second tyme they departed England, though not without some daunger of the shippes, winter approcheing, which in their returne they were sure to finde.

The first land in Spaine wee fell withall was the North Cape, the place whether our directions ledd us, if wee happened to loose companie. Beinge heere descried from the shore, and not above twelve leagues from the Groyne, where the Spanish

Armado laie, wee were in good hope to have inticed them out of the harbor to fight with us; but spendinge sometime thereabouts, and findinge noe such disposition in them, it was thought fitt noe longer to linger upon that coast, and loose greater opportunities upon the Indie fleete; therefore every captaine received his direction to stand his course into thirty-six degrees, there to spread ourselves north and south, a hight that commonlie the Spaniards saile in from the Indies.

At this tyme the Lord Generall complayned of a leake in his shippe, and two daies after, towards night, he brought himselfe upon the ley to stopp it. Sir Walter Rawleigh, and some other shippes, beinge ahead the fleete, and it groweing darke, could not discerne the lord generall's workeinge, but stood theire course directed before, and through this unadvised workeinge of my lord, they lost him and his fleete.

The day followeing, Sir Walter Rawleigh was informed by a pinnace he mett, that the great Armado, which wee supposed to be in the Groyne and Ferroll, was gone to the Islands for the garde of the Indie fleete. This pinnace, with this intelligence, Sir Walter Rawleigh immediately sent to looke out the Generall. My lord had noe sooner received this intelligence, but at the verie instant he directed his course to the islands, and dispatched some smale vessells to Sir Walter Rawleigh to informe him of his sudden alteration upon the newes received from him, commanding him with all expedition to repaire unto Flores, where he would not faile to be. At our arrivall at the islands, we found this intelligence moste false, for nether the king's shippes were there nor expected. Wee met with divers Englishmen that came out of the Indies, but they could give us noe assurance of the comeinge home of the fleete, nether could wee receive any advertisement from the shore, which made us halfe in despaire with them.

By that tyme wee had watered our shippes and refreshed ourselves at Flores, Sir Walter Rawleigh arrived there, who was willed by the Lord Generall (after he was furnished of such wants as that poore island doth afford) to make his repaire to the island of Fyall, which my lord intended to take. Heere grewe great question and hart burninge against Sir Walter Rawleigh, for that he comeinge to Fyall, and missinge the lord generall, but knoweing my lord's resolution to take the island, he held it more discreacion to land with those forces he had then to expect the comeinge of my lord, for in that space the island might be better provided; whereupon he landed and tooke it before my lord's approache. This act was held such an indignitie to my lord, and urged with that vehemencie by those that hated Sir Walter, that if my lord, who by nature was timerous and flexible, had not feared howe it would have bene taken in England, I thinke Sir Walter had smarted for it.

From this island we went to Graciosa, which did willingly releive our wants, as it could affoarde, with humble intreatie to forbear landinge with our armie, especiallie because they understood there was a squadron of Hollanders amongst them who did not use to forbear crueltie where ever they came; and heere it was that wee mett the Indie fleete, which, in manner followinge, unluckely escaped.

The Lord Generall haveinge some men of good account in the island to see there should be noe evill measure offered the Portugalls, passinge his word to the contrarie, those men advertised him of four saile of shippes descried from the shore, and one of them shewinge greater than the reste seemed to be a carricke. My Lord received great joy upon this newes, and devided his fleete into three squadrons, to be commanded by himselfe, the Lord Thomas Howard, and Sir Walter Rawleigh. The next shipp to my lord of the queenes was the Raynebowe, wherein Sir William Monson went, who received direccion from my lord to steare awaie south that night, and if he should meete with any fleete to followe them, carryinge lights, shootinge of his ordinance, or any other signe that he could make; and if he mett with noe shippes to direct his course the next day to the Island of Saint Michael's, but promising that night to send twelve shippes after him. Sir William besought my lord, by the pinnace that brought him this direction, that above all things he should have a care to dispatch a squadron to the roade of Augra, in the Tercera, for it was certaine, if they were Spaniards, thither they would resorte.

Whilst my lord was thus contrivinge his busines and orderinge his squadrons, a smale barque of his fleete happened to come unto him, who assured him that those shippes discovered from the land were of his fleete, for that they came in immediately from them. This made my lord countermand his former direction, only Sir William Monson, which was the next shippe unto him, and received the first commaund, could not be recalled back. Within three howres after his departure from my lord, and which might be about twelve of the clock, he fell in companie of a fleete of twenty-five sayle, which at the first he could not assure himselfe to be Spaniards, because the daie before that number of shippes was missinge from our fleete. Heere he was in a dilemma and great perplexitie with himselfe, for in makinge signes as hee was directed, if the shippes proved English it were ridiculous, and he might be held a scorner, and to respite untill morninge were as dangerous if they were the India fleete, for then my lord might be out of view or of the hearinge his ordinance; therefore he resolved rather to put his person than shippe in perill; he commanded his master to keep his weather gage of the fleete whatsoever should become of him, and it blew little wind, he betooke himselfe into his boate, and rowed up with the fleete, demaunding of whence they were; they

answered, of Civill in Spaine, and requiring of whence he was; he told them of England, and that the shippe in sight was a gallion of the queenes of England single and alone, alleadginge the honor to winn her, urginge them with daringe speeches to chase her, his drift beinge to drawe and intice them into the wake of our fleete, where they would be soe intangled as they could not escape. They returned him soone shotte and ill language, but would not alter theire course from the Terceras, whether they were bound, and where they arrived to our misfortune. Sir William Monson returned aborde shipp, makeing signes with lights, and reporte with his ordinance, but all in vaine, for my lord, alteringe his course as you have heard, stood that night to Saint Michael's, and passed by the north side of Tercera, a further waie then if he had gone by the waie of Augra, where he had mett the Indie fleete.

When daie appeared, and that Sir William Monson was in hope to finde the twelve shippes promised to be sent with him, he might onlie discerne the Spanish fleete two miles and a little more ahead him, and astearne him a gallion, and a pinnace betwixt them, which puttinge forth theire flaggs he knewe to be the Earle of Southampton in the Garland. The pinnace was a friggett of the fleete, who tooke the Garland and the Raynebowe to be gallions of theires, but seeinge the flagg of the Garland she found her error, and sprange a loofe, thinkinge to escape; but the earle pursued her with the losse of some time hee should have followed the fleete, beinge desired to desist from that chace by Sir William Monson, who sent his boate unto him; but by a shott from my lord this frigott was suncke, and whilst his men were rifling her Sir Francis Vere and Sir William Brooke came upp in theire two shippes, who the Spaniards made us believe were two gallions of theires, and soe much did my lord certifie; Sir William Monson wishinge him to staie their comeinge upp, for that there would be greater hope of them two shippes (which noe doubt but wee were able to over master) then of the fleete, for which wee were too weake.

But after Sir William had made the two shippes to be the Queenes, which he ever suspected, he began to pursue the Spanish fleete afresh, but by reason they were so farr a head him, and had soe little waie to saile, they recovered the roade of Tercera, which he and the rest of the shippes pursued, himselfe leadinge the waie into the harbour, where he found sharpe resistance from the castle; but wee soe battered the shippes that we might see the mast shott by the board of some, the men quitt the shippes, that there wanted nothinge but a gale of winde to cutt the cable of the house and to bring them off. He sent to the other three great shippes of ours to desire them to attempt the cuttinge theire cables; but Sir Francis Vere

rather wished his comeinge off, that they might take a resolution what to doe. This must be rather imputed for want of experience then backwardnes in him; for Sir William sent him word, if he quitted the harbour, the shippes would towne neere the Castle, and as the night drewe on the winde would freshen and come more off the land, which indeede was soe, and we above a league from the roade in the morninge.

Wee may saye that truly there was never the possibilitie to undoe that state of Spaine as nowe, for every ryall of plate wee had taken in this fleete had bene two to them by convertinge it by warr upon them.

Noe man can receive blame heereby, but the want of experience in my Lord, his flexible nature to be overruled; for the first howre he anchored at Flores and called a councell, Sir William Monson advised him, and upon the reasons followeing after his watering, to runn west, spreadinge his fleete north and south, soe farr as the easterne winde that then blewe would carry them, alleadinge if the Indie fleete came home that yeare by computation of the last light moone disimbogueing in the Indies, they could not be above two hundred leagues short of that island, and whensoever the winde should chopp upp westernly in fewe daies (he bearinge a slacke saile) they would overtake him if they were for to come home.

This advice he seemed to take, but he was diverted by divers gentlemen, whose comeinge was principally for land service, and found themselves tyred by the tediousness of the sea. It is certaine, if my lorde had followed his advice, within lesse than fortie howres he had made the queene owner of that fleete; for by the pylots carde, which was taken in the frigott, the Spanishe fleete was but fifty leagues in traverse with that eastern winde when my lord was att Flores, which made my lord wishe the first tyme Sir William Monson repaired unto him after the escape of the fleete, that hee had given his hand he had bene ruled by him.

Beinge mett aboard Sir Francis Veare as you have heard, he desired to consult what to doe. We resolved to acquaint my lord with what had happened, desiringe his presence to be an eye witness if there were anie possibilitie to attempt the shippinge, or to surprise the island and possesse the treasure.

My lord received this advertisement even as he was readie with his troupes to have landed in Saint Michael; but this messuage diverted his landinge, and made him presentlie cast about for the islands of the Terceras, where wee laie all this while expectinge his comeinge. In his course from Saint Michael's it was his happ to take three shippes that departed the Havana the daie after the fleete, which three shippes did more then countervaille the expence of the whole journey.

At my lord's meetinge with us at Tercera there was a consultacion howe the

shippes might be fetched off or destroyed as they laie. All men with one consent delivered the impossibility of it. The attempting the islands was propounded, but withstood with these reasons: the difficultie in landinge, the strength of the island, which was increased by 14 or 15 C. souldiers in the shippes, and the want of victuals in us to abide the seidge. Seeinge we were frustrate of any hope at the Tercera, we resolved of a landinge in Saint Michaelles, and arrived in Punta delgada, the cheife city, the daie followeing. Heere my lord imbarqued his smale armie in boats, with offer to land, and, haveinge drawne theire greatest forces thither to resist him, suddenly he rowed to Villa Frank, three or four leagues distant from thence, which he took, not being instructed by the enemye. The shippes had order to abide in the roade of Delgada, for that my lord made account to marche thither by land; but being ashore at Villa Franke, and the marche impossible, as he was told, by reason of the high and craggie mountaines, diverted his purpose.

Victualls grewe short in many places, and my Lord Generall began discretelie to foresee the daunger in abidinge upon these coasts towards winter, that could not afford him an harbour; only open roades that were subject to southerne windes, and upon every such winde he must put to sea for his safetie; and if this should happen when his troupes were on shore, and he not able to seize the land in a fortnight or more, which is a thing ordinary, what a desperate case he should put himselfe unto for want of victualls; and, waighinge withall that he had seene the end of all his hopes by the escape of his fleete, he imbarqued himselfe and armie, though with some difficultie, the seas were soe growne.

By this tyme the one halfe of the fleete that ridd in Punta delgada put roome for Villa Franke. Those that remayned behinde were imagined by a shipp of Brazell to be the Spanishe fleete, who came in amongst them, and was thus betrayed. After her there followed a carrecke, who had been served in the like manner, but for the hastie and indiscrete weyinge of a Hollander, that made her run ashoare under the Castle. When the winde lessened, Sir William Monson weyed with the Raynebowe, thinkinge to give an attempte upon her notwithstanding the Castle, which she perceivinge, as he drewe neere unto her, she sett herselfe on fire, and burned downe to the very keele: she was a shipp of 1400 tunns in burden, that the yeare before was not able to double the Cape of Bona Esperansa in her voyage to the East Indies, but put into Brazill, where she was laden with sugars, and thus destroyed. The Spaniards presuminge more upon theire advantages then valours, thought too weake a condition to followe us to the island, and put theire fortunes upon a daies service, they rather devised subtilelie to intercept us, as wee should come home, when we had least thought or suspicion of them, and the fleete that was all this while in the

Groyne and Ferroll, not dareinge to put forth whilst they knewe ours to be upon the coast, againste the tyme wee should returne, theire Generall the Adalantada came for England, with a resolucion to land at Fawmouth to fortifie it, and after with their shippes to keepe the sea, expectinge our comeinge home scattered.

Haveinge thus cut off our sea forces, and possessinge the harbour of Famouth, with a second supplie of thirty-seven Levantiscos shippes the Marquesse Armubullo commanded, they hoped to have a good footing in England.

These designes of theirs were not foreseene by us, for wee came home scattered as they made reckoninge, not twenty in number together.

Wee may saie, and that truly, that God fought for us; for the Adalantada, beinge within fewe leagues of the Island of Cilley, had commaunded all his captaines to boarde him to receive their directions; and whilst they were busie in consultation a most violent storme tooke them at easte, insomuch that the captaines could hardly recover their shippes, but in noe case were able to save their boates, the storme continued soe forceable, and happie was he that could recover home. Seeinge themselves lost and their actions overthrowne by losse of their boats, their meanes of landinge beinge taken awaie, some that were more willinge to receive the directions of the generall then the rest, kepte the seas so longe and upon our coast, that in the end they were taken; others put themselves into our harbours for refuge and succor; and it is certainly knowne that in this journey the Spaniards lost eighteen shippes, the Saint Luke and the Saint Bartholomewe beinge two, and in the ranke of his beste gallions.

Wee must ascribe this victory onlie to God; for certainelie the enemies designes were perillous, and not diverted by our force, but by His will, who from tyme to tyme would not suffer the Spaniards in any of their attempts to sett footing in England, as wee have done in all the quarters of Spaine, Portugall, the Islands, and bothe the Indies.

The Lord Thomas Howard, Admirall to the Downes, from whence he returned in one moneth. A° 1599:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Elizabeth Jonas	The Lord Thomas Howard
The Arke Royall	Sir Walter Rawleigh
The Triumph	Sir Fulke Greville
The Meare-Honor	Sir Henry Palmer
The Repulse	Sir Thomas Vavasor
The Garland	Sir William Harvie
The Defiance	Sir William Monson

Principal Naval Engagements of

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Nonparill	Sir Robert Crosse
The Lyon	Sir Richard Lewson
The Rainebowe	Sir Alexander Clifford
The Hope	Sir John Gilbert
The Foresight	Sir Thomas Sherley
The Mary Rose	Mr. Fortescue
The Bonaventer	Captain Thoughton
The Crane	Captain Jonas
The Swiftsuer	Captain Bradgate
The Trimontarie	Captain Slingsbie
The Advantage	Captain Hoer
The Quittance	Captain Reynaldes.

I cannot write of anie thinge done this yeare of 1599, though there was never greater expectations of warrs with less performance ; for whether it was a mistrust one nation had of another, or a policie held on both sides to make peace with sworde in the hand, a treatie beinge entertained by consent of eache prince, I am not to examine ; but sure I am, the preparation was great on both sides, the one expectinge an invasion from the other, and yet it was generally conceived not to be intended by either, but that it had only relation to my Lord of Essex, who was then in Ireland, but had a designe to trie his friends in England to be revenged of his enemies as he pretended, and as it proved after by his fall. Howsoever it was, the charge was not great, yet necessary ; for it was commonly knowne the Adalantada had drawne both shippes and gallies to the Groyne, which was not usually done, but upon some intended action for England or Ireland, though he converted them after to an other use, as you shall heare.

The gallies were sent into the Lowe Countries, and past the narrowe seas whilst our shippes laye there, and with the fleete he pursued the Hollanders to the Islands, whom he suspected were gone thither. This fleete of Hollanders, which consisted of seventy-three sayle, were the first shippes that ever displayed their coulors in warlike sorte against the Spaniards in anie action of their owne ; for howe cruell soever the warr seemed to be in Holland, they mayntayned a peaceable trade in Spaine, and abused us. And as this was the first action of the Hollanders, soe it did not succcede to the best for them ; for after their spoile in a towne in Canaria, and some hurt done at the Island of Saint Ome, they kept the sea for some seven or eight monthes, in which tyme their generall and most of their men died with sicknes ; the rest returned with losse and shame. The second benefitt wee received by this preparation was, that our men were nowe taught suddenly to arme ;

every man knoweth his commaund and how to be commaunded, as before they were ignorant: and who knowes not that suddaine and false alarmes in the armie are sometymes very necessarie.

This expedicion in drawinge together soe great an armie by land, and rigginge her royall navie to sea in soe little space, is soe admirable in other countries, that they received a terror by it; and many that come from beyond sea saie, she was never more dreaded for any thinge then for it.

Frenchmen that came aboard our shippes did wonder as a thinge uncredible that her Maiestie had rigged, victualled, and furnished her royall shippes to sea in twelve daies. Spain, as an enemy, had reason to feare and greive: first, for seeinge this sudden preparation: secondly, when they shall understand the harts of her Majesties subjects joyned with their hands—for with one consent they were readie to spend their dearest blood for her and her service—Holland might see that if they became insolent wee would be as soone provided for them as they for themselves; which celerity they did hardly believe to find in any nation but themselves.

It is probable that the Kinge of Spaine and the Archduke were drawne by this to entertaine a speeche of peace; for, as soone as our fleete was at sea, a gentleman was sent from Bruxells with an overture of peace; although for that tyme it succeeded not; whether it was that the intended invasion from Spaine was diverted, or that her Maiestie was fullie satisfied of my Lord of Essex, I know not; but it is very like by the sudden returne of the shippes from sea, after they had lyen three weekes or a monthe at the Downes.

Sir Richard Lewson to the Islandes. Anno 1600:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Repulse	Sir Richard Lewson
The Warspight	Captain Throughton
The Vauntguard	Captain Sommers.

The last yeare, as you have heard, put all men in expectation of warr, which came to nothinge. This sommer gave us greate hope of peace, but with the like effect, for, by consent of the Queene, the Kinge of Spaine, and the Archduke, their commissioners mett at Bullinge in Picardie to treat of a peace, a place chosen indifferentlie, the Kinge of France beinge in league and friendship with them all. Whether their meetinge was but a shewe, as being out of hope to effecte a peace, or that their severinge after they met was upon advised and true ground, I knowe

not; but methinks the occasion was but very slender that parted them, for there grewe a difference of precedencie betwixt the two nations that was ever due to England, and soe that happie busines was made frustrate, which, once more I saie, if it had bene reallie intended that might easily have been accommodated.

The Queene suspectinge the evente hereof before their meetinge, and the rather because the Spaniard entertained her with the like treatie in 1588, at the same instant his navie appeared upon her coast to invade her; and least the Queene should be blamed or condemned by other princes of too great securitie, in relyeing upon the successe of this doubtfull peace, she furnished the three shippes before named, but in shewe to garde the westerne coast, which at that tyme was infested with Dunkerkers.

And because there should be the lesse notice taken of this fleete, parte of the victualls was provided at Plymouth, and Sir Richard Lewson, who was then admirall of the narrowe seas, appointed Generall for the secret and provident carriage of these shippes. It could not be conjectured either by their victuallinge, by the meane condicion of their captaine, or by the admirall of the narrow seas, that it was a service from home. As they were in a readines att Plymouth expectinge their directions, the Queene was fully resolved that the treatie of Bulloigne would breake without the effect of peace. She commaunded Sir Richard Lewson to hasten to the Islands, to expecte the carricks and Mexico fleete. The Spaniards, on the other side, beinge as circumspect to prevent a mischeife as we were subtile to contrive it, and trustinge as wee did that the peace would prove a vaine hopelesse shewe of what was never meant, they furnished eighteen tall shippes to the Islands, as they did usually doe since the yeare 1591, as you have heard. The generall of this fleete was Don Diego de Borachero.

Our shippes comeinge to the Islands, they and the Spaniards had intelligence of one another, but not the sight, for that Sir Richard Lewson hayled sixty leagues westward, not only to avoid them, but in hope to meete with the carrickes and Mexico fleete before their joyninge. But the carricks beinge formerly warned by the takeinge one of them, and the burninge another in 1591, I knowe not whether to impute it to deteccions or to their providence; but it is most certaine, that since that yeare they shunned the sight of that island, and by consequence the fleete that lay to waste them. Our fleete beinge thus prevented, as they had often bene, whereby the uncertaintie of sea actions may be discerned, where shippes are to meete one another casuallly, they haveinge consumed their tyme and victualls, and seene not so much as one sayle from the tyme they quitted the coaste of England untill their returne, two shippes of Holland excepted that came from the East

Indies, for they began their trade thither, which shippes Sir Richard Lewson relieved, findinge them in great distresse and wante.

Sir Richard Lewson in Ireland. Anno 1601:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Warrspight	Sir Richard Lewson
The Garland	Sir Amyas Preston
The Defiance	Captain Goer
The Swiftsuer	Captain Sommers
The Crane	Captain Mainwairinge

In the yeare 1600, and part of the yeare 1601, there was a kinde of cessation from armes, though not by agreement, for this yeare gave a hope of peace, which failing, the former course of annoyinge each other was revived; wee in relievinge the Lowe Countries, the Spaniards in assistinge the rebells in Ireland. This was the sommer that the Archduke besiedged Ostend, which was bravely defended, but principallie by the supplies out of England. Towardes winter, when the Spaniards thought wee least looked for warr, Don Diego de Borachero, with 48 sayle of shippes, and 4000 soldiers, were sent to invade Ireland.

In his waie he lost the companie of his Vice Admirall Siriago, who returned to the Groyne; which when the kinge heard, hee was much distasted with Siriago, and commaunded him upon his alleagiance to hasten with all speede for Ireland, as he was formerly directed. Don Diego his landinge beinge knowne in England, and too late to prevent it, yet least he should be supplied with further forces, Sir Richard valiently entered the harbour, drewe neere their fortifications, and ceased not fightinge the space of one whole daie, his shippe beinge an hundred tymes shott through, and but eight men slaine. God soe blest him that he prevailed in his enterprise, destroyed their whole shippinge, and made Siriago flye by land into another harbour, where he obscurely imbarqued himselfe in a French vessell for Spaine. All this while was the maine armie which landed with their generall, Don Juan de Aquila, seated in Kinsayle, expecting the ayde of Tyrone, who promised everie day to be with him. Our armie, whereof the Lord Mountjoy was Generall and Lord Deputy of Ireland, besiedged the towne, soe that he prevented their meetinge, and many skirmishes past betwixt them.

This seidge continued with great miseries to both the armies, and not without cause, consideringe the season of the yeare, and the condition of the countrie, that afforded little releife to either. Some fewe daies before Christmasse, Tyroen appeared

with his forces, which was a little hartninge to the enemie, in hope to be freed of their imprisonment, for soe may I call it, they were soe strictly beleaguered. The daie of agreement betwixt the Spaniard and Tyroen to geive battell was Christmas Eve, which daie there happened an earthquake in England: and as many times such signes betoken bonum or malum omen, this proved bonum to us, the victory beinge obtayned with soe little losse as it is almost incredible.

This was the daie of tryall, whether Ireland should continue a parcell of our crowne or noe, for if the enemie had prevailed in the battell, if mediacion had not hereafter obtayned more then force, it is to be feared Ireland would hardly bene ever recovered. The Spaniards seeinge the successe of Tyroen, and the impossibility for him to reforce his armie, and beinge as hopelesse of supplies out of Spaine, their povertie daily increasinge, they made offer of a parlie, which was graunted, and after ensued a peace, the condicions whereof are extant in print. They were furnished of shippes, and secured of their passage into Spaine, who arrivinge in English vessells, the said shippes returned backe for England.

Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson to the coast of Spaine. Anno
1602:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Repulse	Sir Richard Lewson
The Garland	Sir William Monson
The Defiance	Captain Goer
The Mary Rose	Captain Slingsby
The Warrspight	Captain Sommers
The Nonparill	Captain Reynoldes
The Dreadnought	Captain Manwayringe
The Adventure	Captain Trevor
An English Carvell	Captain Sawkell

The last Attempt of the Spaniards in Ireland awakened the Queene, who it seemeth two or three yeares together entertayned the hope of peace, in that she was spareinge in imployinge the fleets. But nowe, perceiving the enemie had found the waie into Ireland, it behooved her to be more vigilant then ever; and resolved, as a course most safe unto her, to infest the Spanish coast with a continuall fleete; and in this yeare furnished the shippes abovesaid, with promise from the State of Holland to joyne 12 sayle of theirs with hers. And because this important service did require great speede, there was not leasure to furnish them altogether soe well with men, or

other provisions, as they were usually wonte to bee, soe desirous was the Queene to see her shippes at sea.

Sir Richard Lewson sett saile to five of them shippes the 19 of March, and left Sir William Monson with the rest, which were four, to attend the comminge of the Hollanders, though within two or three daies after he receaved commaund from the Queene to hasten with all speede to Sir Richard Lewson, for that shee was advertised that the silver shippes were arrived at Terceras. Sir William Monson heereupon neglected noe tyme, either to see himself better manned, or his shippes better furnished, but put to sea the 26th of Marche.

This intelligence of the Queenes was true, for the fleete had bene at the Terceras and departed from thence, where in thiere course for Spaine Sir Richard Lewson with his fewe shippes mett them, and fought with them, but to little purpose, wantinge the rest of his fleete, and the helpe of the twelve Hollanders. Wee may very well account this not the least error or negligence that hath bene committed in our voyages; for if the Hollanders had kept touche accordinge unto promise, and the Queenes shippes fitted with care, wee had made her Majestie mistress of more treasure than anie of her progenitors ever enjoyed.

Sir Richard Lewson his fortune against the Indie fleete, notwithstandinge his renowned valour, beinge thus, and by the Hollanders' slacknes only crossed, he plyed towards the Rocke to meete Sir William Monson, as the place resolved on betwixt them. But Sir William haveinge spent fourteen daies thereabouts, and hearinge noe tydings of him, went roome to the southward Cape, where he was likewise frustrate of a most worthie hope; for, meeting with certaine Frenchmen and Scotts, at the same instant he descried three shippes of ours sent by Sir Richard to looke him. These French and Scottish shippes came from Saint Lucas, and made reporte of five gallions, readie the next tyde to sett sayle for the Indies; they likewise told of two other that departed three daies before, wherein went Don Petro de Valdes to be Governor of the Havana, that had sometimes bene prisoner in England.

These two latter shippes were mett one night by the Warspight, whereof Captain Sommers was captaine, but whether it was for the darksomnes of the night, or any other casualtie (for the sea is subject to many) I know not, but they escaped.

This newes of the five gallions, and the three shippes of the Queenes so happilie meetinge together, made Sir William direct his course into the height of the Spaniards, where they were most likely to haile in, and cominge into that height, he had sight of five shippes, which in respect of their number and course he made reckoninge to be the five gallions, and did thinke that that daie should be a full

determination and triall of the straight betwixt the English and the Spanishe shippes, their number and greatnes being equall. But their joy was soone quailed, for, comeinge up with those shippes, he found them to be English comeinge out of the straites bound home. This was noe discouragement, but that the Spaniards might be mett withall; and the next day he gave chase to one shippe alone that came out of the Indies, which he tooke, though he had bene better without her, for she brought him soe farr to leeward, that that night the gallions passed to windward, not above eight or ten leagues, by report of a English pinnace that mett them, who came into the companie of us the daie followeing. These misfortunes lightinge upon Sir Richard first, and after upon Sir William, might be sufficient reasons to discourage them; but, they knoweing the accidents of the sea, and that fortune could as well laugh as weepe, havinge good shippes under foote, their men sound and in health, and plentie of victualls, they did not doubt but that some of the wealth which the two Indies did send forth into Spaine would fall to their shares.

Upon Tuesdaie the 1st daie of June, to beginn our newe fortune with a newe monthe, Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson, who some fewe nights before had mett accidentally on the sea, were close on board the *Rocke*, where they took two shippes of the east countrie bound for Lishbone; and whilst they were romaginge these shippes, they descried a carvell from Cape Picher bearinge with them, which by the signes she made they perceived she had a desire to speake with them, which Sir Richard immediately chased, and left Sir William with the two easterlings to abide about the *Rocke* untill his returne. The carvell beinge fetcht upp made a relation of a carricke and eleven gallies to be in *Cisembre Roade*, and that she was sent by two shippes of ours, the *Nonparill* and the *Dreadnought*, which lay thereabouts, to looke out the admirall. With what joy this newes was apprehended may be imagined. Sir Richard made signes to Sir William to stand with him, and leaste the signes should not be discerned he caused the carvell to plye upp with him, wishing him to repaire to him, but before they could approache the Cape, it was in the midst of the night, and nothing chanced all that time but the passage of some shott that passed betwixt the admirall and the galleys.

Upon Wednesdaie the 2nd of June, every man looked early in the morninge what shippes of her Majesties were in sight, which were five in number; the *Warspight*, wherein Sir Richard was, for the Repulse he had sent for England some fewe daies before, by reason of a leake; the *Garland*, the *Nonparill*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Adventure*, besides the two easterlings taken the daie before. All the captaines resorted on bord the admirall to counsell, which tooke the most part of the daie; and where there was an opposition in some, who alleadged the daunger

and impossibilitie of the takeinge the carricke, beinge defended by the Castle and eleven gallies, Sir William Monson prevailed soe farr, as made them all consent to goe upon her the next daie, and concluded upon this direccion followeing: that he and Sir Richard should anchor as neere the carricke as they could; the rest to plye up and downe and not anchor. Sir William was gladd of this occasion to be revenged of them gallies, hopeinge to requite the slavery they put him unto when he was prisoner in them, and singled himselfe from the fleete a league, that the gallies might see it was in defiance to them, which the Marquesse of Saint Cruz, and Fridericke Spinola, the one generall of the Portugalls, the other of the Spanish gallies, so apprehended it, and came forth with an intent to fight with him; but beinge within shott, was diverted by one John Bedford, an Englishman, that undertooke to knowe the force of the shippe, and Sir William that commaunded her. Before I goe further, I will a little digresse and acquaint you with the situacion of the towne, and the placinge of the gallies against us. The town of Cismbre lyeth in the bottombe of a rhoade, which is a good succor for shippes with a northerly winde; it is built with free-stone, and neere the sea is erected a stronge and spacious fort, well replenished with ordnance. Above the towne, upon the topp of an hill, is seated an auncient stronge fryerie, whose scituacion maketh it impregnable, and able to commaund the towne, castle, and rhoade; close to the shoare laye the carricke, like a bulwarke to the west-side of the castle, so as it defended both her and the east parte of the towne. The eleven gallies had flancked and fortified themselves with the smale necke of a rocke on the west side of the rode, with their prores right forward to play upon us, every one carryeing a cannon in their cruzia, besides other peeces in their prores; and they were noe waie to be endaungered, till our shippes came soe nigh the towne that all these forces might plaie upon us at an instant.

The Gallies beinge placed to this great advantage, they made account (as a capitaine of one of them wee tooke confest) to have suncke our shippes of themselves without anie further helpe. Wee sawe the tents pitched, and great troupes of souldiers drawne together, which was noe lesse then the whole cuntry in armes against us; the boates past betwixt the shore and the carricke all the daie longe, which wee supposed was to unlade her, but wee found it was rather to strengthen her with men and municion. Heere appeared many difficulties very daungerous, and the hope of takeinge her little, but rather of sinckinge or burninge her, as most men did conjecture. One was the daunger of the gallies beinge flancked with the point of a rocke at our entrance, as you have heard it, beinge calme and they shootinge lowe; the other was the daunger of the winde, for if it had come from

the sea, the rhoade being open and the baye deepe, would have frustrate our attempt. Notwithstandinge these daungers, and many more apparently seene, noe man thought but that most of the carrick's ladinge was on shoare, and that they would hayle her on ground under the castle, that noe shippes of ours should bee able to fleete to her; all which objections, with many more, might be and were alleadged, but they little prevailed. Procrastination was perilous, and therefore with all expedicion they thought convenient to charge the towne, the fort, the gallies, and carricke all at one instant. They had determined if the carricke had bene on ground, or soe nigh the shore that the Queenes shippes could not fleete to her, that the two easterlinges the daie before taken should board her and burne her.

Thursdaie the third daie, earlie in the morninge, every man commendinge and committinge himselfe to God's tuicion and proteccion, expected when to begin accordinge to the agreement the daie before. A gale of winde happeninge about tenn of the clocke, the admirall weighed, shott off a warninge peece, and put forth his flagge in the maine topp. The vice-admirall did the like in his foretopp, accordinge to the custome of the sea, every captaine encourageing his men, which did so embolden them as, though they were growne weake and feeble before, they were nowe revived, and bestirred themselves as if a newe spirit had bene infused into them. The admirall was the first that gave the charge; after him followed the rest of the shippes, sheweinge great valour and gayninge great honor. The last of all was the vice-admirall, at whose entrance into the fight he still strived to luffe upp soe neere the shore as he could, where hee came to an anchor, continually fightinge with the towne, the forte, the gallies, and carricke, all at one instant, for he brought them betwixt him, that he might plaie both his broad sides upon them. There might be seene the prores of the gallies swimme on the one side; the slaves forsake them, everie thinge beinge soe confused amongst them; and thus they fought untill five of the clocke in the afternoone. The vice-admirall was anchored in such a place as the gallies rowed from one side to another, seekinge to shunn him, which Sir Richard Lewson observinge, came on boarde him, and openly in the viewe and hearinge of his whole companie, imbraced him, and tould him he had wonn his heart for ever.

The rest of the shippes, as they were directed, plyed upp; and, except the admirall, who by the negligence of his master, or some other impediment without his privitie, when he should have anchored fell so farr to leeward as the winde and tyde carried him out of the rhoade that it was the next day before his shippe could bee fetcht in againe; whereat the admirall was soe enraged that he put himselfe into the Dreadnought and brought her to an anchor close to the vice-admirall, about

two of the clocke in the afternoone. There was noe opportunitie lett passe, for where the admiralls sawe defect in any other shipp, they supplied it with their owne persons; and the easterlings that were appointed to boarde beginninge to faint and faile of the directions given them, which the vice-admirall perceivinge, went on board her himselfe, voweinge if they seemed backwarde in puttinge in execution the stratageme of fireinge the carricke they should have as little hope of life as to be killed by the enemye. Whilst he was thus orderinge these things on boarde, Sir Richard Lewson came unto him, but in no case would suffer Sir William to board the carricke himselfe, but carried him into the Dreadnought, where they consulted howe to preserve the carricke and enjoy her.

The resolucion of this conference was to offer her parley, which they presently put in practice, and commaunded all the shippes to leave shootinge untill the returne of the messenger. The man imployed was one Captain Sewell that escaped and swamme to us, who had bene four yeares prisoner in the gallies, and soe did many Turks and Christians. The effect of his parlie was to perswade them to yield, promisinge honorable condicions. He was to intimate as of himselfe, that the gallies, whose strength he presumed upon, were beaten, some burnt, the rest fledd, and wee had the possession of the rhoade, the castle not able to abide our ordinance, much lesse the carricke; and if they refused his offer of mercie, they were to expect all the crueltie and rigor that a conqueror would yield his enemye. After some conference to this effect, the captaine of the carricke told him he would send him some gentlemen of sort with commission to treat, and desired that some of the like quality might repaire unto him to the same effect.

These gentlemen came aboard the Dreadnought, where the admirall and vice-admirall were attendinge the returne and successe of Captain Sewell. After the delivery of the message, they found a necessitie to hasten on borde the carricke, for that it seemed by these two gentlemen, there was an uproare and a deviation in her. Some were of opinion to entertaine a parley, others to save themselves and sett her on fire, which Sir William Monson hearinge, without further delaie or conference with Sir Richard what was to be done, he leaped suddenlie into his boate, and rowed unto the carricke. As he drewe neere her, he was knowne to divers gentlemen on board her, since his imprisonment amongst them, who seemed to be very gladd of their meetinge, with divers imbracements and remembrances of their old acquaintance. The captaine was called Don Diego Lobo, a gallant young gentleman of a noble howse; he descended downe upon the bond of the shipp, and commaunded his men to stand aside; Sir William did the like to his companions in the boate. The captaine demaunded of him if he had the Portugall language; he

tould him sufficiently to treat of that busines, and acquainted him of the place he commaunded in the fleete. Sir William intimated the affection and respect he bore to the Portugall nation, and that the treatie which was offered proceeded out of his mocion, and wished him to proceed to his proposicions, which were as followeth:—The first demaund he made was, that they should be safely putt on shoare with their armes; the second, that it should be done the same night; the third, that they should enjoy their shippe and ordinance, as apperteyning to the kinge, but wee the wealth; the fowerth, that the flagg and auncient should not be taken downe, but woven while the carricke was unlading. His speech being ended, Sir William told him his demaunds gave suspicion that under pretence of parley he meant trecherie, or that their hopes were greater then there was cause, or he could conceive; and but that he knewe it was the use of some men to demaund great things when lesse will serve them, he would not loose his advantage to entertaine a parley; he desired what they intended might be quickly concluded, for night groweing on might advantage them; and for his resolucion he should understand it in fewe words, as followeth:—To his first demand he was willing to yield, that they should be put on shore with their armes; to the second, he was contented that they should be sett on shore that night, except eight or ten of the principallest gentlemen, which he would detaine three daies; to the third, he held it idle and frivolous, to imagine he would consent to separate shipp and goodes, and esteemed it *por cosa de burla*; to the fourth he would not consent, being resolved never to permitt a Spanish flagg to be worne in the presence of the Queenes shippes, unlesse it were disgracefullie over the poope. There was longe expostulacion upon these pointes; and Sir William Monson, seeinge the obstinacie of the captaine, offered in greate rage to leape into his boate, resolvinge to leave the treatie, which the rest of the gentlemen perceivinge, and that he had propounded nothing but what might very well stand with their reputacion, they intreated him once more to ascend into the shippe, and they would enter into newe capitulacions, the effect whereof, and as it was agreed upon, was thus, as followeth:—

That a messenger should be sent to the admirall to have his confirmacion to the pointes concluded on, and that in the meane tyme the flagg and auntient should be taken downe; and if the admirall should not consent to the agreement, they to have leisure to put out their flagg and auntient before the fighte should beginn; that the companie should bee presently sett on shore, the captaine with eight other of the principallest gentlemen, three daies after; that the shipp with her goods should be surrendred without any practise or treason; that they should use their endeavors that the Castle should forbear shootinge whilest wee ride in the rhoade; and

this is the effect of the condicions agreed upon. You muste understand that the carricke wintered in Mosambicke in her returne from the Indies, a place of great infeccion, as appeared by the mortallitie of this shippe, for of 600 and odd men 20 of them lived not to returne home. After a great deale of callamitie and mortallity, she arrived at this port of Cisembres, as you have heard, with the Vice-Roy of Portugall havinge sent eleven gallies to her rescue, and 400 *Mocas de Camara*, which is a title of gentlemen that serves the kinge upon anie honorable occasion when they are commaunded. And beinge brought to this estate, and foret to yield on those conditions as aforesaid, Sir Robert Cecill, when he was livinge, was wonte to impute the successe thereof much unto the gentlemen's acquaintance with Sir William Monson. Although three daies were limited for settinge the captaine on shore, yet it was held discretion not to detaine him longer then the carricke was brought off safely to our shippes; and that night Sir William Monson carried the captaine and the rest of the gentlemen on board him, where they supped, had varietie of musicke, and spent the nighte in great pleasure and delight. The morninge followinge he accompanied them on shoare himselfe, where the Conde de Vitagera had drawne all the force of the whole countrie, amountinge to the number of ten thousand men.

I must not lett passe to describe the behaviour of the gallies in the fight, that everie man may have that honor that is due to him. Those of the Portugall beinge of the squadron of the Marquesse of Saint Cruz betooke themselves with their generall to flight in the middle of the fight; but Frederico Spinola, who had the conveyance of his gallies out of Spaine into the Lowe Countries, followed not the example of the marquesse, but made good the rhoade, which the other seeinge with shame returned, but to both their costes; for before they departed they found the clymate soe hott as they were both foret to flye, their gallies beinge soe miserablie beaten, and their slaves soe pittifully slaine, as there wanted nothing but boates to possesse them all, as well as two wee tooke, which is a president seeldome seene or heard, for shippes to take and be destroyers of gallies. The number of men slaine in the towne, the castle, the carricke, and the gallies, are unknowne, though they cannott chuse but be manie. The wealth of the carricke could then as ill be estimated, though after found to be great; the value of the two gallies burnt with their loading of powder as hard to judge, though knowne to be a service of great import. For our losse it was not much, only one man killed in the flyboate, five slaine and as many hurt in the Garland, and one hurt in the Adventure. Sir William Monson had the lefte winge of his dublett shott awaie, but received noe other hurt.

The daie followeing with a favorable winde wee stood our course for England, which brought us into 47 degrees, and there wee mett a pinnace, sent with a packet from the lords, signifyeing the readynes of a second fleete to supplie us, and the departure of the Hollanders, which were soe longe looked for; which fleete of Holland was in viewe of the pinnace the same night, but past by us unseene. This unlooked for accident made the admirall and vice-admirall consider what to doe, and concluded they would not both appeare at home, and have a fleete of soe great importance upon the enemies coast without a guide or head; and therefore they held it fitt the vice-admirall should put himselfe into the Nonparill, as the ablest shipp of the fleete, and make his returne once more to the coast of Spaine. Having taken his leave, and standinge his course for the coast, a most violent storme with a contrary winde tooke him, and continued tenn daies, which the weakness of his shippe found, and had like to have foundred in the deepe. The carpenters and the companey seeinge the apparent daunger if he bore not upp before the wind, presented him with petition, beseeching him to have a regarde of theire lives, for by keepeinge the seas they should all perishe. Thus was he forced out of extremitie to beare roome for England, and comeinge for Plymouth he found the carricke safely arrived, and that fleete hee went back to take charge of not to have quitted the coast of England.

Though it be somewhat impertinent to this voyage to treat of more then the successes thereof, yet I will a little digresse, and relate the mishapp of that worthie young gentleman Don Diego de Lobo, captaine of the carricke; and because his worth shall more appeare by his answer to Sir William Monson his offer, when he was his prisoner, thus it was: Sir William told him, it could not chuse but by the losse of the carricke hee should loose his best meanes, for that he supposed what he had gayned in the Indies was laden in her, and therefore told him, what he would challenge upon his reputacion to be his owne, he should have freedome to carrie it with him. The gentleman did acknowledge the favour extraordinarie, but replied, that what he had he had gayned by his sword, and that his sword he doubted not but would regaine his fortune; utterly refusing to accept anie courtesie in that kinde; but, poore gentleman, ill fortune thus left him not, for the viceroy, Don Cristoball de Moro, holdinge it for a great indignitie to have the carricke taken out of theire port, that was defended by a castle, and guarded with eleven galleys, and especially in his owne hearinge of the ordinance to Lishbone, and in the viewe of thousands of people that beheld it, some of them feelinge it by the losse of their goods in her, others greivinge for the death of their freinds that were there slaine, but every man findinge himselfe touched in reputacion.

The names of the Carricke and Eleven Gallies :—

Saint Valentine, a carricke of 1700 tunnes.

The Christofer, the Admirall of Portugall, wherein the Marquesse of Saint Cruz went.

The Saint Lewes, wherein Frederick Spinola went Generall of the Gallies of Spaine.

The Forteleza, Vice-Admirall to the Marquesse.

The Trinidad, Vice-Admirall to Frederick Spinola, and burnt.

The Suis, in which Sir William Monson was prisoner, anno 1591.

The Occasion, burnt, and the Captain taken prisoner.

The Saint John Baptist.

The Lazear.

The Padillar.

The Phillipp.

Saint John.

The viceroy, not knowinge howe to cleere himselfe soe well as by layeing it upon the gentlemen he put on board her, the same night they returned to their lodgings, he caused the most part of them, with their captaine, to be apprehended, layeing the losse of the carricke to their cowardlynes and feare, if not to their treason and connivancie with the enemye. After some tyme of imprisonment, by mediation of friends, the gentlemen were released, the captaine only detayned, who received secret advertisement that the viceroy intended his death, if he sought not to escape to prevent it. Don Diego being thus perplexed, practised with his sister, who found meanes for his escape out of a windowe, and fledd into Italie, where he lived in exile from 1602, that this happened, untill a thousand six hundred and fiftene; and his government in the Indies, for which he had a patent in revercion, was confiscate, and he left hopelesse ever to returne into his native countrey, much lesse to be restored to his commaund, an evill welcome after soe longe and painefull navigation. Haveinge spent thirteen yeares, as you have heard, in exile and banishment, at the last he advised with friends, whose advise he followed, to witt: to repaire into England, there to enquire after some commaunders that had bene at takeinge the carricke, by whose certificate hee might be cleered of blame or treason in the losse of her, which would be a good motive to restore him to his government againe. In the yeare 1615 he arrived in London, and after enquirie he found out Sir William Monson, to whom he complained of his hard mishapp, craveinge his assistance, with some others. Sir William he knewe to be at the takeinge of the carricke, and therefore desired him to testifie the manner of surprizinge her, which he alleadged

was noe more then every gentleman was bound to afford to an other in such a case.

Sir William wondred to see him, and especially upon such an occasion as hee reported; for the present he entertained him with all courtesie, and as his staie was the longer in England, soe the courtesies were the greater Sir William did him. Sir William procured a true and effectuell certificate from himselfe, Sir Francis Howard, Captain Barloe, and some others, who were witnesses of that service; and to give it the more reputacion, he caused it to be inrolled in the office of the Admiraltie. The gentleman beinge well satisfied in his entertainment, and receiveinge his wished desires in his busines, he returned to Flaunders, where he presented his certificate to the Archduke and the Infanta, and he found that favour from them that did not only purchase the king's good likeinge of him, but restitution of his government of Malacca. The poore gentleman beinge tossed with the waves of callamitie from one countrey to an other, and never findinge likelyhood of rest, till nowe death, that masters all men, cutt him off short even as he was preparinge his journey for Spaine. And this was the end of an unfortunate gallant young gentleman, whose deserts were farr more worthie of a better reward, if God had pleased to have afforded it him.

Sir William Monson to the coast of Spaine. Anno 1602:—

SHIPPERS.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Swiftsuer	Sir William Monson
The Mary Rose	Captain Trevors
The Dreadnought	Captain Cawfeild
The Adventure	Captain Norris
The Answere	Captain Bredgate
The Quittance	Captain Browne
The Lyons Whelpe	Captain Maye
The Paragon, a Merchant	Captain Jason
A smale Carvell	Captain Hooper

The fleete of Sir Richard Lewson beinge happily returned with the fortune of a carrick, as you have heard, and havinge noe shipps of her Majesties upon the Spanish coast, to impeache the enemies preparacions, the Queene feared the fleete which was readie at the Groyne was to give a second assaulte upon Ireland; whereupon Sir William Monson, who by this tyme was arrived at Plymouth, was sent for in great hast by her Majestie, both to advise and take upon him the charge of the second fleete, then at Plymouth. After a long conference in the presence of her

Majestie, her Lord Admirall, her Treasurer, her Secretary, and Sir William Monson, it was resolved immediately: that Sir William should repaire to Plymouth, and with speede gett forth them shippes, and others that were makeinge readie. His direccions were to present himselfe before the harbor of the Groyne, the place where the Spaniardes made their randevous, and if he found anie likelyhood of daunger to be intended against Ireland, not to quitt that coast untill he utterly sawe the issue and event thereof; but if he found Ireland secure, and the preparacion for the defence of the coast, from thence his instruccions ledd him where the Holland fleete had order to attend and expect him; and after this the carriage of the action was referred to his discretion, but with this caution, that above all covetous respects he attended the affaires of Ireland. The winde this part of sommer hung contrary, and it was six weeks before he could cleere the coaste, the tyme which gave greatest hope of profit by the returne of the carricks and Indie fleete, which happened one moneth before his arrivall. He sett sayle from Plymouth the last of August, with a scant winde, which continued with fowle weather untill he recovered the Groyne, choosinge rather to keepe the sea then hazard the overthrowe of his voyage by his returne.

He attended the Groyne untill he was truly advertised that the fleete which there was prepared, and suspected for Ireland, was gone to Lishbone to joyne with Don Diego de Borachero, who all that sommer durst not set forth for feare of our fleete, that made good the coast. Sir William, in the waie to the Rocke, commaunded his carvell to repaire to the Islande of Bayon, as the likelyest place to procure intelligence of the state of those parts. As the carvell drewe neere the islande, she might discerne the Spanish fleete, consistinge of 24 sayle, whose designes were, as she understood by a boate she tooke, to looke out the English fleete, whose comeinge they daily expected upon the coast; and meetinge Sir William with this newes, he held it a good service to be warned of them. Heere he tooke two goodly shippes of France bound for Lishbone, which harbor he put them from, and tooke pledges that they should directlie returne into France, without touchinge in any harbor of Spaine, for that he understood the Spanishe fleete was ill provided of men, and many other things which those shippes could supplie. Sir William and the Dreadnought were carryed with the chase into the Rhoad of Cisembre, a place where the carricke was taken not longe before; and, after some fight with the castle, who defended the chase, they came to a friendly treatie, and presentes past betwixt them. That night, whilst the admirall ridd in the rhoad, a carvell comeinge in, not mistrusting him, was taken, but dismissed with friendly entreatie, by whome he understoode the affaires of Lishbone, but could get noe notice of the Holland fleete, which was appointed to attend at the Rocke, whether once more he repaired.

And comeinge thither the 26th of September, a light was espied in the night, which the admirall chased, thinkinge it had bene the fleete of Saint Omen or Brazill, bound into Lishbone, where they were expected, but draweing soe neere them that he might hayle them, he found them, by the hugenes of their vessels and the number, to answer the relacion the carvell made, to be the Armado of Spaine; whereupon hee sought meanes howe to quit himselfe, being ingaged amongst them, and made a Spaniard which served him call unto them in that secret manner they could not heare him. The Adventure only and the Whelpe were left with him, the rest loosing companie four nights in a storme. Perceiving this light, and thinkinge it to be the admirall that had commaunded some fleete of Fleminges, stood in amongst them, but the Adventure being discovered to be an enemy, the alarum was soone taken, and they shott at her, and slewe and hurt some of her men. Soe soone as the daie appeared, the Spaniards might beholde the three English shippes ahead them, whome they chased: and by reason that three of them were of better sayle then the rest, they fetcht upon them and drewe neere the Whelpe, who was of small force to resist them.

But the admirall resolvinge, though it was to his owne evident perill, not to see a pinnace of her Majesties soe lost that he could rescue with the losse of his life, though it was much against the persuasions of his master and companie, he stroake his two sailes for the Whelpe, and commaunded her to stand her course, whilest he staid for the three Spanishe shippes, with hope to make them have little lust to pursue them. The admirall of the Spaniards perceivinge howe little he cared for his three shippes, for that he lingred for their comeinge upp, tooke in with the shoare and shott a peece for his three shippes to followe him. It may appeare by this, as by severall expeditions of ours, howe much the swift saylinge of shippes doth availe, beinge the principall advantage in sea service, and the only thinge wee could presume upon against the Spaniards. Sir William haveinge thus escaped the enemy, in his traverse in the sea there happened, as there doth in all coasts where there is plentie of trade, divers occasions of chases; and one daie Sir William followeing one shipp, and the Adventure another, they lost companie for the whole voyage.

Sir William was advertised by a shipp he tooke, beinge a Frenchman, that came from Saint Lucas, that the Saint Domingo fleete was looked for daily; which intelligence made Sir William beare upp for the South Cape, as well in hope to meete with them as to have newes of his fleete.

He was noe sooner come to the Cape, but he was informed by some English shippes of warr that the Domingo fleete was passed by two daies before. Heere he

mett with divers shippes of several nations : some he rescued from pyrats ; to others that were in league with her Majestie he gave his safe conduct for their free passage in the sea. He kept that coast untill the 21st of October, in which morninge he gave chase to a gallion of the Kinge of Spaines, who recovered under the castle of Cape Sacre before he could fetch her upp ; but, notwithstanding that he knewe the strength of that castle, and knewe the shoare, yet he attempted her, and had carried her, had it not bene for the feare and cowardlinesse of Helme, that bore upp when he was readie to boarde. The fight was not long, but sharpe and daungerous, for there never past shott from one to an other until they were within length of their shippes. The castle plaied her part and rent his shipp, that she might be cropt through. Betwixt shippe and castle they slewe in the Admirall tenn menn and hurt many more, in the viewe of Sireago and his squadron to the westward, and divers English men of warr to the eastward, that durst not put themselves to the rescue of Sir William for feare of the castle. Sir William beinge nowe left alone, and seeinge what headland soever he came unto he was to encounter a Spanishe squadron, he stood his course that night at sea, thinkinge to trie if the island of Teceras would afford him anie better fortune ; but, comeinge within forty or fifty leagues of the island, he was taken short with the winde, and evermore bore upp for the Rocke ; but findinge his victuals grewe short, and his mast perished, and the daunger by keepeinge the coast, he directed his course for England, and came into Plymouth the 24th of November, where he found the Marie Rose and Dreadnought with the moste part of their men dead and sicke.

The Adventure arrived within one howre after him, who in her waie homeward fell amongst the Brazill fleete, and incountringe with them lost divers men, but tooke none. The Paragon was at home longe before with a prize of sugar and spices, which countervailed the charge of the voyage. The Quittance in her returne mett two shippes of Dunkerke, and in fight with them her captaine was slaine ; but she acquitted herself very well without further hurt. This fleete, as you have heard, was to keep the enemy occupied at home, that he might be diverted from the thought of Ireland ; and what hazard it endured by the enemy, and the fury of the sea by fowle weather, it doth appeare : and we marvell, for it was the latest fleete in winter that was ever kept upon the Spanish coast, and the last fleete her Majestie employed ; for in March after she dyed, and by her death all warr ceased. As Sir William Monson was generall of this last fleete, soe was he a souldier and a youth at the beginninge of the warrs and at the takeinge of the first Spanish prize that ever sawe Englishe coast, which they bought with the death of twenty-five men and fifty hurt ; which shipp was after a man-of-war, and served against the Spaniards. And

in those daies the best man that went to warr was called the Commaunder, and belonged to Sir George Carewe, then governor of the Isle of Wight.

Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson into the narrowe seas, 1603:—

SHIPPES.	COMMAUNDERS.
The Repulse	Sir Richard Lewson.
The Mearehonor	Sir William Monson.
The Defiance	Captain Gore.
The Warrspight	Captain Seymors.
The Rainebowe	Captain Trevor.
The Dreadnought	Captain Reynolds.
The Quittance	Captain Howard.
The Lyons Whelpe	Captain Polewheele.

Sir William Monson returninge with his fleete in November, there was a resolution to furnish an other against February, which should be supplied with shippes, men, and victualls in June; Sir Richard Lewson to command the former fleete, and Sir William Monson the latter; for the Queene held it both secure and profittable course to keepe a continuall force upon the Spanish coasts from February to November, a tyme of greatest perill to her Majestie. She was the rather encouraged thereunto by the safety she found the last sommer, and the wealth she enjoyed of her enemies. The complainte of the ill furnishinge her shippes in other voyages, made it more carefully to be lookt unto nowe, and there was better choice of victualls and men then usually had bene. But in this meane tyme it pleased God to visit her Majestie with sicknes, which made a lingringe though noe absolute staie or dissolvinge of the fleet; and as her daunger was perceived to increase, the shippes were hastened to sea, holdinge it a point of policie of state to keepe our seas guarded from feare of anie forraign attempte, untill his Majestie should be peaceable seated in England. This fleet departed from Quinborough the 22nd of March, and arrived at the Downes the 25th of the same, beinge the daie after her Majesties death; the newes whereof, and commaundment to proclaime King James the Sixth of Scotland our lawfull right inheritor to the crowne, arrived both together, which put us unto two contrary passions; the one of greife, the other of joy: greife by the losse of the Queene, and joy in acceptinge the Kinge, and in that peaceable manner that it made a happines to all men against expectacion, either at home or abroad.

As the part and office of this fleete was to garde and defend the coaste from any

incursion that should bee made out of France or the Lowe Countries, soe the commaunders were as vigilant to appeare upon the coastes, once in two daies, to disharten them if they had anie such thought; but it was farr from their abilities, whatsoever was in their harts, to impugne His Majesties proceedinges. And because the archduke would make it appeare more apparent to the world, he called in his letters of reprizall against the English, and published an edict of a free and lawfull traffique into Flaunders; so that nowe our merchants may trade peaceable into those parts from which they had bene debarred the continuance of eighteen yeares warrs. The kinge findinge that France neither impeached his right nor gave anie jealousie by the raising of an armie, and that the archduke made a demonstration of his desire of peace, his Majestie did the like, acknowledginge his league with those princes with whom the late Queene had warrs; for warrs betwixt countries are not hereditarie, but commonly end with the deathes of their kinges: wherefore he commaunded his shipps to give over their southerne ymployment, and repaire unto Chattam, givinge manifest testimonies that the subjecte should recover that wealth and freedome by peace which he had formerly lost by warr.

XXVI.—*Memoir on the Practice of Banishment, as it obtained in the Reign of James II. among those who were sentenced to death for their Participation in the Rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth.* By GEORGE ROBERTS, Esq.

Read Dec. 18, 1851.

At the time I was engaged in collecting materials for my "Life, Progresses, and Rebellion of James Duke of Monmouth," in 2 vols. 8vo. published in 1844, scarcely any detailed information could be procured respecting any of the exiled followers of the duke. The fate of only four individuals was actually ascertained; and the intimate personal history of no one, much less the general treatment, transportation, and return of any, could be learned from whatever quarter. A lady wrote to me, and obligingly supplied what is to so many an object of great interest, in the shape of a MS. narrative of the transportation, sale, and labour of John Coad; which I advised should be forwarded to Mr. Macaulay for his then expected work. An imperfect copy was accordingly sent, which has since been printed, the deficient part being supplied before the issue to the public from, I believe, the copy lent to me. Another of the kind contributors to my labours was one of the family of the late John Frederick Pinney, Esq. of Somerton Erleigh, who searched amongst old family papers, and has had the gratification of having produced for my use matter important to general history and biography.

Each of these two correspondents furnished the perfect portraiture of one individual, a type as it were, of the two several classes under which the exiles naturally fall. All were sentenced to death, and all were afterwards given away by the court or government of James II. The great distinction between them may be drawn thus, under two heads:

I. Those entirely destitute of means, who were conveyed from the county gaol on shipboard by their owners, and upon their arrival at the prescribed port in the West India islands were sold to the highest bidder by auction, like slaves or cattle.

II. Those exiles of the wealthier class—few in number—who, by a money payment, concluded all their slavery, and whose penalty consisted in a banishment from their native country for ten years to a distant tropical climate.

The Duke of Monmouth's rebellion having been suppressed, the "Bloody

Assize" followed, with its often-quoted horrors—a portion of history which does not fall within our province. Our subject leads to the time when the gaols of the west of England were crowded with men under sentence of death—partisans too guilty to be pardoned, too numerous to be executed. A market existed for such individuals: the demand for the commodity was so great that frauds and many wicked arts were practised to kidnap men as labourers for the plantations in the West India islands and America. Hungry courtiers knew that persons concerned in the Salisbury rising of Penruddock and Grove had been sold for 1550 pounds weight of sugar a-piece, according to their working faculties. They had been treated in every sense as slaves. The Covenanters taken at Bothwell Bridge who would not promise to live peaceably were transported, and were all lost on their voyage to the plantations. The planters procured also those of Argyle's followers who exhibited the greatest degree of hatred to the King's authority. Some had a piece of their lug (ear) cut off by the hangman, and the women were burnt on the shoulder, that if any returned they might be known and hanged.

William Penn applied to have a few of the Monmouth men that were sentenced to be banished sent to Pennsylvania, where the climate was salubrious, and their offences would not be regarded as heinous.* His application was not complied with; but certain courtiers, some of whom were connected with the West India islands, proved successful in their applications: 849 of the prisoners were given to them.

Sir William Booth had 200 prisoners; Ieronymo Nopho, Secretary to the Queen when Duchess of York, had 99; Sir Christopher Musgrave 100; to the Queen's order (or perhaps to Capt. James Kendall, M.P., a needy retainer of the court) 100; Sir William Stapleton, who had been governor of the Leeward islands, and had been sent to assist the Duke of Beaufort with his military experience, obtained 100; Sir Philip Howard 200; William Bridgeman, Esq. secretary to Lord Sunderland, or Capt. John Price (who perhaps purchased them from him) 50.

These persons were all divisible into the two classes which I have before indicated, and I am enabled to prove the mode of treatment to which they were subjected by one example derived from each of those classes.

I. JOHN COAD, of Stoford, near Yeovil in Somersetshire, was a carpenter. He was a Dissenter, a man of active mind and body, as his narrative sufficiently proves. He obeyed his summons to join the train-bands, and marched to Chard, loathing the conversation of his fellows, but determined to risk all for the cause of religion.

* Hepworth Dixon's *Life of William Penn*, who quotes a letter to Thomas Loyd, p. 301.

He joined the Duke of Monmouth at Axminster, when Ferguson was engaged in prayer, after which Major Fox delivered a charge to the army against swearing, thieving, and plundering. Our God-fearing carpenter was wounded at Philip's Norton fight, but lived to be removed to Ilchester Gaol, and was condemned to death at Wells.

Coad's sister came to him in Ilchester Gaol with the news that an officer had arrived to call out 200 men for Jamaica. The two privately offered a fee to have Coad entered on the list. The officer refused this, but told him that when he called a man that did not answer, Coad might answer to his name and step in. The conscientious carpenter scrupled at this suggested simulation, by which thirty were at that time saved; but a poor woman, observing a man unwilling to be transported, so great were its terrors to some people, pulled Coad towards him, who hastily shifted himself out of the string and put Coad in his place. The party took ship at Weymouth, Oct. the 17th, 1685. The horrid cruelty (anticipating the "Black Hole" of Calcutta) of shutting ninety-nine exiles in one cabin, without allowing any to go on deck, soon produced small-pox and fever, which speedily swept off twenty-two of the Monmouth men, and many of the passengers and crew. Upon a report of these horrors, the merchants of Jamaica refused to freight the ship home, and all vied with each other in kind attention to the miserable, half-starved objects, who were confined at night in a stable, but were allowed to walk out by day.

The exiles were consigned to a merchant, Mr. Christopher Hicks, a fellow Dissenter, who from conscientious scruples refused at first to sell them, and ultimately looked out as purchaser for Coad a Mr. William Hutchinson, an attorney, in charge for Colonel Bach, a God-fearing proprietor. When Coad went to his place of service, forty miles from Port Royal, Colonel Lyne and Lieutenant Harkes Garbrand came to meet and welcome him in spite of their difference in rank; so zealous were these gentlemen in the cause of religion, that Coad was prevailed upon by them to undertake the office of preacher.

Coad had occasionally to work with negroes; he and one other of the banished men having a desire to visit some friends and fellow-sufferers at Port Royal, went thither, when a letter was sent to his master as if they had deserted, which drew forth a reprimand, and their friends were forbidden to entertain them. The motive which prompted this visit to Port Royal was to submit evidence to a justice of the peace that the term of four years for which they were sold had expired. Thus the sums paid at the sale are not to be received as expressing the value of each Monmouth man, but the value of his services for four years. Fresh sales or agreements were again made for other terms, so that these exiles proved a valuable property,

probably not less in the whole than 35,000*l.* or 40,000*l.*; Judge Jeffreys estimated that the worth of each of them would be 10*l.*, if not 15*l.* The convicts thought that when their first term had expired they should be at liberty to work for themselves, but this happened only to a few whose services were worthless. Many of the poor men sank under this disappointment of their hopes.

The news of the glorious revolution now reached the ears of the exiles; one of their task-masters called it a new rebellion. The Earl of Inchiquin arrived at Port Royal as Governor the last day of May, 1690. Coad sent a man to try and learn how it was likely to go with them. He returned with the news that two banished men who had been to the new governor, had been publicly whipped and put in prison the whole night. How this happened is not explained. When Coad made his appearance at Port Royal, his master, Hutchinson, elated at what had occurred, bade him speak to the governor. Coad did so. His excellency told him at once that he had an order to set all the Monmouth men free, and that the King had given directions for their coming home. The governor bade them pay their respects to their masters, and promised that in two or three days their business should be accomplished. The poor Monmouth men ran about in a delirium of joy, and but for Coad would have roasted an ox in the street. It was some time, however, before they got away from their place of banishment.

A dozen of the masters of the banished men hired a sloop to convey a petition to the King and Parliament, stating, that if these men were taken from them they must throw up the island. The council aided the masters by delaying to publish the King's order. Captain Frankmor, of the ship of war which was to convey the convicts home, died from the effects of his convivial life in the island. The next in command did not sail till September 6th, the merchants being anxious to receive an answer from England. Colonel Bach, the proprietor of Coad, promised to pay him wages after the expiry of the first term of four years. Coad made out his bill, amounting to 36*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.* Just as he was going aboard a merchant vessel, in which he had taken his passage, he was paid 10*l.*, with which he reached home Dec. 4, 1690.

II. Let us now view the case of an exile of a superior class, whose history has been drawn from genuine family documents never examined till 1843. These have acquired a great interest from the mention of a name upon which an argument has been founded for the clearing up the character of an eminent historical worthy.

MR. AZARIAH PINNEY was a gentleman of Bettiscomb, a parish of Dorsetshire, on the confines of Somerset, at the foot of Pillesdon Hill, seven miles from Lyme, and about the like distance from Crewkerne.

He was the son of the Rev. John Pinney, who held the living of Broadwinsor during the Protectorate. At the Restoration Dr. Thomas Fuller the historian came to take possession of this sequestered vicarage, and heard the Rev. John Pinney preach. Delighted with what he had heard, Fuller told the people afterwards that he would not deprive them of such a man. Though episcopally ordained in 1662, Pinney was ejected under the Bartholomew Act, as Calamy informs us, and experienced the fate of ministers in those times, fines and imprisonment. The same author adds that he was much of a gentleman, a considerable scholar, and an eloquent, charming preacher.

The Rev. John Pinney's eldest son Nathaniel was private secretary to the Hon. George Booth, officially employed as secretary by his brother the celebrated Earl of Warrington, while the latter was one of the Lords of the Treasury in the reign of William III. When the Earl of Warrington retired into private life Nathaniel Pinney returned to settle at Bettiscomb, his father having property in that neighbourhood. This property has partly descended (with his papers) to the Pinneys of Somerton Erleigh; but other property which came into the family from the Hon. George Booth was inherited by the predecessors of the present John Azariah Pinney, Esq. of Blackdown House, co. Dorset.

To return to the special subject of this memoir, Mr. Azariah Pinney. He was of an ardent spirit, and embraced the seeming opportunity for procuring religious liberty under the Duke of Monmouth's banner.

Having been sentenced to death, Mr. Azariah Pinney was given to Ieronymo Nopho, or Jerome Nipho, Esq. secretary to the Queen when Duchess of York. This unfortunate follower of Monmouth had a wife and infant son when, at the age of twenty-four, he received his sentence. Mr. Nipho, in this instance, incurred no expense in sending away Mr. Aza. Pinney. He received at once the sum of 65*l.* for his ransom. The island of Nevis was the assigned place of the prisoner's destination. The ransom being paid, and the transportation to the West Indies having been effected at his own expense, Mr. Azariah Pinney became his own master, and could employ his time for his own benefit. The exile joined the house of Mr. Merewether, sugar merchant, Nevis; goods were soon shipped for him from England, evidently for sale, and he ultimately became a flourishing and successful man. Some of his family joined him, and made the place of his transportation a home. His son, the child whom he left behind in England on his transportation, became Chief Justice of Nevis. After 1688, Mr. Aza. Pinney returned several times to England. He died in London in 1719. His letters, which are still preserved, are full of complaints of storms, hurricanes, earthquakes, with an account of a ruinous invasion of the French. His valuable diary, kept for the information and

improvement of his son, is unfortunately lost. Mr. Aza. Pinney's son became father of John Frederick Pinney, who represented Bridport in Parliament; and the present head of the family, William Pinney, Esq., after representing Lyme Regis in Parliament for many years, now sits for the Eastern Division of the county of Somerset.

An account book of Nathaniel Pinney, elder brother of Azariah Pinney, is still preserved at Somerton Erleigh; and, apart from the interest attached to it as connected with Monmouth's Rebellion, is important from its containing the name of GEORGE PENNE, Esq. as that of the person who received the money paid for Mr. Azariah Pinney's ransom. This fact was first published in my *Life of Monmouth*. It afterwards engaged the attention of historical writers, and the general suspicion was, that the christian name of George Penne was a mistake, and that the person alluded to was no other than the celebrated William Penn, the Quaker. Mr. Hepworth Dixon, in his *Life of William Penn*, has cleared the philanthropic founder of Pennsylvania from the heavy charge of pardon-mongering in the West, and has shown from the State Paper Office that there was a certain George Penne, who was a hanger-on of the Court, and solicited the monopoly for twenty years of a Royal Oak Lottery in the plantations, as a reward for his services.

We may safely infer that this person, and not William Penn the celebrated Quaker, was the receiver of the ransom-money of Mr. Pinney. Besides this point of interest in these accounts, there are other items which illustrate the mode in which the transportation of Mr. Azariah Pinney was carried out, and I shall therefore conclude these imperfect notes with such extracts from Mr. Nathaniel Pinney's account-book as appear to me to bear upon the fate of his banished brother.

BRISTOL, SEPTEMBER, 1685.

	£	s.	d.
Mr. John Pinney ^a is debtor to money p ^d George Penne, Esq. for the			
ransome of my bro ^r Aza. August, 1685	65	0	0
For my journey for 10 days and horse hyre	2	10	0
To 6 gall ^{ns} jack for his voiage	1	16	0
To botles for the same	0	5	0
To two cheeses	0	6	0
To his horse hyre to Bristol and expences	0	10	0
To 10 days dyet and lodging in Bristol	0	17	0

^a Mr. John Pinney, not being Vicar of Broadwinsor in 1685, is not styled in any writing the Reverend—Aza. for Azariah.

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To his horse hyre to Bristol and expences	0	10	0
To 10 days dyet and lodging in Bristol	0	17	0

^a Mr. John Pinney, not being Vicar of Broadwinsor in 1685, is not styled in any writing the Reverend—Aza. for Azariah.

	£	s.	d
To 3 p ^r thr ^d hose	0	7	6
To 4 p ^r worsted	0	14	0
To 2 p ^r shoes	0	8	0
To a hatt	0	8	6
To shifts and handcarchiffs, &c.	0	14	0
To tob ^b . (tobacco) and pipes	0	9	0
To the mate and boston [boatswain] for their kindness	0	7	6
To boate hyre to King Roade [anchorage at the mouth of the Avon]	0	6	6
To a bed, boulder, and rugg	2	9	6
To his passage to Nevis [in the "Rose," Pink, Capt. Wogan]	5	0	0
To 2 trunks	0	10	0
To a bible and other books	0	6	6
To suggar, spice, &c.	0	4	6
To money given him	15	0	0
M ^r John Pinney debtor more owing brother's acc ^t , Jan. 1685	100	0	0
To money p ^d for him and lent him in Yorke ^a	1	5	0
To send his cloathes from London and freight to Nevis	0	10	6
To making affidavit of his transport	0	8	0
To sword-belt, razor, shoes, buttons, &c. sent with his clothes and sword	3	4	0
1686. To a barrel beere sent M ^r Scrope as a present on my brother's account	2	12	0
To custumed freight of the same	0	8	6
Jan. 24. To $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. tob ^b . and a box	1	5	6
To making Southard's defeasance ^b	0	13	6
To a fee about that businesse	0	3	6

I may add that so late as Sept. 1701, lawyers, among whom was Major Wade, of the Duke of Monmouth's own regiment, then town clerk of Bristol, were busily engaged in interesting Members of Parliament to insert a clause in the act of grace to be passed that session for reversing the attainder of the Monmouth men.

GEORGE ROBERTS.

Lyme Regis, 11 Dec. 1851.

^a The journey to York had probably reference to a personal interview with the party to whom his brother was given, viz. Ieronymo Nopho, Esq. who received the ransom.

^b Southard may have been an assumed name for "Hugh Gundry, gentleman," of Broadwindsor, who married Sarah Pinney, as this part of the family also appear to have been favourable to Monmouth.

XXVII.—*Upon an Historical Tablet of RAMESES II., 19th Dynasty, relating to the Gold Mines of Ethiopia.* By SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq.

Read January 29, and February 5, 1852.

I HAVE the honour to transmit the translation of a long Egyptian hieroglyphical inscription, consisting of thirty-eight lines of text, published by M. Prisse, but not explained by him, in his *Egyptian Monuments*,^a which is of considerable importance for a due knowledge of the political history of Egypt. M. Prisse describes it as a tablet of Rameses II., taken from the ruin which is situate facing Dakke, in Nubia.^b This spot, which he states has not been as yet well examined, ought to be Contra Pscelcis,^c or rather Tachompso, according to Ptolemy.^d The tablet is of granite, and of very mediocre workmanship, and its lower part had been broken into several pieces, one portion of which, the only remaining, he had presented in the midst of the plate, not knowing its right position. "Notwithstanding its mutilation, this monument," says M. Prisse, "is very interesting for the history of Rameses II., who, as this inscription states, as soon as the third year of his reign, had rendered himself illustrious by his victories. Since the drawing was made the tablet is supposed to have been transported to France by the Count St. Ferriol, and to be at present in the chateau of Uriage, near Grenoble." So far M. Prisse. I propose to take up the subject where he has left it, and to give a translation of its contents, which presents no great difficulties except in three or four places, which I have marked. In the notes which accompany this Paper, I have indicated the new philological explanations which I have proposed, as well as such restorations as the text, often indifferently copied, demands. But the historical commentary, and such as requires more than mere verbal criticism, I have added to the translation. It is also much to be regretted that, while in France, in Prussia,^e

^a *Monumens Egyptiens*, par E. Prisse d'Avesnes. Folio. Paris, 1847. Pl. xxi.

^b *Ibid.* p. 5.

^c Antoninus, *Itinerarium*, p. 2; Metacompso, Ptol. iv. c. 5.

^d According to Herodotus, ii. 29, Tachompso was an island.

^e An example of the invaluable aid afforded by the type in the prosecution of these studies will be found in M. de Rougé's *Mémoire sur l'Inscription du Tombeau d'Achmes*. Extrait des *Mémoires présentés par divers Savants*. 4to. Paris, 1851.


^f M. Lepsius, *Einleitung*. (*Die Chronologie der Aegypter*.) 4to. Berlin, 1849. The type is linear.

and in Austria,^a there is a national hieroglyphic type by which Egyptian studies are materially advanced, no such aid exists in England. Hence many points can only be proved by fewer examples cited than would have been the case had a type existed; although, in these instances, those which occurred to the writer as most conclusive have been selected.

The hieroglyphical scholar will bear this in mind, while the general historical inquirer need only be informed that the interpretations stated positively are such as are used or admitted by the best scholars, while an examination of the notes will guide him to new, difficult, or contested points.

The tablet (*utu* or *hutu*) is long, terminating in a rounded top, the usual shape of those in use during the eighteenth dynasty. It consists, as usual, of a picture and a text; the one forming a vignette to the other. The picture is divided into two portions. In the first the monarch Rameses II., wearing a helmet (*cheprsh*) and the usual royal tunic, offers two vases of wine to Ammon in his ithyphallic type, the Ammon and Horus of the Pantheon, accompanied by the usual titles of "the good living God, the Sun sustainer of Truth, approved of the Sun, the Son of the Sun, RAMESSU, beloved of Ammon; may he live!"^b Behind his head is inscribed, "Health to all his limbs; to be, like the Sun, immortal!" The god stands under his usual attributes, and is entitled in the line nearest the king, "Khem,^c who dwells in the



^a I am only aware of the existence of this type from a communication of M. Lenormant.

^b The expression  is either the participial form *anch-ta*, "living" (Champollion, *Grammaire Egyptienne*, p. 425), or "giver of life." (Dictionnaire, p. 340), or the optative *ma-i-anch*, "give to live," i. e.,

would that he may live; for  is *ta* in its paradigm, with *ma* in the optative, as rightly observed by

Lepsius, *Einleitung*, s. 406. The feminine form  *anch-ta* (Champoll. *Gr. l. c.*) is not so easily explained.

^c The name of this god is very puzzling. My reasons for considering it Khem have been already given (*Archæological Journal*, June 1850, p. 117). To these may be added its apparent equivalent at Edfoo

(Lepsius, *Einleitung*, s. 134-136).  *Shaf. t. b.* . . . in which the last word is perhaps  *beti*. The first word *shaft* perhaps means "create" (Dr. Hincks, *Trans. Roy. Irish Academy*, vol. xxi. pt. 2). Hence in the Ritual (M. Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, xxvii. c. 73, l. 1), entitled The Chapter of passing through the West on the day going through the court-yard (ammah), the deceased says, *A ba naa sheftu*, "Oh, Soul! greatest of created things." Consequently this title may be (month of) "the producer of corn." The analogy of *shaft* with *sheep*, as in the expression *her sheft*, "sheep-headed" (Champollion, *Monumens*, t. i. pl. xxxviii. *bis*), and with *shape*, as when Ammon says to Rameses III. "I give thee my shape (*sheft-a*) in thy limbs," is remarkable. This god is also called the god with two names, and he who conceals his name.

hill; "a while the lower part of the line expresses the action of the king, "making a gift of wine to his father Khem, who dwells in the midst of the hill." Before the god is inscribed, "beloved of Khem, who dwells in the hill;" and behind him, "gives a perfect life," probably referring to the *Hut*.^b

In the other scene, the monarch holds a vase of fuming frankincense to the god Horus, hawk-headed, and wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, or of the upper and lower hemisphere, the *pschent*, holding in his pendent left hand the emblem of life, and in his right the sceptre, *gam*; the two expressing the idea of "perfect life." The legends of the king contain the same titles as in the first scene; and that "he gives frankincense to Har (*Horus*), Lord of Bak, that he may let him live." In reply says "*Har*, Lord of *Bak*, I give to thee all lands under thy sandals; I allow thee to rule a long while; I give to thee all health, victory, and power; and to be, like the Sun, immortal!" Behind the god is in the field, "who gives all health and tranquillity," a general phrase similar to that in the first scene; and which may be in connection with the *Hut*, or winged globe, above. The two scenes are surmounted by the winged globe (*ápi*),^c always called the region *Hut*, the celestial Edfoo or Apollinopolis Magna, "the morning sun."

It is as usual entwined by two uræi, round the neck of each of which is an emblem of life.^d The one to the left wearing the *hut* or *sut*, the "white cap," or upper part of the *pschent*, emblem of Upper Egypt, or of the celestial hemisphere, is the goddess Subn,^e or Sun, the eponymous goddess of Eileithyia or El Kab, the southern limit of Egypt Proper; the other, wearing the red cap, is *Ut*, the goddess of Northern Egypt, or the lower hemisphere; and probably eponymous of some other city, if not of the Mediterranean.^f It is difficult to understand the reason of this often-repeated emblem. Clearly, from all expressions relating to the *Hut*,





^a M. Prisse has throughout given  instead of , but the correction is obvious.

^b Compare Champollion, *Monumens*, t. iii. pl. ccl.

^c Champollion, *Mon.* t. iii. pl. ccxxiii. l. 1, 2, in the legends of the Sun, "He has changed himself in the globe of gold" (*ápi en nub*).

^d Wooden Tablets, British Museum, No. 8447, and foll.



^e The true pronunciation of the name of this eponymous goddess of Eileithyia is called in question by M. Lepsius (*Ueber den ersten Gotterkreis Abhandl. d. K. Akad. d. Wissenschaft.* 4to. Berlin, 1851,

s. 42), who proposes *Neben* as the true name. By the same process  may be proved ,  or , i. e. a T or J.—Cf. Dr. Hincks, *Attempt*, pp. 45, 94; M. De Rougé, *Mémoire*, p. 190.

^f For the name of this goddess, cf. Sir G. Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs*, pl. xxxv.; for the expression *hut* or *ut hur*, "the great pond" or sea, Champollion, *Monumens*, t. iii. pl. ccxxiv. *A-ai em sa sen em . . . ui heli hut hur*, "Oh, come behind them in the isles in the midst of the great sea."—*Ibid.* cxcv. 3.

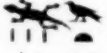
such as "the great god who comes out of the horizon,"* the *Hut* is the morning sun rising from the east, between the north and south. It is not restricted to tablets made at any particular time, so that it does not refer to any season, but it may allude to morning worship, which appears to have been the time of prayer. Hence many tablets commence, "A prayer to the Sun when he shines out of the eastern horizon of the heaven."^b Thus, while the general scene represented the nature of the adoration, or rather sacrifice, the solar emblem recalled the universal hour of prayer. On the occasion of undertaking any work, the monarchs prayed and made these sacrifices to the gods, and offered milk, wine, water, incense, and sometimes inanimate objects, such as collars, images, for their health or safety, while the gods in their turn were supposed to answer, or responded in an oracular manner. This function was generally performed by the living animal of the god, and in one instance the cow of the goddess Athor is preceded by a man, who is the one "acquainted with the oracle" of the goddess. Besides which, it appears that in Egyptian mythology local deities had each spot under their protection, and it was necessary to conciliate their good will when interfering with the site. At Contra Pseleis, KHEM and HORUS, the beginning and end of the mythic cycle, appear as the parhedral deities, and it is probable that the *sekos* was dedicated to them. To this I shall subsequently refer; and, having given so much of explanation, shall now proceed to translate the hieroglyphs which explain the object of the proscynema.

(L. 1.) On the fourth day of the month Tybi, in the third year of the SUN, living lord of the horizon, the strong bull, beloved of Truth, the LORD of diadems, ruler of Kami (Egypt), chastiser of countries, the GOLDEN HAWK, the sustainer of years, the greatest of the powerful,^c the KING of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Sun defender of Truth approved of the Sun, the SON OF THE SUN RAMESSU, the ever-living, beloved of Amen Ra, lord of the foundations of the earth, dwelling in Thebes,

* "He gives health," applies to the *Hut*.—Champollion, Monumens, t. iii. pl. ccl. The *Hut*, great god, who gives a sound life like the Sun. In the tomb of Sethos I. the *Hut* is called  *Neb satu*, "Lord of Sunbeams, like the Sun!" Hence  may be the "shining beam," *seta mau*.—Champollion, Mon. t. iii. pl. ccl.

^b Sharpe, Egypt. Inscript. pl. xlv. Cf. Diodorus Sicul. i. 70.

^c Tablets from the Collection of the Earl of Belmore. fo. London, 1843. No. 17.

^d *Naa en nechut*, "the greatest of those made strong." The syntax of one adjective before another, or a participle, gives the first a superlative value, as when an adjective is placed after another it has an adverbial force, thus  *nechu ur*, "numerous great," is "very great," or "very numerous."—Cf. Prisse, Monumens, pl. iv. 2, last line.

(l. 2.) crowned upon the throne of the lord of the living, like his father the Sun, daily, the good God lord of the south land of Hut.^a The Horus, the feathered creature, the perfect hawk of gold, who has protected Kami with his wing,^b giving light to the saved,^c a rampart of victory and force, who has emanated

(l. 3.) from the body,^d terrible in bearing his glory,^e who has enlarged his frontiers; the colour of his limbs has been painted like those which belong to Mentu,^f lord of the upper and lower diadem;^g taken out of the heaven^h the day that he was born, (said) the gods,ⁱ because we begat him—because,

(l. 4.) (said) the goddesses, he has emanated from us; I gave him^k the empire of the Sun (said) Amen Ra, because^l I made him, I gave Truth her place upon earth, making the heaven tranquil^m and the gods at rest at the (same) time—a strong bull against the vile Kish, a gryphonⁿ

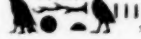
^a See note ^f, p. 359 *supra*.

^b *Chui naf Kam. t. em tenhu f*, "he has protected Egypt with his wing." Similar phrases occur.


^c *Ar mai en rech*, "making light to the wise spirits," or "the saved." The leg appears superfluous. See Champollion, *Mon. t. iv. pl. ccxiii*. *Shaafer unn aru en rechu*, "he rises to open the eyes of the wise." Perhaps *rech* is *rr* "spirit."


^d Either the body or belly of the egg of the Sun. A similar phrase occurs in the Theban tablet.—Prisse, *Monumens*, pl. xxv. l. 3.

^e Literally, *heli er ti peh f. her s-usch tashu f*, "terrible in taking his effulgence, in order to extend his frontiers."

^f A very difficult phrase, *ta en tut er en ha femnechut en Mentu*. The form , or its equivalents, appears to me to have the force of a compound preposition, meaning "in the power of," as "the great chiefs of the vile Ruten, led by his Majesty in his power (*em nechtu f*) from the land of the Khita, to fill the great cell of his father Ammon," &c. (Champollion, *Mon. t. iv. pl. cciv*), or "belonging to—subordinate to." Thus, on the Karnak Tablet (Lepsius, *Auswahl*, t. xii. *Trans. Roy. Soc. Literature*, vol. ii. p. 328.) I propose correcting to "his first expedition," *i.e.* "the first expedition belonging to him," &c.


^g The lower world is represented as a gryphon, emblem of *Set Baal* or *Nub* Ungarelli.—Int. Obel. tab. ii.



^h  *Neham* means "to take," as well as "save." Thus the king is said, *neham sen*, "to have taken" or "spared them" (Champollion, *Mon. pl. xv. l. i.*), as is evident from the context.—M. De Rougé, *Mémoire*, p. 15. The owl is used indifferently, as the Coptic *u* or *εβου*, and means "from."

ⁱ Speeches are often introduced elliptically into the texts; sometimes preceded by  *an n*, "from" or "by," *i.e.* "said by," or the "speech of" (Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, throughout). Cf. taf. i. c. 1, l. "Oh Bull of the West! (said) by (*an*) Thoth, Eternal king. I am," &c.

^k *Am f*, the Coptic accusative *am sen* *am*, in the following line.

^l The sense requires the full form *her en ti*, "because."—Champollion, *Gr. p. 505*. Cf. Lepsius, *Todt. xxvii. c. 72, l. 5*.

^m  *her*, Coptic *sedare*, to quiet.—De Rougé, *Mémoire*, p. 36.

ⁿ  *kaha*, a gryphon. The adjective or participle after it reads *nech ut*. As the symbol  is also used for "nails, bones," as in the Ritual (Lepsius, *Todt. taf. xix. c. 42*), in the mystical description

(l. 5.) furious against the land of the Nahsi, whose feet are about to trample on the Phut,^a whose horn is about to butt them;^b his spirits prevail over Penthannefer, his terror reaches to the Karu, his name encircles

(l. 6.) all lands on account of his power, and what his arms have done; gold comes out of the rock at his name, like as at that of Har, Lord of Bak; he does whatever he wishes in all the lands of the South, like Har in Sham and in Buhan; the king of the upper and lower country, the Sun, the defender of Truth approved of the Sun,

(l. 7.) Son of the Sun, of his body, lord of diadems, RAMESSU, beloved of Ammon, ever living and for a long while, like his father the Sun daily. When his Majesty was in Pthaka, about to return thanks^c to his fathers, the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, because they should give him victory and a great time of millions

(l. 8.) of years, and to be the first of his kind on the day that he was made; when his majesty was seated on his great throne of gold^d crowned in feathered plumes, in the act of registering the lands from which gold was brought, and in promulgating plans for making

(l. 9.) reservoirs^e on the roads deficient of water,^f then he heard it said that

of the dead—mistaken by Champollion (Cailliaud, Voyage à Meroë, vol. iv. p. 35.) for the dedication of the parts of the body to the deities—it is said "his fingers and nails are in (the shape of) living uræi." Hence the phrase is probably "a clawed dragon," or "gryphon."


^a *Uun aka. t. her petpet*. That *aka. t.* means a claw is proved by the passage in the Ritual (Lepsius, Todt. taf. lxxix. c. 164, l. 13) *em aka. t. en mau*, "by the claw of a lion." The substantive verb *hunn*, "to be," or *au*, "to be," acts as an auxiliary; when accompanied by the preposition *her*, it forms the paulo post future, "being about." Both forms occur in this sentence: *hunn aka. t. u. f her petpet au ab f her kahab am sen*. De Rouge, Mémoire, p. 181, has recognised the gerund force of this form.


^b *Kahab*, a word not found in the Coptic, but evidently the action of the horn, as *petpet* is of the foot. Cf. Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions, pl. 118, l. 20.


^c Or *Her ar hes-tu*, "about to do the behests," not "songs," as is usually translated. Under the old empire the form is constant.—Lepsius, Denkmäler, iii. taf. 150. The tablet (Sharpe, Eg. Insc. pl. 17) mentions the Lady Matu "as his beloved wife doing his behests (*ar-hes*) daily." The little statue of the Prince Anebta (B. M. No. 78; Lepsius, Auswahl, taf. xi. l. 1), is said to be *ar-t em hes-tu*, "made by the behests" or "orders" of Hatasu and Thothmes III. It is antithetic to *mer*, "love, wish, will;" as in Lepsius (Todt. i. c. 1, 15,) *aka. f hes-ut her f merut*, "he goes in as he wishes, he comes out as he chooses."

^d *Hut*, the same as the name of the morning sun, and of the stand or table of viands placed before persons.

Cf. Sharpe, Egypt. Inscript. pl. 100 area ; also pl. 82, 87 area.

^e  *nemi* or *chenem*, well or tank, for the phonetic value may be either (Bunsen, Egypt's Place, p. 565, No. 9; Clarac, Musée de Sculpture, tom. iii. pl. 248. No. 367, l. 3) in the name of Chnemis or Chnumis.

^f  Cf. also Rosellini, M. R. No. xlix. i. *Ta nem en Ra men Ma naa nechtu*, "the tank of the sun, the placer of truth (Sethos I.), the greatest of the powerful,"—with the pool represented.


^g  which ends in . . . *n-ut* the past-participial form, the Latin *at, it, t-us*, and the English *ed*, the Coptic *ut*, is deduced from the passages in which it occurs. This word ends twice with the evil bird.

there was abundance of gold in the land of *Akaiat*, only^a its road wanted water for the purpose.^b



(l. 10.) There came complaints from^c the miners^d of the gold washings of the place, saying that those who were about to approach^e it died^f of thirst on the road, with their asses which were before them, for that they could^g not carry^h them


(l. 11.) drink in their transit, on account of the distance.ⁱ There was^k no gold

Bunsen, Egypt's Place, 544, No. 81. The root is generally applied to sculpture.—Ibid. p. 549, 125. Perhaps the Memphitic **KHN** deficient. Cf. Todt. Lepsius, xxxv. 99, l. ii. t. i.

^a  *cher*. Generally affixed to the auxiliary verb, the disjunctive conjunction, **DA** *utique, revera*.—Parthey, Vocab. Copt. p. 216; M. De Rougé, Mémoire, p. 182. "For I was about to serve the king on foot;" *hunn char-a her shes atai anch uga sneb her ret a*.


^b *Akar*, or *kar*. This word constantly occurs in the Ritual (Lepsius, Todt. *passim*), either after the word *bach*, or rather *chat*, "spirit," as Lepsius, Todt. xxxi. l. 7, "Let this chapter be *known*; he is one of the wise (*akar*) shades (*chut*) of the Hades (*karneter*). With the prefixed *s*" (ibid. lxix. l. i.) "The book of making wise (*s-akar*), the dead to be in the midst of the sun, that he may prevail like Tum," &c.

^c  must be corrected to  *nehpu. NEZPE NEZP* s. m. "complaint."—Champollion, Gr. Eg. 380; Dict. 432.

^d  *ka-ru* or *kalu*, a smith. Copt. **ΣΑΜ-ΚΕΛΖΕ**




^e Correct  to  *mer*, which is obvious.

^f  *mut*, to die. **mor**, *mori*, the root being *mu*.

^g Correct  *am mu*. Its phonetic force is given.—Salvolini, Analyse Grammaticale Gr. A. 33. It appears to mean "to contrive." The value of the negative, *ben* or *men*, will be subsequently mentioned.

^h *Kart*. For a proof of this word meaning to *carry*, cf. Champollion, Panth. Egypt, 6.9.; Lepsius, Todt. taf. lxxviii. c. 163, l. 13, rubric, *gu her hefi kar ret*, "said of a snake bearing (or having) legs."—lxxix. c. 164, l. 42, 43.

ⁱ The erased part is uncertain. The only part to be relied on is *hai em mau* . . . going from the waters [of the river?]

^k A careful study of the hieratic papyri, the numerous instances of which are too many to cite, has demonstrated to my mind that  or  is really a negative; either *bu* or *ben*, or else *menu* or *men*  generally in clauses where it is repeated, like the Latin *nec* and *neque*, or "neither" and "nor." It generally occurs in colloquies. To the auxiliary verbs it is affixed, as *hunn bu*, l. c. *au bu*, "were not." It will be found in l. 14, in the expression "we neither see nor hear." The context shows that it meant, no gold came from the "*Akaiat*."

brought from that desert^a land. His majesty was asked by the keeper of the seals,^b who was there in attendance,^c to let the principal chiefs open^d

(l. 12.) their mouths to his majesty about that land: "I have made them come here, leading them into the presence of the good God." They lifted up their arms in adoration to his existence,^e saluting his gracious countenance,^f and explained the nature of the country, opening^g their

(l. 13.) mouth for orders to bore^h a reservoir in its road. They then said to his

^a The word is *maneschka* or *maneka*. The packet, determinative of dust, dirt, mud, and the evil bird, shews that it is used in a bad sense. Perhaps 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 deficient. It looks like an Aramaic word. Another instance of its use seems to occur (Clarac, pl. 242. l. 1), "They were going to that place, bearing her majesty (Arsinoe). It is a tank of Sais, which vivifies the desert land!"

^b Badly copied; apparently for 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *mer chatem*, the seal-bearer.—Cf. *Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. pl. xv. pp. 126, 128, 129. The following is either 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *enti er ma f*, "who was in his place," or possibly 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *sabu shaa*, "chief counsellor," or "eunuch," if not the phrase *sebu shaa en merut*, chief counsellor of his will." It seems to be the former.—Cf. Rosellini, M.C. cxxxv., where a *sabu* or "eunuch" draws a bark.

^c 𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏 , *as* or *en-as*, followed by a man raising one arm, often occurs in the text, as "to hail," or "to signify," or "salute." Coptic 𓂏𓂏 a chorus. The following group is the locative *ma*; the next *ai* "to hail." The next is repeated at the end of the other line.—Cf. Todt. li. 126. 6.

^d This group occurs twice, and is probably the word *neg*, commonly read *sent*, "saviour," a verb used in addressing a person, as *a neg-her-ten*, "oh, shew your faces" (Lepsius, Todt. taf. xlv. l. 1; xlviii. c. 35), or else *neg*, to "assent." If, however, it is correctly given, it should be 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *ch-ru Besh-ru*, *nudare os*. *Neg ru* occurs, Lepsius, Todt. xxiv. c. 64, l. 28.—Cf. Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. pl. 20, l. 23.

^e *Ka* or *Kar*, meaning existence. In the Ritual the deceased says, "I make all the transformations to place my heart in all the places I wish; I exist by it (*ka-a am*)." Lepsius, Todt. taf. ii. l. 24. The phrase is often repeated. Also Champollion, Mon. Egypt. t. ii. pl. cxxxi., "on the throne of Horus dwelling in living beings."

^f *Sen ta en her f*.—Cf. Prisse, Mon. Egypt. pl. xxiv. l. 8. *Ha en gu f sen ta em ha cher t*, "having made his obeisance before his Majesty."—Champollion, Mon. Eg. pl. ccviii. l. 2, bis. *Uru en (kahu) en Rutennu sen en bauf ra neb*, "the chiefs of the Ruten make obeisance to his (Pehar's) spirits daily."

^g This group has been already explained. The remainder should be "devised" *her s-cher* 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *Ka* means "the shape," 𓂏𓂏 , as *Neter nefer em ka en Mentu*, "the good god in the shape of Mars."—Champollion, Mon. iii. pl. cev.


^h *Teba*, "to pass through," or "bore" See Bunsen's Egypt's Place, p. 589, No. 50. In line 19, Phthah is called lord of works or devices. Two other forms are seen: Prisse, Mon. xlv. Nos. 6, 8; the context of the passages l. 20, 22. It is the Coptic 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 .


majesty: ^a Thou art like the sun in bringing all that you determine^b to pass; if thou issueth an order for light in the night it will come to pass. We have come^c

(l. 14.) in order to explain the leading^d of thy minerals.^e When thou art crowned as king we can neither hear nor see it—it is yet done as if they (thy quarries) were worked.^f What has emanated from thy mouth is like the words of the Sun,^g lord of the horizon; the words weighed in thy breast are


(l. 15.) collected by Thoth^h
 thou hast not seen it. No land has escaped thy tread in its turn, opening its

(l. 16.) ears when thou art about to claspⁱ that land. Thou art the egg of the glories^k of thy posterity. Thou givest thy words and plans over all lands. Thou art

^a The word *chef-t* means "before."—M. De Rougé, *Mémoire*, pp. 70, 73. In that case  *tu-k* is the detached pronoun of the second person "thou," *ḥḥok ḥṯk*: other examples occur (Champollion,

Mon. t. i. pl. xxxviii. l. 4, 6). If *cheft* is a verb,  is the end of the passive participle, and the nominative, as usual in the syntax, is enveloped between it and the verbal root.

^b *Merr-t* means "wish" or "will," as *ar merrt en neb f ra neb*, "doing the will of his master daily."

—Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. viii. A.; *Archæologia*, XXIX. Pl. XIV. *Bes*,  means "to transfer."
 —Burton, *Exc. Hier.* iii.


^c The general sense is clear, *ar* "if," *ab-ek*, "thou allowest," *s'cher*, "to make," *em-gerh*, "the night," *shut*, "light." Compare l. 20, *abi en suten-nu en kar ha*, "allowed the kings who were before."

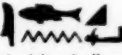
^d *As-ut*, past participle of the verb *asu*, which occurs l. 18, init. The rest of the line is copied wrong: probably, *her sa*, "behind."

^e "Thy sledges" on the Karnak Tablet (Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. xii. l. 27); *ba*.—Champoll. Mon. t. i. xxxviii. l. 22, l. 25.

^f A difficult phrase.

^g A similar phrase occurs at Aboosimbel, where Ramesesnechhef says to the king, "All that comes out of thy mouth is like the words of the Sun."—Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. ix. No. 2, central line.

^h  *s-cheter* appears on the right wall of the Speos at Derri, as the equivalent of *s-men*; as, "I place thy name on the great Persea."—Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. xliii. The following phrases are utterly unintelligible to me.

ⁱ  *ank*, an action of the breast or arm; a common phrase is *ank tau beshtu*, "squeezing the enemies' lands," as at Beitoually.—Champollion, Mon. i. pl. xliii.


^k *Aau . t* or *aa*, "glory," *AA* Rosetta Stone.—Brugsch, *Inscriptio Rosettana*, tab. ii. No. 24, l. 5, p. 13. Champollion, Mon. t. i., pl. xliii. 2, l. 8, "I give thee the title . . . the throne while upon earth."

the youth^a subduing the evil.^b No evil approaches^c—it does not^d terrify thee.

(l. 17.) It cannot exist before thee.^e Thou hast made thy mouth over the depths.^f Thou art the youth performing works^g which are the device of thy hand laying them down. Shouldst^h thou say to the waters, Come out of the rock, forth issues the celestial

(l. 18.) water in obedience to thy request.ⁱ Thou art the Sun in person, made in truth; thou art the living image of the Sun, the flesh of thy father Tum, lord of

^a *Sef*, "a child," as in the Legend of the Sun at Edfoo (Champollion, t. ii. pl. cxxiii. in the first hour, l. 1, 2.) "This god comes as lord of Edfoo, the great god, lord of the heaven, in the cabin with the Sun. He has


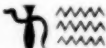

made his transformation in the globe of gold, he is changed into a boy  (*sef*) placed in the midst of it."—Cf. Ibid. t. ii. pl. cxxiii. 2, for Horus, *sef as her em Ra*, "the noble child who emanates from the Sun!"


^b The following group may be read *kar buten*, as in the tablet (Sharpe, Eg. Inscr. pl. xcix.), "governor of the north and of the south, terrifying the evil" (*buten*), or like the Karnak Tablet (Lepsius, Auswahl, taf. xii. l. 14) "his majesty approaches Egypt, the envoys of the . . . (*kanbut*) come bearing their tributes of black stone . . ." This looks, as it has been suggested, as if the inscription referred to pictures on the other side of the wall. Champollion, (Mon. pl. ix. l. 1, 15,) *ben hunn besht em ha k*, "no enemies are before thee."





^c *Bu ai men*, a very difficult phrase: "comes no monument?"

^d *Au ben su heli* "it is not—feared;" mutilated, and uncertain.

^e *Bu cheper tepu em chet k*, "it is not engendered from thy seed." *Tep heru* either means "guide of the way," or "preparer of the path." In the Ritual is mentioned the egg of Seb, (laid on earth), *tep er ta*.—Lepsius, Todt. taf. xxii., c. 54, l. 2.

^f A difficult phrase, *ar nek ru her en pe* . . . The mutilated word looks like  *hutb*, a well or fountain. See l. 21.  or *set*. Cf. however,  *teser*, "fluid."—Leeman's Monuments, ix. D. 38, l.

^g *Au k em hunnu shet kat nebi*. The apparent restoration of  "ten years," would be "thou art the youth of ten years old. If it could stand it should be *renpa*, "growth," or "renewal."

^h *Ar*  the substantive verb *to be*, English *are*,  prefix of the imperative; sometimes  Cf. Lepsius, Todt. c. 6, taf. ii.; and in the rubrics of the Ritual  *ar-kar*, "let only."



ⁱ The syntax is worth remarking: *her*, "forth comes;" *mau*, the water; *as.t*, "following;" *em-sa*, "behind;" *ru-k*, "thy mouth;" viz. the verb, the nominative, the participle dependent following the nominative, and the preposition with the locative. For *as*, see Lepsius, Todt. lxi. c. 141, last lines; *as ark* "you may go on."


Petennu. The god *Hu*^a (taste) is in thy mouth, *Ka*^b (feeling) is in thy heart, *Isis*^c is in thy beard, the shrine of Truth is seated in thy breast, for all the words thou makest daily,

(l. 19.) all thy heart has been made to expand by Phtha, the deviser of works, Thou art for ever. All thy plans are executed;^d thy words are listened to, oh our Lord! When the land of Akaiat had spoken as aforesaid,^e the prince of the vile Kish (Æthiopia) then


(l. 20.) spoke as . . . before his majesty, that it (the land of Akaiat) was labouring under a want of water during the late reign,^f and that persons had died

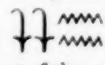
^a In the Legends of the Sun at Esneh, occurs an illustration of the real names of these two gods, *Hu* and *Ka*, who stand adoring the disc of the Sun, on which is a scarabæus and *pschent*. On the other side of the boat are two other gods; one having on his head an eye, personifying "Sight"; the other with an ear, meaning "Hearing." From this it would appear that *Hu* and *Ka* are two other senses, Taste and Touch. The curved object is apparently the tongue. In the Ritual of the British Museum of Nebeni, loco Lepsius, Todt. taf. xxxvi.


c. 99, l. 28, 29, the form occurs *ma ten n-a hu hetp er-ru a*, "give ye to me to taste (*hu*)  food in my mouth." Hence the name of the god *Hu*  seems to be Taste.

^b The preceding note shows why the god represented by the woof and eagle  not cut as the text of M. Prisse represents, should signify "touch," or "smell," as another of the senses. Variations in the mode of writing the name of this god occur (Lepsius, *Ueber den Gotterkreis*, s. 29). In the Mystical Hall the following phrase occurs: "Thou dost not proceed," says the porter, "unless thou tellest my name."—"Feeler of hearts (*ka-hatu*), requirer of bellies (*gar chatu*), is thy name," replies the deceased. Cf. Brugsch, *Inscr. Ros. tab. vii. l. 13, No. 65*; *rta ka ut*, "that it may be felt" or "perceived," and *tab. i. l. 3, No. 27*.

^c Possibly for "truth," *ma*. It is also not impossible that the apparent word *mert* or *mers*, the beard, may be *sept*, "the lips:" and mean, "Truth is on thy lips."

^d This phrase throws some light upon the very difficult word  *s-cheru*, reading *arut em secher neb*, "done are all plans;" *satem ut gu neb ek*, "listened to (are) all thy words;" one of the meanings of *secher* is "sections," as "the gods in this section (*-scherpen*)."^e Champollion, *Gr. p. 471*; *Diet. 321, 382*. Hence, the word "plan" answers well the sense. Cf. l. 8. A common title of the god Chons is *Ar-schar*. See Prisse, *Mon. pl. xxiv*. "Contriver?" similar to the phrase *ar-chet*, "producer."

^e As it stands in the text *nenu er s*, this word  *nen*, means, "order, kind, rank." Thus an often-repeated phrase in inscriptions, *cha nen*, means "of the same rank" in the titles of functionaries. Hence the so-called *tatanen* in the Ritual mean rank, order, kind. Lepsius, *Ueber den Gotterkreis*, s. 42, note. Cf. also l. 8. In the treaty with the Khita and Rameses II., *em nennu* appears to signify "as aforesaid."

^f The use of the auxiliary *au*, as prefix of the perfect, is self-evident. The prince "had" spoken, and was not "about to speak." What the group  means, I do not know, unless it is *er-s*, or *ar-s*, "doing it."

in it through want of water; that the kings who were before had wished^a to dig a tank in it, but were not able to dig it;

(l. 21.) that the king, the *Sun*, the placer of Truth (Sethos I.), had likewise attempted to cause a tank to be made for 120 cubits in front to bring it to the road, but that the water would not come out of it. If thou thyself sayest to thy father Hapi (the Nile),


(l. 22.) the father of the gods, "Let water come out of the rock," all will be done as thou commandest and orderest, being about to be done before us. Have not thy requests been heard? For thou art beloved of thy fathers the gods above all kings,

(l. 23.) formed like the Sun! His majesty replied to the chiefs: "All your words are true, stating^b that there has been no boring for water during the past reign, as ye say. I will make a reservoir in it for drinking daily, like

(l. 24.) a reservoir according to the commands of his father Amen Ra, lord of the foundations of the earth, and of the threefold Horus, lords of Phut,^c that they should gratify his wishes. I have caused it to be said in [that] land . . .

(l. 25.) in saluting their lord, in reverencing, in making it on their belly before, in prostrating,^d and in

(l. 26.) proclaiming to the heaven. Said his majesty to the royal scribe the governor

The next phrase  *ter rek netet*, "while ruled the god," means, "the past," or "late reign." An expression exactly similar occurs in the restoration of the palace of Luxor, by Alexander III. of Macedon, in which he says he has made the restoration of the place in white stone, well carved, as it was in the


reign (*masht ter-rek en char suten* ) of Amenophis III.—Champollion, Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxxxviii. 3.  —Champ. Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxcv. 4. l. 6.

Men hekar en rek-a, "I have not fasted in my time," says an officer at Benihasan. The same expression occurs on the tablet at Leyden. M. de Rougé (*Révue Archéologique*, tom. vi. p. 566) has also given another instance, *ter rek Har uah anch*, "while ruled the Horus, the augments of life!" In an inscription. (Sharpe, pl. 83. l. 4.) *Mesa em rek cher sut cheb Ra satp hat ma tu*; "I was born in the reign of the king, the peaceful Sun (Amenemha I.), deceased," is said by Mentusa, a scribe.

^a For the value of *ab* or *chab*, see Brugsch, *Inscr. Rosett.* pl. 1.

^b *Tehu* here is evidently a mistake or error of the transcriber for *tebhu*, "to beseech, to state" (*Ch. Gr.* 378).

^c The triple Horus is Horus lord of Sham (*Mashakit*) of Behni (the Wady Halfa) and of Bak . . . A fourth form also occurs at lord of *Maha*. They are often worshipped in Nubia, especially at Gebel Addeh and Aboosimbel—Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. ii. 3; vi. 3.

^d *S-kab*, , to humiliate or prostrate.

(l. 27.) of the road to the Akaita. Thou givest the month^a and day.
Has

(l. 28.) as it was done before, when he was conducting^b men (Egyptians) to

(l. 29.) shewing it the (things) done by the Prince of Kish. The water was

(l. 30.) the road to the land of Akaiat. Never^c was there one made like it while there were kings in Kami (Egypt)

(l. 31.) causing fishes in the pools,^d the oxyrhynchi touched the reeds in pleasing him are made


(l. 32.) as if rowed by Truth, sailed bearing a letter^e from the Prince of the vile Kish (*Æthiopia*).

(l. 33.) thy majesty said by thy own mouth, that there should be water in it to the depth of ten cubits; it is already four cubits deep^f there.

(l. 34.) it (or them) to come like the plan, made by the god to gratify thy wishes. Never (was any thing) done like it

(l. 35.) Akaiat, in order to take them from the great . . .^g being at a distance

(l. 36.) the ruler of the water which is in the firmament (place of gates,) because he has listened to his boring for water in the

^a This phrase only derives interest from the idea  that this group is the word *smat*, one of the decans, and that it marks a month of the panegyric cycle of the great year.—R. Stewart Poole, *Horæ*, pl. iii. 1—11, p. 55, and foll. An instance of its meaning "month" will be found on the base of the Karnak obelisk. Prisse, *Monumens*, pl. xviii. sect. 3, last line. "His majesty commenced (*shaa*) to make it (the obelisk) on the first day of the month Mechir (*smat*), and terminated (*neferi*) on the thirtieth of Mésori of the 16th year, making seven months from when it was in the quarry." It is here necessary to correct 16th, as it stands in the text, to the 15th, for the context requires it. Cf. also Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, taf. lv. c. 134, rubric, "adorations of the sun on the day of the month of the sailing of the boat," c. 135. "Another chapter to be said on the new moon" (*en renpa en Abot*).

^b The full form of this word is *heben*, *s-heben*.—Cf. Sharpe, *Eg. Inscr.* pl. 29, 28, l. hor. line, "The return of that great god to the fields of the gods;" sometimes to "combine."

^c The second pair of arms ought to be a bolt. The phrase is *at sep*, "no time."

^d *Rami*, "in the pools," *kah en shaat an tehu*, "touching the oxyrinchi in the reeds."—Cf. Champollion, *Dict.* p. 453, *Kah* $\Sigma\omega\mathfrak{Z}$; and Peyron, *Lex. Ling. Copt.* p. 253, $\text{ANTO}\mathfrak{Z}$ or "the rushes;" Lepsius, *Todt.* lxxiii. c. 149, n. 56, *meh atur tahu*, "the river is full of rushes." What this refers to I do not know. Perhaps it is a poetic expression, denoting that the rami and oxyrinchi entered the pool.

^e *Sett*, perhaps for CACI . The common word for a letter is *sha . t*.

^f *Set*, the same word as before, or else *ges*, XICE .

^g *Rennu*, determined by a block, perhaps "under the great names of Horus;" but what it means here is difficult to say, the few remaining parts of these lines are so mutilated.

(l. 37.) he has the prince sending. They were excellent about

(l. 38.) . . . Amen Ra, the good deeds compelled and declared


(l. 39.) denominated the pool to be that of the tank [or well] of Rameses, beloved of Amen, victorious in

The village of Kouban or Kobban, which is situate upon the eastern bank of the Nile, is apparently the Contra Pscelcis of the Itinerary of Antoninus, as it lies immediately opposite Dakke, and in about the 23° 10' north latitude, between the first and second cataract. Not much is known of this locality, the attention of travellers having been principally directed to the more promising ruins of Dakke. The town has, however, been visited and described by Belzoni, Burckhardt, Dr. Richardson, and others. The site is described as like that of El Heds, or Eileithyia; and the peribolos, or trace of an oblong space of about 150 paces by 100, with a wall of sun-burnt brick, 20 feet deep and 30 feet high, within which are the ruins of private dwellings, shews that it was one of the strong places in Nubia of the eighteenth dynasty. At the south-east corner of the wall beyond the peribolos are the remains of a small temple of rude construction, in the sanctuary of which the present tablet was probably found. It is a remarkable fact that the Bedouins have always retained a tradition, which is also found in all the Arabian geographers, that the Djebel Oellaky or Allaghi, which gives its name to a chain of mountains beginning to the east, at the distance of an hour's ride from Kobban, and continuing to the Red Sea, contained gold mines; and this statement, endeavoured to be explained away by Burckhardt,^a receives a remarkable confirmation from the present tablet. Nor is the name Oellaky totally unknown to the hieroglyphical inscriptions, as it is the exact transcription of *Ualuka*, the name of one of the tribes conquered by Amenophis III. Still more recently this locality was visited by Mr. Bonomi and Mr. Linant, and the results of their journey and a description of the mine at Eshuranib or Eshuanib, about three days' journey beyond Wadee Allaghi, is given by Sir Gardner Wilkinson^b in his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*. It is remarkable that this spot, which lies in the Bisharee desert or at Edreese, is called by Abulfedah the land of Bigga or Boja, a name found in the Ethnic tablets.

The condition of the tablet upon the whole is not so defective as might appear at first sight. In fact, the 26th line joins on and completes the 25th, as will be seen

^a A précis of the account of these travellers will be found in the *Modern Traveller, Egypt and Nubia*, vol. ii. pp. 293, 294.

^b *Manners and Customs*, vol. iii. p. 229, and following.

by inspecting it; the fixed point being the figure of a man with the arms raised, the upper part of whose body is in the 25th and the lower part in the 26th line. This lower fragment should consequently be moved to the right, so as to almost bring the end of the longest line to the edge of the  tablet, and only a small portion of this side is wanting. Of the left-hand side, about one half of the commencement of each line is wanting; and, with our present knowledge of texts, it is not possible to propose more than a general restoration of the sense. Enough, however, remains to show the general import of this part of the tablet, and the general historical information conveyed. As in the case of the temple of Khons, the inscription must have had a hieratic import, in connection with the temple; these sacred edifices being in all cases the depositaries of the official decrees. In Egyptian history, these documents assume a dramatic form, and are a striking picture of the customs and laws of the empire. The present is a process verbal, from which the following may be gathered. On the fourth of Tybi, in the third year of his reign, Rameses II., then in his youth, was registering the annual tribute in the land of Phthaka. The king was returning thanks to the gods, and was probably celebrating the fête or festival of Amen Ra, in his ithyphallic type of the god *Chem*, who was the eponymous deity of the Egyptian month Tybi; and it is probable from the subsequent expressions in l. 8, "when his majesty was seated on his great throne of gold crowned in feathered plumes," that it was the anniversary of the royal coronation, which was purposely, during the nineteenth dynasty, made to correspond with that of the autumnal equinox. The coronation of Rameses III., or Miamoun, at Medinat Haboo, was celebrated on the 1st of the month Pashons. There are many reasons for connecting the festival of the "bringing-forth" or "exposition" of Khem, with that of the coronation. The peculiar glory and distinction of this god were his mystical plumes,^a and his alliance with Horus, upon whose throne the king was supposed to sit, or upon that of the god *Tum*, "the setting" sun, and of *Ra*, the midday luminary.^b Thus, on the occasion of the coronation, the four genii,—Amset, Hapi, Tuaut-mutf, and Kabh-

^a They are constantly alluded to. At Luxor Amenophis III. (Champollion, *Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxlviii.*) placed them on his head. In the first part of the Ritual, in which the deceased has to explain several mystical notions, the god says, "I am Khem, in his 'coming forth,' or 'showing;' plumes have been placed on his head. Rubric. Let him explain it. Khem is Horus, the sustainer of his father; his appearance is his birth; the plumes on his head are Isis and Nephthys walking;" or his eyes, and certain serpents of his father, the god Tum, were also explained as symbolized by these plumes.—Lepsius, *Todt. c. 17, l. 12-15.*

^b Champollion, *Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxliii.* Also of Seb. "He (Amenophis III.) has placed to him the throne of Seb, the title of Tum," on the 1st of the month Pashons.—Champ. *M. cccxxx.*

senuf,—under the form of birds, are sent to announce to the gods of the north, south, east, and west that the king has taken the crowns of the upper and lower country;^a and Thoth is represented at Karnak standing before Euergetes I. and Berenice II. with the inscription, "Says the being of the two gods Euergetæ, for an eternity of cycles, and infinity of festivals, billions of years, millions of months, hundreds of thousands of days, tens of thousands of [nights], thousands of hours, hundreds of minutes (*ha.t*), tens of seconds (*an*), 'Ye are the two gods, crowned on the throne of [Horus], indwelling in living creatures for ever!'"^b

The god Khem was particularly the god of the quarries, an officer who was appointed on the 15th day of the month Athyr, in the second year of the reign of Mentuhetp, or Mandouphis, to be nomarch and governor of the desert; to bring the good precious stones from the quarry, or mine, "making," it continues, "his work to the living lord inscribed for the edifices in the temples of the south;" also " . . . from the lands of his father Khem he has made." Allusions to the crowning of the monarch Rameses II. like Khem occur at Beitoually, "*Bearing his bow in his chariot*," say the hieroglyphs; "*he is like Mentu (Mars); crowned upon horseback, he is like Khem.*"^c

At the time of the celebration of the festival of his coronation the monarch was in the land or city of *Phtha-ka*,^d by which is perhaps meant the land of the Pataikos, or Memphis, in which the god was worshipped under his Pigmaic form, the word Pataik-os being probably the Egyptian and not the Phœnician name of the god.^e

There is a subject copied from the tomb of Rameses III. in the Biban El Molook, of the personification of several regions advancing with offerings of their products to the king. The order there is *Hapi*, the Nile; the Northern *Peten*, or Poni; *Ta-meh*, the north or irrigated country, a river, or Nile, surmounted by three fishes; then the Nile surmounted by three other fishes; then the region of *Phtha-Ka*; another Nile surmounted by one fish, and the Southern *Peten*.^f Now the gods at Hermonthis are called lords of the Southern *Peten*, of which this city was probably the extreme

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^a Sir G. Wilkinson, *Man. and Cust.* pl. lxxvi.

^b Lepsius, *Einleitung*, s. 127. For *ka*, "existence, feeling," *vide infra*. This is omitted in parallel passages. —Champollion, *Mon.* t. iv. pl. cccxliii. It is evident that the cyphers *precede*, and do not follow, the periods; hence *ha .t*, or *a t*, is "a minute," and *an*, "a second." In a papyrus, Brit. Mus. the head of a hippopotamus replaces the group *hunu*, or *unnu*, "an hour," which may be compared with Horapollo, lib. ii. c. 20, ἵππος ποτάμιος γραφόμενος ὥραν δηλοῦν.

^c Champollion, *Mon.*

^e Herodot. iii. s. 37.

^f Champollion, *Mon.* cclii.

^d Burton, *Exc. Hier.*, pl. v.

limit.^a The northern limit of this region was San, or Heliopolis. The country of Peten is consequently to be looked for between these limits, and it is not a little remarkable that Rameses III., or Miamoun, calls himself "ruler (heka) of Peten," and that Amenanchut calls himself ruler of the "Southern Peten."

Numerous remains in the vicinity of the old Memphis show that Rameses II. much enlarged and beautified the temple of Phtha,^b and it is exceedingly probable that the king was then at Memphis; the more so, as it seems to have remained, till the age of the Ptolemies, the old hieratic capital; and the monarch was engaged in worship of the gods of the upper and lower countries, or of the empire in general, and not in a special act of homage to any local deity. It would appear that these solemn occasions were particularly used for the transaction of public business. It was, for example, when one of the later Ramessids was celebrating the festival of Ammon in Thebes, that the ambassador of the Bakutana was introduced to him.^c On these occasions the great officers of state were present, and ordonnances were issued by the king to them. The monarch, on the celebration of this festival, had under consideration the enregistering of the amount of gold brought from the South. One of these coronation scenes is represented at Thebes. Rameses II. enters, kneeling at the rich shrine, in which is seated Amen Ra, and behind him his wife Mut. Thoth, Ra, and Horus all follow, holding notched palm-branches, from which hang emblems of the festivals. A colloquy ensues between the gods, and the hieroglyphs explain the scene thus: "The king Rameses is being crowned upon the throne of Ra, the Sun." The gods speak as follows:—

AMEN.—[Speech omitted.]

MUT.—[Speech omitted.]

THOTH.—My beloved son Rameses, beloved of Ammon, I have come to you bringing the festivals.

MENTU.—I am thy father Mentu. I give thee power over all lands.

HAR-SIESIS.—Take the royal title, my beloved son, of the Lord of Thebes. I give thee the title, and to mount on the throne as when thou wert upon earth for ever. Thou art crowned as king for ever under the title (*aa*) of the Sun, the sustainer of truth—the approved of the Sun, the living!^d

From the Karnak Tablet it appears that accurate registers of the tribute paid to

^a Or Poone. Champollion, *Mon. t. ii. pl. clxvi. 2; cxlviii. 1.*

^b Cf. for example, the Colossus at Metrahenny. Mr. Bonomi, *Trans. R. Soc. Lit.*, new series, ii. 297.

^c Prisse, *Monumens*, pl. xxiv.

^d Champollion, *Mon. t. iv. pl. cccxlviii. bis.*

Egypt were kept in the rolls of the king's palace, under the direction of a royal scribe.^a And these again were delivered to the scribes of the silver-house, or treasury, of whom there were nine, who recorded the materials and substances paid.^b In addition to which, the quantities deposited were represented on the wall as in the treasury chamber of Rameses III.,^c or Miamoun, at Medinat Haboo, and also in a chamber of the temple at Philæ.^d

A record of the quantity raised at the mines was diligently kept; hence, at the old mine of the King *Senefru* at the Wady Magara, an officer records in the third year of Amenemes III. the copper and 724 troops.^e It does not indeed appear whether this was raised daily or monthly; but the tablets in the vicinity of the excavations always alluded to the locality, and the works carried on there from time to time; "this memorial to his father Khem-Khabt-Har (Coptos), lord of the quarries over the Phut, that he may accord him very many festivals, and to live like the Sun!"^f It is, perhaps, more probable that the proscynema is addressed to Khem, as lord of the Hill or Speos; for the same expression is used both in the Cosseyr road in speaking of the emerald mines, and also of the Speos Artemidos, of which Pasht was "the mistress."

The principal inducements which led the Pharaohs to the south were the valuable products, especially the minerals, with which that region abounded. At the early period of the fourth and sixth Egyptian dynasties, no traces occur of Ethiopian relations, and the frontier was probably at that time Eileithyia (El Hegs). So far indeed from the Egyptian civilisation having descended the cataracts of the Nile, there are no monuments to show that the Egyptians were then even acquainted with the black races, the Nahsi as they were called. Some information is found at the time of the eleventh dynasty. The base of a small statue inscribed with the name of the king *Ra nub Cheper*, apparently one of the monarchs of the eleventh dynasty, whose prenomen was discovered by Mr. Harris on a stone built into the bridge at Coptos, intermingled with the Enuentefs, has at the sides of the throne on which it is seated Asiatic and Negro prisoners. Under the monarchs of the

^a Lepsius, *Auswahl*, taf. l 13; M. De Rougé, *Memoire*, p. 103. In a paper read before the Roy. Soc. of Literature, 14th November, 1850, I had made the same correction.

^b Cf. Dr. Hincks, *Winchester Meeting*, *Trans. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.* p. 257.

^c Champollion, *Monumens Egyptiens*, *Notice Descriptive*, p. 364.

^d MS. of Mr. Harris.

^e Burton, *Exc. Hier.* pl. xii. Lepsius, *Denk.* ii. t. 149, f.

^f Burton, *Exc. Hier.* pl. v.

gold for victory again; I received the captives for slaves." During the reign of Amenophis I., the successor of Amosis, the Louvre tablet informs that he had taken one prisoner in Kash or Æthiopia. At El Heds, the functionary states, "I was in the fleet of the king—the sun, disposer of existence (Amenophis I.), justified; he anchored at Kush in order to enlarge the frontiers of Kami, he was smiting the Phut with his troops." Mention is subsequently made of a victory, and the capture of prisoners. It is interesting to find here the same place, Penti-han-nefer, which occurs in a Ptolemaic inscription on the west wall of the pronaos of the Temple of Philæ, where Isis is represented as "the mistress of Senem and the regent of Pent-han-nefer."^a From this it is evident that these two places were close to each other, and that this locality was near the site more recently called Ailak or Philæ. The speos of this monarch at Ibrim, the chapels at Tenu, or the Gebel Selseleh, show that the permanent occupation of Nubia at the age of the eighteenth dynasty extended beyond Philæ. Several small tesserae of this reign represent the monarch actually vanquishing the Æthiopians.^b

The immediate successors of Amenophis occupied themselves with the conquest of Æthiopia. There is a statue of Thothmes I. in the island of Argo,^c and a tablet dated on the 15 Tybi of his second year at Tombos.^d The old temple at Samneh was repaired and dedicated to Sesortesen III., supposed by some to be the Sesostris who is worshipped by Thothmes III. as the god Tat-un, or "Young Tat."^e It is at the temple of Samneh that the first indication occurs of that line of princes who ruled over Æthiopia, by an officer who had served under Amosis and Thothmes I., in which last reign he had been appointed Prince of Æthiopia.^f The reign of Thothmes III. shews that *Kush* figured on the regular rent-roll of Egypt. The remains of the mutilated account of the fortieth regnal year of the king is mentioned as "240 ounces" or "measures of cut precious stones and 100 ingots of gold." Subsequently "two canes" of some valuable kind of wood, and at least "300 ingots of gold," are mentioned as coming from the same people.^g It appears from the tomb of Rech-sha-ra, who was usher of the Egyptian court at the time, and who had duly

^a On the pronaos of Esneh (Ptolemaic), Champollion, *Mon. t. i. pl. xcvi. 2, bis*. In the twenty-eighth year of Shishak II. mention is made of the good gold of *Penti han nefer*.—Young, *Hier. pl. xliii. ii. Q. n.*

^b Birch, *Gall. of Antiq. p. 73-74*; Rosellini, *Mon. Stor. iii., pl. i., p. 95, 79, 80*.

^c Sir G. Wilkinson, *Man. and Cust. i. p. 52*.

^d Lepsius, *Denk. iii. 15*.

^e Young, *Hieroglyphics, pl. 92*. I cannot agree with M. Lepsius (*Ueber den Gotterkreis, s. 35*.) that Tattu represents This—but rather TADU, (Pliny, *N. H. vi. 29*.) or, as it is sometimes read, Tatu.

^f Young, *Hieroglyphics, pl. 91*.

^g Lepsius, *Auswahl, taf. xii*; Young, *Hieroglyphics, pl. 41, 42*.

introduced the tribute-bearers, that the quota paid from this country was bags of gold and gems, monkeys, panther-skins, logs of ebony, tusks of ivory, ostrich-eggs, ostrich-feathers, camelopards, dogs, oxen, slaves.^a The permanent occupation of the country is at the same time attested by the constructions which the monarch made, at Samneh, and the Wady Halfa.^b At Ibrim Nehi, prince and governor of the South, a nomarch, seal-bearer, and counsellor or eunuch, leads the usual tribute mentioned as "of gold, ivory, and ebony" to the king.^c *Set*, or Typhon, called "*Nub*" or "*Nub-Nub*,"^d Nubia, instructs him in the art of drawing one of those long bows which these people, according to the legend, contemptuously presented to the envoys of Cambyses. The successor of this monarch seems to have held the same extended territory, since, in the fourth year of his reign, these limits are mentioned,^e and some blocks with the remains of a dedication to the local deities. One of the rock temples at Ibrim was excavated in the reign of Amenophis II. by the Prince Naser-set, who was "nomarch" (*repa ha*), "chief counsellor" (*sabu shaa*), and "governor of the lands of the south." The wall-paintings represent the usual procession of tribute-bearers to the king, with gold, silver, and animals, some of whom, as the jackals, were enumerated.^f The same monarch continued the temple at Amada, and a colossal figure of him, dedicated to Chnumis and Athor, and sculptured in the form of Phtha or Vulcan, has been found at Begghe, and in the fourth year of his reign the limits of the empire are still placed as Mesopotamia on the north, and the Kalu or Gallæ on the south.^g

In the reign of his successor Thothmes IV. a servant of the king, apparently his charioteer, states he had attended the king from Naharaina on the north, to Kalu, or the Gallæ, in the south.^h

The constructions of this monarch at Amada and at Samneh, shew that tribute came at the same time from the chiefs of the Naharaina on the north, and also from *Æthiopia*. This is shewn by the tombs of the military chiefs lying near the hill which is situate between Medinat Haboo and the house of Jani, one of whom had exercised the office of royal scribe or secretary of state, from the reign

^a Hoskin's Travels in *Æthiopia*, 4to, London, 1835, p. 228, &c.

^b A temple of Thoth was founded by him there.—Champollion, Notice Descriptive, p. 36.

^c Champollion, Not. Descr. pp. 79, 80.

^d Champollion, Mon. Eg. t. i. pl. xvii; Burton, Exc. Hier.

^e Vyse (Col. Howard) Pyramids, Journal, vol. iii., pl. Tourah quarries.

^f Champollion, Not. Descr. pp. 84, 85. 140 boats full (of ivory and ebony), 10 jackals and apes.

^g Vyse (Col. Howard) Pyramids of Gizeh, vol. iii; Tourah quarries, 2.

^h Sharpe, Eg. Inscr., pl. xciii. l. 5, 6.

of Thothmes III. to that of Amenophis III.^a The reign of his successor, the last mentioned monarch, is the most remarkable in the monumental history of Egypt for the Æthiopian conquests. The marriage scarabæi of the king place the limits of the empire as the Naharaina (Mesopotamia) on the north, and the *Karu* or *Kalu* (the Gallæ) on the south. Although these limits are found, yet it is evident from the number of prisoners recorded that the Egyptian rule was by no means a settled one.^b They are Kish, Pet or Phut, Pamaui, Patamakai Uaruki, Taru-at, Baru, . . . kaba, Aruka, Makaiusah, Matarbu, Sahabu, Sahbaru, Ru-nemka, Abhetu, Turusu, Shaarushak, Akenes, Serunik Karuses, Shau, Buka, Shau, Taru Taru, Turusu, Turubenka, Akenes, Ark, Ur, Mar. (See Plate XXVII.)

Amongst these names will be seen in the list of the Pedestal of Paris that of the Akaiat or Aka-ta, a name much resembling that of the Ath-agau, which is still preserved in the Agow or Agows,^c a tribe near the sources of the Blue Nile. Amenophis appears by no means to have neglected the conquests of his predecessors, and his advance to Soleb, in the province of El Sokhot, and Elmahas, proves that the influence of Egypt was still more extended than in the previous reigns.

In the reign of Amenophis, Æthiopia appears to have been governed by a viceroy, who was an Egyptian officer of state, generally a royal scribe or military chief, sent down for the purpose of administering the country; the one in this reign bore the name of Merimes, and appears to have ended his days at Thebes, as his sepulchre remains in the western hills.^d He was called the *sa suten en Kush*, or prince of Kush, which comprised the tract of country lying south of Elephantina. In all the Ethnic lists this Kash or Æthiopia is placed next to the head of the list, "all lands of the south," and its identity with the Biblical Kush is universally admitted. It is generally mentioned with the haughtiest contempt, as the vile Kush (*Kash kh'aas*,) or Æthiopia, and the princes were of red or Egyptian blood. They dutifully rendered their proscynemata to the kings of Egypt.^e

^a Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 181, and foll. Cf. Rosellini, Mon. Stor. t. i. pl. ii, &c.; Birch, Gallery.

^b Lists of these names will be found in the following places: Birch, Gallery, p. 84; Archæologia, vol. XXXI. p. 489, 491; Gliddon, Otia Ægyptiaca, p. 144; Arch. Jour. 1851, p. 401.



^c "Of what high antiquity," says Mr. Ayrton (Journal Geogr. Soc. part i. 1848, p. 65) "are the names of many places in Arabia, and the opposite part of Africa, may be seen by comparing the names of provinces and tribes with those given in the earliest writings. In the Adulitic inscription, for example, are mentioned, in Africa, *Agame*, *Ava*, *Ath-Agau* (the Agows), near the sources of the Blue Nile, *Samene* (Samen), *Zaa* (Shawa), *At-Almo* (Lam-Almon), *Zingabene* (Zingebare), with others identified by Dean Vincent," vol. ii. p. 544, *et seq.*

^d Champollion, Not. Descr. des Monum. Egypt. du Mus. Charles X., 16mo. Paris, 1827, p. 12. A proscynema of him occurs at Begghe.—Cham. Mon. t. i., pl. lxxv.

^e Cf. for example, that of Prince Merimes, M. R. xlv. 3. For the position of Kush in the Ethnic lists, see Wilkinson's Mat. Hier. pl. viii.; Sethos I. a. 2, b. 2; Ramses, a. 2, b. 2.

A similar institution had, at an earlier period, been made for Eileithyia or El Kab. One of the sepulchres of these Eileithyian princes, *Shaaemneser*, son of *Amenhetp*, and the grandson of *Thothmes*, born of the lady *Ges-ha*, or *Nas-ha*, exists in the vicinity of that city.^a This prince was a kind of priest, or personal attendant of Amenophis I., of the dowager queen Aahmes Arinefer, called the divine wife, and of the royal lady, and queen consort Aahmes, and of the monarch Thothmes I. He was, besides this, scribe of all ranks,^b and one of the priests who entered the sanctuary of the goddess. Such titles are only consistent with an elective prince created by the crown, and all doubt upon the subject is removed by the Sallier calendar, from which it appears that the Egyptian astrologers of the nineteenth dynasty affected to predict the day on which the man should be born who would be a prince of the people.^c Another of these Eileithyian princes lived till the reign of Thothmes III. from that of Amosis; and his name, *Aahmes-Pensuben*, shews that he was a local functionary. Several works of the time, which extend throughout the whole of the modern Nubia, show that the country was occupied by Egyptians. One of the most important changes made by Amenophis appears to have been the foundation of the station at Abu^d, "the ivory island," as Elephantina was called, probably because it was the depôt of the Æthiopian ivory trade. The great razzia of the king, in which he brought 1052 prisoners, or slaves, from *Abha*, and his passage down the river in his third year for the purposes of conquest, I have already mentioned.^e Although the death of Amenophis was followed by a period of anarchy internally, yet the political relations by no means changed as regarded the two countries.

^a Champollion, Mon. pl. cxlv. The phrase  "prince over the land of Eileithyia."

^b  *sa*, a very difficult hieroglyph, seems to mean "side," as  , *ensa*, "beside" or "behind." In the star-risings (Champollion, Mon. t. iii. pl. cclxxv., cclxxvi.) the heaven, considered as a female, is divided into the head (*api* or *ga*), the waist or middle (*sa*), and the extremity (*mes. t*). On the great tablet at Aboosimbel (Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. xxxviii. l. 18) the phrase occurs, "I accompany thy limbs with life and power, thy limbs with health." A common phrase is *ar-sa* (Lepsius, Todt. taf. li. c. 127, l. 10): "They salute (*haa*) him, they adore him with their arms, they give him their parts (*ar sa*); he has lived by them." Cf. Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. lxx. t. ii. pl. cxlv. *quater*.

^c Dr. Hincks, Dublin University Magazine, 1846, p. 190. On the oldest of all almanacks, cf. Select Papyri, Brit. Mus. pl. cxlvii. l. 9, "Paophi, a good day, rejoicing the heart of the gods on the festival of overthrowing the enemies of the Sun. Any one born on it will die ennobled" (*mesu neb em ra pen mut naf aaut*).

^d For the works of Amenophis III. at Elephantina, see Young, Hieroglyphics, pl. 53, 62, where he is followed by Taia.—Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 117. The obelisk now at Alnwick was probably from thence, and is dedicated to *Num*, having been placed before the sanctuary. It is of Amenophis II.

^e Archæological Journal, 1852, p. 400.

Not to re-open the disputed question of the Disc Heresy, the monarch Amenanchut, who belonged to the true faith, had an Æthiopian prince named *Hui*. His tomb was one of those lying between Medinat Haboo and the hill of the house of Jani.^a The prince is seen paying his respects to the monarch Amenanchut, who has behind him the various products of the country. Of these the most important are, *nub-arf*. . . , "gold—103 sacks." Foot-stools, arm-chair couches with their pillows, a chariot, cups filled with precious stones, ivory and ebony, trays filled with small palm-trees and plants, and little figures, apparently the pigmies, placed upon panther-skins, with chains of gold rings hanging down, give some idea of the opulence of the Æthiopia at this period. These are followed by "the chief of Shamma, the good ruler;"^b while some of the others are called "the chiefs of Uai."^c The place called Sham is one over which the god Horus presided; the Uai were conquered by Amenemha I. These are followed by an Æthiopian princess, dressed much in the style of the Æthiopians as seen upon the pyramids of Æthiopia. She is accompanied by other negroes, whom the hieroglyphs call "those born of the chiefs of all the countries;" and a host of other Æthiopians, wearing their plumes and plaited tunics, carrying sacks of gold and silver, and gold rings in baskets, lead along a giraffe, and oxen which have their horns fantastically arranged to represent a negro's head, stretching out his hands. Others bring cups of gold and gems, two baskets of red jasper, colours, and a flabellum. The hieroglyphs distinctly show that these are Æthiopian. "The chiefs of Kush, they say, 'Hail to thee, King of Egypt, the sun of foreigners; we are the breath of thy gift, living as thou willest!'" And again, "The chiefs of Kush say—'Great are thy spirits, oh perfect god; exalted is thy glory: we breathe as thou grantest: true is thy word!'" The heretic monarch of El Tell, and the so-called Bachenaten, records and depicts his triumphs, both over negroes and Asiatics, but the details are wanting; and from hence the transition is rapid to Har-em-hebi, or Horus, who is represented at war again with the Black races. The monarch is called in his eulogistic inscriptions, "a lion marching against Kush;"^d and a military chief or general addressing him, says, "great is thy name in the land of Kush." This monarch, indeed, inscribes the Baru, or Baru-Baru,^e the Berbers, amongst his conquests; but the highest point

^a Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 479.

^b *Sham* appears to be Aboosimbel. On the great tablet sculptured on the rocks there, it is said, "He (the king) has made a place for a million of years in this rock of *Shamma*."

^c This proves the Uaua of the Karnak Tablet to be Æthiopians, and not Asiatics, as some have conjectured.

^d Nestor L'Hôte, Lettres, 1840, p. 70.

^e Rosellini, M. R. No. xlv. 4.

^f Rosellini, Mon. Stor. tom. ii. pte. i. p. 275-7. Cf. Wilkinson, Mat. Hier. pl. viii. a. 2.

where his constructions have been found are Gebel Addeh.^a The frontier of the empire appears contracted. The interval which elapsed between the close of the eighteenth dynasty and the rise of the nineteenth, seems to have been one of the subjection of Egypt to Northern invaders, who occupied Lower Egypt, and drove the native monarchs down to Ethiopia to take refuge in the territories of their viceroys. It is the period of which some notices have reached us through the extracts of the History of Manetho. The monarchs of the new dynasty had their hands full, and Rameses I. does not appear to have engaged in Ethiopian wars.^b Even *Seti*, or *SETHOS I.* is employed in the first year of his reign in driving the Hyk-Shos out of Pelusium or Avaris. His southern wars were probably left to his generals. Like Amenophis III., he has, however, left behind some lists, and the following show that the Akaita, or Akaiat, were among them. He had recovered the gold mines of that spot.

FIRST LIST.

1. Kush (Ethiopia).
2. A-ta-ru.
3. Alukhau (Allaghy).
4. Amru Karka.
5. Bu-ka (Boggees, Begas).

SECOND LIST.

1. Kush (Ethiopia).
2. Khaui.
3. Tar-wa (Darfour).
4. Ataru (Adulis).
5. Karu-ses.
6. Akata.^d

THIRD LIST.

1. South.
2. Kush (Ethiopia).
3. Ataru (Adulis).
4. Arushaki.
5. Amru Karka.
6. Buka (Boggees).
7. Seruni (Sileni).
8. Baru baru (Berbers).
9. Tekrurr (Tigre).
10. Mar (Meroe).
11. Karuses.
12. A-ruk.^c
13. Turusu or Tur-ru-nek.

The present inscription shows that he had endeavoured, although unsuccessfully, to make a tank or well for the miners who traversed the desert. A tablet set up by him at Ibrim, the ancient Primis, discovered by Mr. Harris, represents this king, who

^a Rosellini, Mon. Stor. p. 289. The ancient name of the site was *Amen-Heri*. In it is a temple dedicated to Thoth by Horus.—Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 40-43.

^b There is, however, a votive inscription of 20 Mechir, second year of his reign, at the Wady Halfa.—Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 33.

^c Wilkinson, Mat. Hier. pl. viii.

^d Ibid. Gliddon, Otia Ægyptiaca, 1849, p. 145; Rosellini, M. R. lxi.

^e Ibid.

has descended from his chariot, spearing an Ethiopian in the presence of a god. The inscription contains the proscynema of Amenemap, royal son of Kush or Ethiopia. The inscription merely alludes in general terms to the royal exploits in smiting Ethiopia and ravaging the land of the Nahsi. "He has extended," it says, "his southern frontiers to the Nahsi, his northern to the great ocean." This tablet was probably erected upon the occasion of some visit or campaign of the king in the south. The great conquests of the king are, however, inscribed on one of the pylons, or triumphal arches as they may be called, of the king at Karnak. The lists of Sethos I. although by no means so complete as those of Amenophis III., show that the king traversed nearly the same ground.

One of the most interesting remains of this reign, and referring to gold mines, in all probability those of the south, is the ancient Egyptian map at Turin, which, owing to the defective state of the knowledge of the hieratic character, has been mistaken for the ground plan of the tomb of Sethos I. It is figured in facsimile;^a and I lay a copy of this before you. The portion marked A, to which I have attached the small letters *a-f*, is inscribed as follows: *a* has *hatp-Amen-em*; and below *Ta tehni en tu*, "the front of the hill." On the rectangular building, which is below this, is inscribed, *Pa chatem en Amen en ta* "the shrine," or "closed place of Amen in the hill." Beneath this is the word *ab*, "clean, pure," but whether it refers to the hill or the sanctuary, called *a-ab*, "pure place," the *abaton*, is not clear. The fragment *b* has *Tu en nub*, "the hill of gold," or the "gold mines," and this part is the key to the whole. This expression is repeated at *c*, and at *d* more expressly, as *Ta tu en nub*, "THE hill of gold." These hills are represented in Egyptian perspective, and intended to flank the roads or shafts. The large hieroglyphs in two lines in the centre (*e*) reading, *huu enti nub am charau em pa ans teshu*, "the hills or mines from which the gold is brought are drawn red on the plan," is a guide for those consulting it, like the rubrical directions of Egyptian rituals. At *f* is *Na ha u en nak nub*, "the houses of the land of for washing," or "refining the gold." At *h* is the *well*, with the word for "water" among the mutilated hieroglyphs; and the half-oval object at *g* is *hutu en sut-heb Ra men ma*, "the tablet of the king; the Sun, Arranger of Truth." (Sethos I.) At *h* is *Tacha enti shaa er pa iam*, "the roads leading to the sea." At *i* is *ki tacha enti shaa er pa iam*, "a second road leading to the sea." At *k* is *Tacha en* "the road" of some place, the name of which I cannot read; and at *l* is *Tacha en na Menta*, "the road for the workmen?" It is an important contribution to our knowledge of Egyptian civilisation to find the very mines mapped at this

^a Lepsius, Auswahl, taf. xxii.

early period; but of which gold mines this is the plan, can only be inferred by conjecture. Those of the Gebel Ollaga best answer the condition of the roads to the sea, the lower of which (*k*) is represented strewn with sea-shells.^a

Thus far the political relations of the two countries have been succinctly traced down to the age of Rameses II., the son of Sethos I.; and the present tablet, dated in the third year of his reign, which extended upwards of sixty-six years, shows from the 16th line that the monarch was extremely young when he ascended the throne. The administration of the southern provinces appears unchanged, for the subject of the well or reservoir, although introduced by the negro chiefs, is seconded by a prince of Ethiopia, whose name is unfortunately lost, but who is probably *Amene-mapt*, and who is found on the monuments of Beitoually to have survived Sethos, and to have been succeeded by his son *Pa-ur*.

The care of making wells in the desert, on the roads leading to the mines, is shewn by many inscriptions. One on the Cosseir road, leading to the emerald and gold mines^b of Berenice, dated on the 23d of the month Athyr, in the reign of Mentuhetp, or Mandouophis, of the thirteenth dynasty, mentions the mode used for the working of the "hill in the place for ever, to the lord living in the mine (*Baa . t*), seeing all the forms," it states, "of the god who has given his spirits to men, making land out of water, and transferring the water (*bes mau*) out of the mire of the country, obtaining water in the midst of the valley, from ten cubits to ten cubits, in order to draw water for the corn, and for washing and watering the beasts as they come to the land of Phut," &c. Another of these wells is mentioned in the inscriptions of the mines at the Sarabut El Khadem, where, in the list of the governors of the temple or fort, it is said of one, *ar naf baba un em ba pen*, "who made the well which is in the mine."^c All the principal temples and stations were provided with tanks or lakes. Thus a tablet in the British Museum was made for the "keeper of the northern reservoirs at Thebes;"^d and an inscription published by Champollion has, "offered to Osiris, who dwells in the pool of the palace of Ramses in Thebes."^e When these pools or tanks were of large size, they were called after the monarchs by whom they

^a For this locality, see Sir G. Wilkinson's Topography of Thebes, p. 416. A small station, built by Sethos I. in his ninth year, still remains on the road leading from Contra Apollinopolis to the emerald mines.—Wilkinson, l. c. 420.

^b Burton, Exc. Hier. pl. iii.

^c Leon de la Borde, Voy. Arab. Petréé, fo. Paris.

^d Egyptian Saloon, 282.

^e Champollion, Mon. pl. clxii. At Esneh, where the temple is seen in an oval, Num says, "I give thee a house fit to hold water, filled with all good things."—Ibid. cxlv. *tev*.

were made. The large square tank, 3,600 cubits long, and 600 cubits broad, made by Amenophis III., in the eleventh year of his reign, he named *Nem en suten hem Taia*, "The lake of the queen Taia."^a The celebrated lake Mœris, or Moteris,⁷ as one reading of Pliny gives it,^b appears to have been named after Amenemha IV., whose prenomen was *Ra-ma-tu*. In the picture at Karnak, representing the return of Sethos I. to Pelusium, is seen a pool, or tank, defended by a fort, which is called *Ta Nem en Sut en cheb Ra men ma*, "The tank," or "well of the King, the Sun, the defender of Truth," Sethos I.^c The forts were also named after the monarchs who built them, and in the *Makatulu en Ramessu* has been recognised "the Migdol," or "Tower of Ramses," which the Jews built.^d The present tank was also named after the king Ramesses; and, from the mutilated lines at the end, it appears that the prince of Æthiopia sent a galley with a letter up the Nile, announcing the event.

That these letters were carried by special messengers will, of course, be obvious. The envoy of the Bakten, on a later tablet, records the arrival of a letter from a prince of that country to the king of Egypt,^e and the Anastasi papyri are filled with the foreign correspondence of the functionaries of the early part of the nineteenth dynasty, the most interesting portion of which is the series of letters addressed to the governor of the castle of Tuk, or Thuk.^f Another point connected with this tablet is the fact that the desert at this period was crossed by asses. I have already mentioned that the *horse* (*htar*) was unknown in Egypt till the age of the eighteenth dynasty, and that upon monuments of the twelfth the ass appears only to have been used for riding. The Mes-stem foreigners, who approach the nomarch Neferhetp, come through the Arabian desert on asses,^g and the tombs of the twelfth dynasty shew the animal treading out the corn.^h During the eighteenth dynasty *horses* were sent as tribute to Egypt, and also *asses*, but *camels* never; the two former were however often employed—the first for the purposes of war only, the second for agricultural purposes, especially carriage. The latter appear only in

^a Cf. Rosellini, M. R. xlv. 2; Dr. Hincks, on the Eighteenth Dynasty of Manetho, Trans. Roy. Irish Acad. vol. xix. pt. ii. p. 7.

^b Pliny, N. H. lib. xxxvi. c. 13. For the various opinions as to its etymology, and its discovery by M. Linant, see M. Lepsius, Einleitung, s. 263.—Mémoire sur le Lac Mœris, par M. Linant de Bellefonds, 4to. Alexandrie, 1843; Chev. Bunsen, Ægyptens Stelle, buch ii. s. 209 and foll.

^c Osburn, Egypt's Testimony, p. 105.

^d Prisse, Mon. pl. xxiv.

^e Select Papyri, pl. xcix. and foll.

^f Rosellini, M. R. xxvi.

^g Ibid. M. C.

^h Ibid. M. C.

the trans-Jordanic part of Palestine, ridden by the Shasu or Hykshos.^a Many notices occur of the ass: "May it please my lord,"^b says one writer, "his asses are well." In another of these documents the writer wishes that some one whom he abuses may "fall in the mire in the land of Charu, and return home in a coffin on the back of an *ass*,"^c evidently intended as a degrading circumstance. In the correspondence of the governor of Thuk, the writer mentions asses, and that the king's asses have been sent to their stable.^d They were, in fact, at this remote period the animal of the Egyptian desert, and preceded by several centuries the camel.^e

In ancient Egypt the quantity of gold imported into the country must have been immense. The dazzling abundance of the valuable products of the north and south must have rivalled in those times the discoveries of the new world. "In the (district of Meroe)," says Diodorus, "there are mines of gold, silver, iron, and brass, besides abundance of ebony and all sorts of precious stones."^f In the description of the palace of Osymandyas,^g the same author mentions the annual produce of the Egyptian gold and silver mines at the enormous figure of 3200 myriads of minæ.^h The animated description of the working of these mines by Agatharcides is well known, and the position of the principal mines has been already pointed out. So fabulous was the quantity, that Herodotus represents the very prisoners in the *Æthiopian* jails as manacled with gold. The expedition of Sesostris, in which must be recognized a confusion and amalgamation of the wars of the eighteenth dynasty, when it had succeeded, imposed upon this region a tribute of ebony, gold, and tusks of ivory.ⁱ The same tribute was exacted under the Persian empire; for the *Æthiopians* paid every third year two bushels of native gold, two hundred logs of

^a Trans. Roy. Soc. Literat. new series, vol. ii. p. 337.

^b Dr. Hincks, Winchester Meeting, Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc. 8vo. London, 1846, p. 249; Select Papyri.

^c Ibid. p. 256. Select Papyri, lxxvii. 5.

^d Select Papyri, cviii. 14.

^e The cattle of Jericho were the ox, the sheep, the ass.—Joshua, vi. 21.

^f Diodorus, i. 33. ὁπάρχειν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ μέταλλα χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ σιδήρου καὶ χαλκοῦ. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἔχειν πλῆθος ἑβένου, λίθων τε πολυτελῶν γένη πανταδωπά.

^g Diodorus, i. 49. καθ' ὃν δὲ γλυφαῖς ἐντυχεῖν εἶναι καὶ χρώμασιν ἐπηριθμισμένον τὸν βασιλεῖα, φέροντα τῷ Θεῷ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὃν καὶ ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐλάμβανε τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ χρυσείων μετὰλλων. ὑπογράφεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, ὃ συγκεφαλαιούμενον εἰς ἀργυρίου λόγον εἶναι μῶν τρισχιλίας καὶ διακοσίας μυριάδας.

^h Diod. iii. 11; Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Man. and Cus., ser. i. vol. iii. p. 231.

ⁱ Diodorus, i. 55. καὶ καταπολεμήσας, ἠνάγκασε τὸ ἔθνος φόρους τελεῖν, ἑβένου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τοὺς ὀδόντας.

ebony, five Æthiopian boys, and twenty large tusks of ivory.^a The gold sent from Kush or Æthiopia was either gold-dust in bags called *gam*, or "pure gold," melted into the form of large square ingots called *mna* or pounds, or else in the form of rings (*sesb*) made into chains and carried by the hand.

In the conquests of Rameses II. at Beitoually, all three forms are represented, and the rings and ingots are mentioned in the tribute of Kush, on the statistical tablet of Karnak. As one of the items of the treasury of Rameses III. at Medinat Haboo 1,000 sacks (*arfū*)^b of the gold of Æthiopia are mentioned.^c In the contributions to the temple at Philæ, the Ua-ua, an Æthiopian people, contribute gold; and Æthiopia itself a material called *heres*.

Since the time of the great Thothmes none of the Egyptian monarchs had exercised such sway in Æthiopia. At Beitoually, which appears to have been excavated in the commencement of his reign, the conquest of Æthiopia is duly recorded.^d The investiture of Amenemapt, the son of Pahur, as prince of Æthiopia, is there represented, while a large tribute both of the precious metals, raw products, and manufactured articles, shews the advanced state of the civilization. The speos, indeed, does not seem to have been completed during the life of Amenemapt, as another prince named "Messu (Ra messu), the Ra Satp of the land of the south," who was also standard-bearer on the king's left hand, and royal scribe, is represented kneeling in prayer on the left jamb of the central gate of the temple of Ammon.^e This name may, perhaps, be connected with that found in a hieratic inscription at Aboosimbel.

Either to the period of this prince or to that of his predecessor must be referred the temple of Mashakit, which is not dedicated by the king, but by Pahur the "prince-governor of the south, standard-bearer at the king's left hand, and royal scribe, having charge of the lands of Amen in the country of Peta (Phut), and also having charge of the gold lands."^f In another place he is styled nomarch, and chief auditor of complaints to the king's house.^g He adores Rameses as a god along with Anucis, and states that the gods have given the king all the *bows*, or foreigners,

^a Herodot. iii. 97. These boys, called *makau* (*magas*), are mentioned in the Inscription of Amenophis III. from Samueh.—Brit. Mus. 138*.

^b Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 364. This is evidently the celebrated treasury of Rampsinitus.

^c Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 150, 151; Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. lxxiii. l. 1; The Investiture, pl. lxxviii.

^d Champollion, Not. Descr. Mon. t. i. pl. lxxiv.

^e Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 40.

^f Champollion, Not. Descr. pp. 38, 39.

under his sandals.* A statue of this prince, made of sandstone, and removed from Nubia by Belzoni,^b is dedicated to "Ammon Ra, who dwells in the fort of Ramesses." At Mashakit he is also named governor of the temple of Ammon, and it is probable that he was located there. Another of these princes, named *Sta*, is found after this period, having ruled the country during the middle portion of the reign of Rameses. At Amada he is seen addressing a proscynema.^c At Gershe Hassan there is a statue with the legend of Rameses II., and the titles of the prince, who is called "royal Son of Ethiopia, president of the gold lands and king's scribe."^d On a tablet lying to the south of the speos of the temple of Athor at Aboosimbel, dated in the 38th year of Rameses, this prince is called "a military chief, or nomarch, divine father and friend, chamberlain of the king's house, and the eyes and ears of the king."^e The title of Prince of Ethiopia is placed last. Another of his proscynemata is found on the route between Philæ and Syene,^f and traces of him at Ibrim.^g These princes continued till a later period,^h as one named *Peti*ⁱ is found, under Rameses III., making a proscynema with the men of "Su-ten-chennu," or "the land of royal infants," a name which, in a remarkable manner, corresponds with the description of Manetho. The lid of the sarcophagus of the prince *Sta* from one of the Theban sepulchres shows that, like others of his race, he ended his days at Thebes.^k During the whole of this dynasty Ethiopia was ruled by these viceroys.

The mines appear to have been worked principally by culprits and slaves. Rameses particularly prided himself upon his foreign conquests.

At Beitoually the hieroglyphs announce his titles as "trampler upon the south, he who sabres the Nahsi, who hoes the south and ploughs the north."^l At Aboosimbel the same king is called "the bruiser of the Bow-bearers—the trampler

* There is also another proscynema of uncertain period, perhaps antecedent, of Kafai, son of Thothmes, governor of the slave house of the lord of the Earth (the King), in the land of Phut, and superintendent

of the gold mines. 

^b Brit. Gall. pl. li. 180.

^c Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. xxxv. p. 4.

^d Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 104. The inscription states it is offered to Ra; "may he give a good time to rejoice in the panegyry? to the Prince Sta." This shows it was after the thirtieth year of the king's reign.

^e Champollion, t. i. pl. viii. p. 4. Certain officers of the Persian court were called king's eyes and ears. Cf. also Not. Descr. p. 7.

^f Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 105.

^g Ibid. p. 82.

^h A prince Unnefer? son of another prince named Ramses, is mentioned in the hieratic inscription of Aboosimbel, Champ. Not. Descr. p. 6.; Lepsius, Einl. s. 320.

ⁱ Champ. Mon. t. i. pl. iv. p. 2.

^k Coffin-lid, British Museum, Egypt. Saloon. No. 78.

^l Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. viii. p. 2.

on the chiefs of the vile Æthiopia."^a In the same speos he is called "a bull against the Charu (or Chalu), a strong bull against Kish," or Æthiopia.^b At Aboosimbel it is expressly stated that the king "has dragged the Nahsi (Negroes) to the north, the Naamu (Asiatics) to Phut—building it with his captives."^c In illustration of which fact the king is represented destroying an Asiatic. A similar expression occurs on the great dedicatory tablet of Aboosimbel, "He brought," says the inscription, "numerous workmen of the captives dragged from every land, he has filled the house of the gods with the children of the Ruten!"^d A striking commentary upon the inscription said to be engraved by Sesostris on his temples, *ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΑ ΜΕΜΟΧΘΗΚΕ*. This was, however, not peculiar to Rameses II., as Thothmes III. sent his Asiatic captives to Thebes, to build the temple of Amen Ra, or the Sun, at Thebes.^e

The Negro represented on the monuments of the period has remained for centuries unchanged, like the natural features with which he is surrounded.

Throughout the whole extent of Nubia Rameses erected^g various temples, probably with a double intention of converting the Negroes to the worship of Ammon,^h and also of fortifying the country by these sacred strongholds. The inhabitants were kidnapped for slaves, or conscribed as soldiersⁱ—the mines examined and worked, and all the natural products of the country poured into Egypt.

^a Champollion, Mon. t. i. pl. lxxiii. l. i.

^b Ibid. x. 4.


^c Ibid. pl. xviii. l. 5; pl. xvii.

^d Diodorus, i. c. 56; Herodotus, ii. 108, 197.

^e Champollion, Mon. tom. i. pl. ix. l. 13, 14.

^f Rosellini, M. C. xlix.

^g At Aboosimbel, two temples, in one of which he is seen leading negro prisoners (Champollion, Mon. pl. xxxvii.-xxxv). *Kafu beten en Phut*, "he has routed the vile Phut." At the Wady Esseboua is a dromos

of the same monarch (Cf. Not. Descr. p. 118), and at Gershe Hossein, called Tauaua  (Ibid. p. 135). At Beitoually. At Aboosimbel (Champ. t. i. pl. xiv.) it says he has smitten their chiefs, he has given his commands to the distant Hesi.

^h Sir G. Wilkinson in Trans. R. Soc. Liter. vol. iv. *ad finem*.

ⁱ Dr. Hincks on the Power of Alphabet, Trans. Roy. Irish Acad., 4to, 1848, p. 202; a common phrase is as that of Sethos I., "he has filled the cells," or "temples, (*ra*) with gold, silver, and copper." Champollion, Not. Descr. p. 124. On coffins of this period, the Negroes and Asiatics are often represented under the sandals of the mummies.—Champollion, Mon. t. ii. pl. clv. Negroes are often seen, as at the Ramesseum.—Champ. Mon. t. iv. pl. ccxxii.

APPENDIX.

There is the preamble of an inscription, dated on the 8th of Phamenoth, seventh year of the reign of Thothmes IV. on the Abaton of Philæ, reading "The Horus (living) the powerful bull crowned with diadems, lord of the upper and lower crown, whose dominions are established like those of Tum; the hawk [of gold], whose strength sustains the afflieter of bows; the king, the Sun, placer of created beings, son of the Sun, Thothmes, crown of crowns; beloved of Ammon; may he live like the Sun. On the 8th of Phamenoth of the vii year, when (*as-tu*)" The rest is entirely wanting, but it probably referred to some proscynema on the passage of the river towards *Æthiopia*.^a

I may also append the translation of the tablet removed from Samneh by the Duke of Northumberland, and by him presented to the British Museum, where it is deposited in the Egyptian Saloon, No. 138*. The upper part of this tablet, which was at least as large again, has been destroyed, but I do not think that it contained much that was very important as to the historical portion, the greater part having been the preamble of the document, the names and titles. (Plate XXVIII.)

(L. 1.) [Destroyed and illegible].

(l. 2.) he has smitten the evil, making all their places

(l. 3.) when was expected the things paid by the land of Abha, each coming to his being about to be reviewed.

(l. 4.) of his majesty, of those who were in power of the prince, giving his instructions, commanding by commands each of them, removed from the land of Mahi to

(l. 5.) commencing from the port of Bak, and continuing to Atarui, the river made fifty-two schoeni, lead them

(l. 6.) the power of the Sun, the Lord of Truth (Amenophis III.) in one day and one hour, making the dead in binding

(l. 7.) their cattle, not one of them escaped, all of them were bought up offering them to the power of Amenhetp (Amenophis), Lord of the Thebaid,

^a Champollion (Le Jeune), Notice Descriptive, p. 164. Folio, Paris, 1844.

(l. 8.) who has no frontiers; the foreign lands cross over with men and women as slaves to the Horus, the Lord of the Earth, the King, the Sun, the Lord of Truth (Amenophis III.), the glorious victor of Abha, whose great

(l. 9.) words are proclaimed in their hearts; the raging lion, the ruler who has smitten them according to the commands of Ammon, his noble father: he traverses them

(l. 10.) with powerful victories. The number of captives led to his majesty from the land of the vile Abha was Nahsi (Negroes) 150 head, boys 110 head, Nahsi 250 head;

(l. 11.) hearers of complaints of the Nahsi 55 head, their children 175 head, total of living heads 740 head, preserved hands 312, a-

(l. 12.) mounting with the living heads to 1052. The prince, the pride of his master, the satisfaction of the perfect god (the king) the governor of the land of Kush (Æthiopia), throughout its length, the royal scribe Merimes says, "Incline thy face.

(l. 13.) Oh, good god, great are thy spirits to pursue; may thy enemies say to thee, "Flame scorches our eyes (*tahem nan chet er nan*), thou hast smitten all thy opponents dead under thy sandals!"

The tablet engraved upon the principal rock or abaton of Philæ^a in fourteen lines records the campaign of Amenophis III. against Æthiopia. It is dated in the fifth year of his reign, and on the first occasion of his sailing into the country. Undoubtedly it has been very indifferently copied; but, making out its tenor as well as possible by means of restoration, it is as follows:—

(L. 1.) The living Horus, the powerful bull, crowned by Truth, the king, lord of diadems, son of Ammon, the lord of the Earth, rejoicing in [?] . . . (*haa em . . .*)

(l. 2.) the powerful lord, smiter of the Nomads, a divine ruler like the son of [Nu] (*Osiris*) through [his] power in the land of

(l. 3.) creating his greatness, the king, lord of the earth, lord creating things, the Sun, the lord of Truth, born of the Sun, son of the Sun, of his body, beloved of him.

(l. 4.) AMENOPHIS, ruler of the Thebaid, beloved of Ammon-Ra, king of the gods, and of Num, who dwells in Senem; may he live for ever.

(l. 5.) In the fifth year came his majesty returning from his first expedition belonging to him, from the land

^a Champollion, Not. Descr. pp. 164, 165.

(l. 6.) of the vile Kish; he had made his frontiers wherever he wished, moving his land-marks (*ar . . . uts*); he set up (*ra sa men nef*)

(l. 7.) a tablet of his victories in the sanctuary (*men kabh*); never had king of Egypt (*Kami*)

(l. 8.) done like it; his majesty procured victory through his power the Sun, the lord of Truth, who is led in

(l. 9.) in power and force before his troops; his father Ammon (*Ra*)

(l. 10.) has issued his commands; he has given him power and victory over all lands, he has given him the south

(l. 11.) and the north, the west and east; they have hastened to deliver themselves to him

(l. 12.) as their children, having come that he may give them the breath of life; the son of the Sun, beloved

(l. 13.) Amenophis, ruler of the Thebaid. The land of the Nahsi could not sustain his attack. may he live

(l. 14.) well joyous crowned upon the throne of Ammon, like the Sun, immortal!"

The names of the prisoners are Arak, Ur, Mer.

XXVIII.—*On the Deities of the Amenti, as found in Egyptian Mummies.*
By THOMAS JOSEPH PETTIGREW, *Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read November 20, 1851.

Saville Row, Nov. 6, 1851.

IN the 27th volume of the *Archæologia* (pp. 262—273) an account is given of an Egyptian Mummy, unrolled by me at Jersey in 1837, in which, for the first time, the special parts of the human body considered by the Egyptians to be under the protection or influence of the deities of the Amenti or Amunti, are distinctly pointed out and confirmed. On the 23rd of May last, at the solicitation of the Council of the United Service Museum, I unfolded another Egyptian Mummy, and, meeting with some objects confirmatory of the opinions expressed in my previous paper in the *Archæologia*, I beg now to submit a short notice of them to the Society of Antiquaries.

The Egyptians, it is very generally believed, were the earliest to assign to particular divinities certain portions of the body over which they were destined to preside. They divided the human body into thirty-six divisions, each of which was under the government of Decans, or aerial demons, presiding over the triple division of the twelve signs; and these, we have the express authority of Origen for saying, were frequently specially invoked for the cure of various diseases. Upon this the late Mons. Champollion constructed a sort of theological anatomy, which he derived from the great funereal ritual. The deities of the Amenti figured in *Archæologia*, vol. XXVII. plate xxi. fig. 3, were peculiarly appropriated to the contents of the body; thus, Amset was found, in the enrolment of the mummy of Pet-maut-ioh-mes at Jersey, to be bound up within the bandages which contained the stomach and large intestines; Hapée, with the small intestines; Kebhnsnof or Netsonof, with the liver and gall-bladder; whilst Smof or Smautf was found with the heart and lungs. These deities are very commonly to be seen depicted on the funereal papyri, and on the vases and boxes for holding the viscera, carrying in their hands the bandages as typical of their connexion with the practice of embalming. They are also often to be met with in the funereal sarcophagi.

With the deities thus mentioned as present in the Jersey mummy, there was also in the mummy of the United Service Museum the wax figure of a bird, which is

known to Egyptian scholars and naturalists as the Benno,—a bird considered by Sir Gardner Wilkinson as holding the next rank to the ibis among the Egyptians, and emblematic of Osiris. It is figured by Sir Gardner in his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 50, fig. 15, and also in wood-cut No. 340.

Although the appearance of any emblem indicative of Osiris, the judge of the Amenti, accompanying the four deities of the Amenti, cannot be regarded as extraordinary, yet it has never before been recorded in the manner here found. In the Jersey mummy the wax representations of the Amenti deities were discovered folded up with the several parts of the body to which they were appropriated; but in the United Service Museum mummy they were found lying loose over the bandages which contained the viscera, and these had been removed from the interior of the body, and placed, as is not unfrequently the case, upon and between the legs. With these was also found the bird Benno. Osiris is well known to take the character of the god Benno, who is in the Egyptian Mythology distinguished by the head of a crane, having a tuft composed of two long feathers. (See figure of Osiris with the bird's head in Sir G. Wilkinson's work, plate 33, fig. 4.) In a small sepulchre at How (Diospolis Parva) the bird Benno is represented perched on a tamarisk tree, which is reported to have been the tree in the branches of which, on the coast of Byblus, the chest containing the body of Osiris was found. (Vide Plutarch de Iside et Osiride.) The hieroglyphics inscribed on the tomb at How, refer to the bird Benno, and are given by Sir Gardner Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, vol. ii. p. 262, second series). Osiris is here specifically mentioned as emblemized by the bird. In conclusion, I may add that Sir Gardner Wilkinson has never before met with a representation of the bird in the situation I have now described it; and he regards it as an interesting circumstance in connexion with the region of the dead over which Osiris is known to be the presiding judge.

XXIX.—*Account of Roman Remains found at Box Moor, Herts. Communicated by JOHN EVANS, Esq. of Nash Mills, to Captain W. H. SMYTH, R.N., V.P., and Director.*

Read December 11, 1851.

THE Antiquities represented in the annexed anastatic Sketch have been found in the immediate vicinity of Boxmoor Station, on the London and North Western Railway, and have nearly all been brought to light and preserved by the intelligent clerk at that station, Mr. Byles. The neighbourhood was first known to contain any Roman remains through the discovery in 1837 of some Roman sepulchral interments in the burial-ground attached to Box Lane Chapel, which is about 300 yards distant from the station. An Account of the Objects then discovered will be found in the *Archæologia*, vol. XXVII. p. 434. They consisted of a circular glass urn about 12 inches in diameter; the fragments of another of the same character; another of a square form with a handle; an earthen præfericulum or pitcher-shaped vessel used for funereal libations; a bronze lamp-stand and an earthen lamp; together with a number of large iron nails, with which the wooden cistæ in which the interments were made were fastened together. It will be at once observed that these remains and those represented in the sketch are of a totally different character; the one being adapted for sepulchral and the other for domestic purposes. The majority of the latter were found in and around one of those circular pits or culinæ which are not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Roman buildings.^a This Pit was discovered and excavated by Mr. Byles, until he came to the water-level, below which it appeared to extend about two feet; so that its original purpose may have been that of a well, though it was afterwards converted into a receptacle for refuse of all kinds. The upper part was filled with rich mould, and the lower with a bluish clay. Besides the various articles given in the Plate (XXIX.), a large number of fragments of Samian and the more common descriptions of ware were found, as well as two boars' tusks, some pieces of greenish glass and sheet-iron, and also a denarius of Nero, with the reverse of *Salus*. The foundations of a building were uncovered at the distance of a few yards from the pit, but only one small apartment, with the walls of flint, plastered on the inside, and coloured with the usual red pigment, could be traced, the foundations extending beneath a road, on the other side of which the ground has been raised for the embankment of the railway.

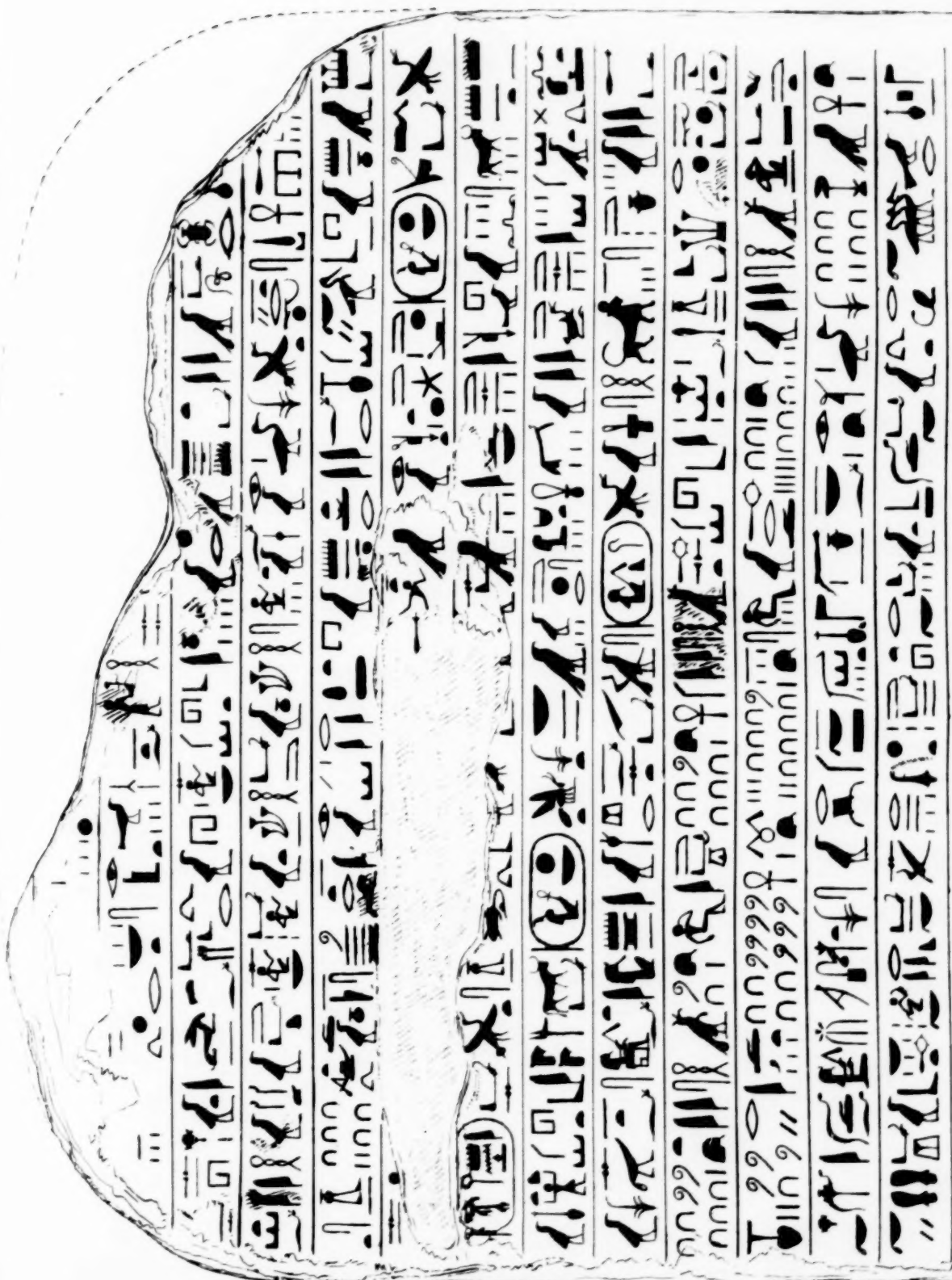
The objects in the Plate may be described as follows:—Fig. 1 is a knife in iron,

^a See Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Richborough*, p. 55.



Names of Negro Prisoners on the pedestal of a statue in the Louvre.

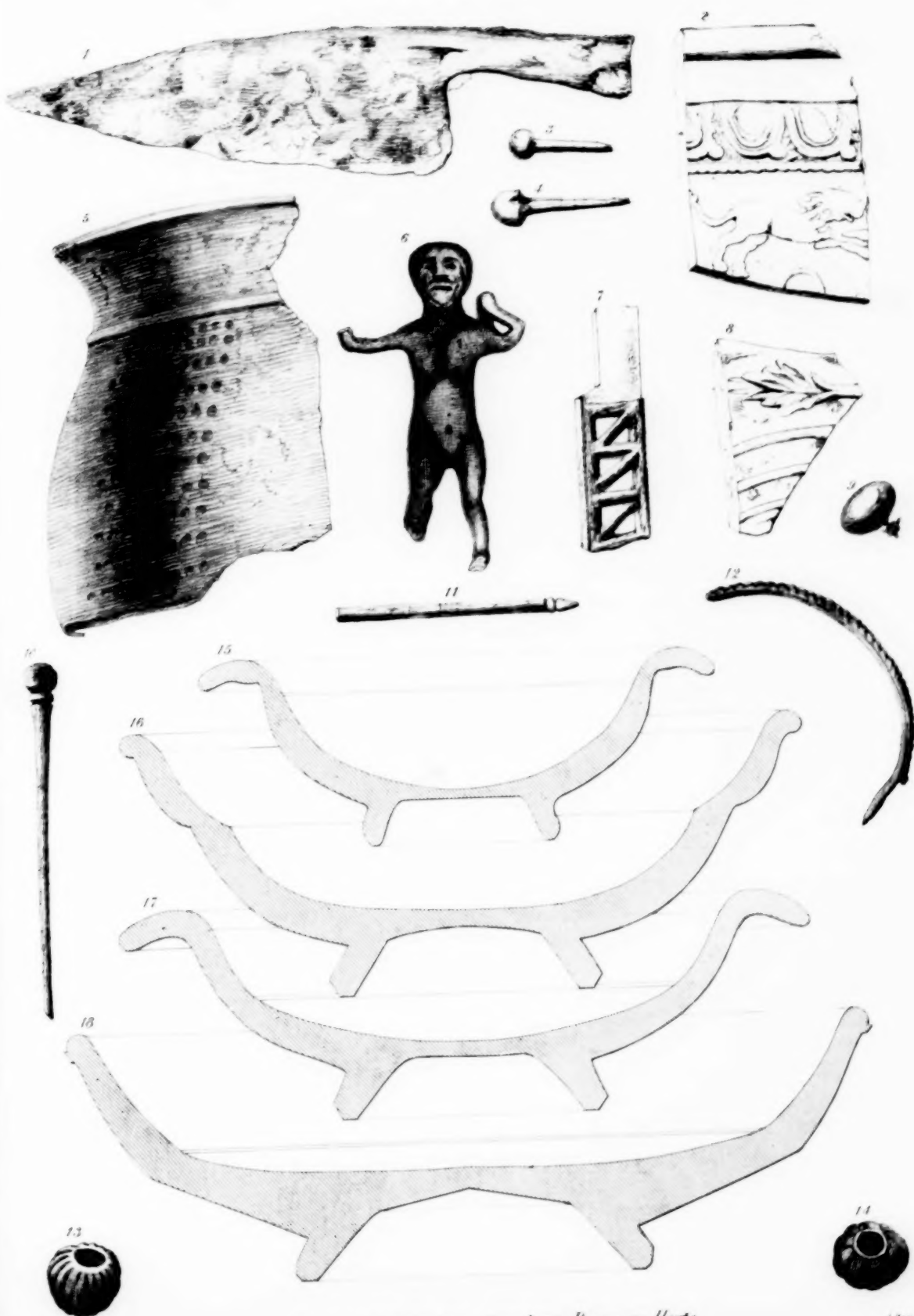
Published by the Library of the Louvre, 15th Dec. 1852.



2

Tablet of Sennu, presented to the British Museum by His Grace the Duke of Northumberland

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 27 April 1852



Roman Antiquities found at Bermeor Herts

J. Evans, del.

and is drawn half-size. The end of it is forged hollow, in the same manner as that of some chisels and bill-hooks of the present day, for the insertion of a wooden handle. It was probably used for culinary purposes. Somewhat similar knives, but with tangs instead of sockets, have been discovered at the Roman villa at Hartlip and in other places, but specimens with the hollow shank appear to be far from common. Figs. 2 and 8 are represented full size, as are all the others, and are fragments of vessels of Samian ware, which when perfect must have been of a very handsome description. The lion on fig. 2 probably formed part of some hunting or gladiatorial scene, with which these vessels were frequently adorned.

Fig. 5 is a fragment of an urn of grey pottery, about 5 inches diameter, and ornamented with stripes consisting of rows of roundels of a dark-brown colour, and slightly in relief. The pattern must have been printed or stencilled on the urn in a manner somewhat similar to that by which the pattern on paperhangings is or was produced. Figs. 3 and 4 are bronze nails, with nearly spherical heads, and of the usual character. Fig. 6 is in bronze, and was found in a field on the opposite side of the valley to the station. The figure is of very rude workmanship, and from its carrying a purse or small bag over its shoulder was possibly intended for Mercury. Fig. 7 is part of an unknown article in bronze. Of small hemispherical studs resembling Fig. 9, five were discovered. They appear to have ornamented some article of leather which has totally perished, as on most of them there is still a small burr or washer riveted on to the stem, with a space of rather more than an eighth of an inch between it and the head. Fig. 11 is a portion of a bone pin, and Fig. 10 a pin in bronze; beside which the fragments of three others were discovered. The number of these found where Roman remains exist is the less surprising, when we consider the millions of similar useful instruments that annually disappear in our own times. Fig. 12 is a portion of an armilla or bracelet in bronze, and presents nothing remarkable. Figs. 13 and 14 are beads of light-blue vitrified porcelain, or possibly of opaque glass. They belong to the class called Druidical, specimens of which are to be found all over England and the continent. The remaining four figures are sections of vessels of the so-called Samian ware, of which portions were found sufficiently perfect to give an outline of their shape. The rims of Figs. 15 and 17 are ornamented with a leaf-pattern in low relief, very similar to those engraved in Buckman and Newmarsh's *Corinium*, p. 87. Fragments of five or six other vessels, with the rims thus ornamented, were discovered; the leaf-pattern slightly varying in each case. It is somewhat remarkable, that, although portions of fully twenty Samian cups were found, not one of them was impressed with a potter's name. As the taking an accurate section of vessels such as those

delineated, at first sight presents some little difficulty, it may not be altogether useless to record the process by which these sections were obtained. The piece of Samian ware after being slightly greased was plunged into fine sand, in a direction perpendicular to the axis of the vessel, to within about a quarter of an inch of the centre, and the surface of the sand was then made level. A thin mixture of plaster of Paris was next poured upon the sand until its upper surface was level with the centre of the vessel. When this was set, the fragment of Samian and the plaster were removed from the sand, and the plaster broken into a sufficient number of pieces to set the fragment free, and these pieces being re-united with their upper side downwards on a piece of paper, gave a section from which the form of the vessel could be accurately traced.

Among other objects discovered in the vicinity of the station may be mentioned a denarius of the Claudia family; a second-brass coin of Domitian, with the reverse *Fortunæ Augusti*; and third-brass coins of Victorinus, Tetricus, Constantine, Constantius, and Arcadius. There is also at present buried in a garden about 300 yards distant a tessellated Pavement,^a of which nothing more is known than that the small portion that has been seen consisted of small black and white tessellæ surrounded by a border of red of a larger size. The existence of such a pavement, and the large proportion of Samian ware discovered, are sufficient to prove that Boxmoor was formerly the site of one, if not more, Roman villas, of a superior class, and their position at the junction of two picturesque valleys, and in the neighbourhood of a stream, is such as was admirably adapted for the residence of wealthy Roman families who were fond of a country life. The sepulchral remains found in Box Lane were probably memorials of some of the inhabitants of the villas, and are also such as would only occur at the interment of those of a superior rank in life. It is exceedingly probable that the Roman road (*Akeman Street*), which led from *Corinium* through *Aldechester* to *Tring*, was continued through *Berkhamstead*, (where both British and Roman coins have been found), and along *Box Moor* in the close vicinity of these villas, until it branched into the *Watling Street*, a little to the south of *Sulloniacæ*, which completed the communication with *London*. The presence of such a road would, of course, be a great inducement to select this spot for the erection of a villa, which would also be within six miles of the important municipium of *Verulamium*.

As it is only by the accumulation of a large number of facts that certain and satisfactory results, as far as regards the study of antiquity, can be obtained, it becomes a matter of importance towards rightly determining the state of Britain

^a This pavement has since been excavated.

under the Roman dominion that the discovery of any vestiges, however slight, of the Roman occupation of this country should be recorded. The following list of coins found at various times in a field a little to the north-west of the town of Hemel Hempsted, is therefore appended. They are mostly unimportant in themselves, but become interesting from the place of their discovery being known, and from the early period at which the deposit must have been made of which they form a part. They are all denarii.

COINS FOUND AT HEMEL HEMPSTED.

Family Coins.

ÆMILIA.

Obv.—PAULLUS LEPIDUS . CONCORDIA. A veiled head, with diadem.

Rev.— . . . PAULLUS. Three captives standing opposite a figure erecting a trophy.

ACILIA.

Obv.—SALUTIS. Laureated female head.

Rev.—MU . ACILIUS III . VALETU. A female standing; in her right hand a serpent, her left resting on a column.

BAEBIA.

Obv.—TAMPIL. Head of Rome to the left; in front x.

Rev.—M . BAEBI . Q . F . ROMA. Apollo in a quadriga.

CASSIA.

Obv.—Q . CASSIUS VEST. Head of Vesta.

Rev.—The temple of Vesta between an urn and a tablet inscribed A . C.

CORNELIA.

Obv.—S . C. Head of Hercules.

Rev.—A globe between four garlands, the acrostolium, and an ear of corn.

FORTEIA.

Obv.—M . FORTEI . C . F. A laureated head: below, a thunderbolt and AP.

Rev.—Cupid riding on a goat; above, the caps of the Dioscuri; beneath, the thyrsus; the whole within a garland.

HOSIDIA.

Obv.—(GETA) III . VIC. Bust of Diana.

Rev.—C . HOSIDI C . F. A boar pierced with a spear and assailed by a dog.

JUNIA.

Obv.—(L. SESTI PRO Q.) Laureated head.

Rev.—Q. CAEPIO BRUTUS PRO COS. A tripod between an axe and simpulum.

PETRONIA.

Obv.—TURPILIANUS III. VIR FERON. Head of Feronia.

Rev.—CAESAR AUGUSTUS SIGN. RECEP. A Parthian presenting a standard.

SCRIBONIA.

Obv.—BON. EVENT. LIBO. A female head.

Rev.—PUTEAL SCRIBON. The Puteal with a lyre suspended on each side.

SULPICIA.

Obv.—A veiled female head; behind, s. c.

Rev.—P. GALB. AED. CUR. The secespita, simpulum, and axe.

Imperial.

M. ANTONIUS.

Obv.—ANT. AUG. III. VIR R. P. C. A galley.

Rev.—LEG. VII. The eagle between two standards.

AUGUSTUS.

Obv.—Head of Augustus.

Rev.—CAESAR AUGUSTUS. Two branches of laurel.

Obv.—AUGUSTUS DIVI F. Head of Augustus.

Rev.—IMP. X. A bull butting.

Obv.—CAESAR AUGUSTUS DIVI F. PATER PATRIAE.

Rev.—C. L. CAESARES AUGUSTI F COS DESIG. PRINC. JUVENT. Caius and Lucius standing, with spears and shields; above, the lituus and capeduncula.

VESPASIAN.

Obv.—IMP. CAES. VESP. AUG. P. M. Laureated head of Vespasian.

Rev.—TRI. POT. A seated and veiled figure; in her right hand a simpulum.

Obv.—IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANUS AUG. Head.

Rev.—COS. ITER. TR. POT. A seated figure; in her right hand a branch, in her left a caduceus.

Obv.—IMP. CAESAR VESPASIANUS AUG. Head.

Rev.—COS. ITER. FORT. RED. Fortune standing; in her right hand the prow of a ship, in her left a cornucopiae

Obv.—IMP. CAES. VESP. AUG. CENS. Head.

Rev.—PONTIF. MAXIM. A seated figure; in his right hand a branch, in his left a hasta.

J. EVANS.

XXX.—*Account of the Remains of an Ancient Camp near Bayonne.*
By S. BARING GOULD, Esq. of Lew Trenchard.

Read December 11, 1851.

NEAR Cambo, a small watering-place at the distance of about twelve miles from Bayonne, in the department of the Basses Pyrenees, France, are the remains of a camp which native antiquaries have variously conjectured as being of Roman, Celtic, Saracen, or ancient Cantabrian construction. It bears not the slightest resemblance to the three former, and from its being situated in the very centre of the Basque districts may be considered as the work of that people, perhaps at the time when attacked by the Romans and driven into their mountain fastnesses, where they manfully stood their ground in defiance of the imperial eagles, and which is the subject of the "Lelo," a national chant, a translation of which I may be pardoned for inserting :

I. "The strangers of Rome marched against Biscay ; and thro' Biscay sounded the song of war. Octavian was lord of the world, while Cecobidi was the leader of the men of Biscay.

II. "By sea, by land, Octavian has besieged us. The sandy plains belong to the Romans, but to us the woods and caverns on the mountain side.

III. "Camped in a favourable place, our hearts grow bold, and while wielding our arms we shake off fear ; but we starve.

IV. "Although our foes are clad in strong harness, our limbs unfettered are free and light. For five years, night and day, has the siege continued unceasingly.

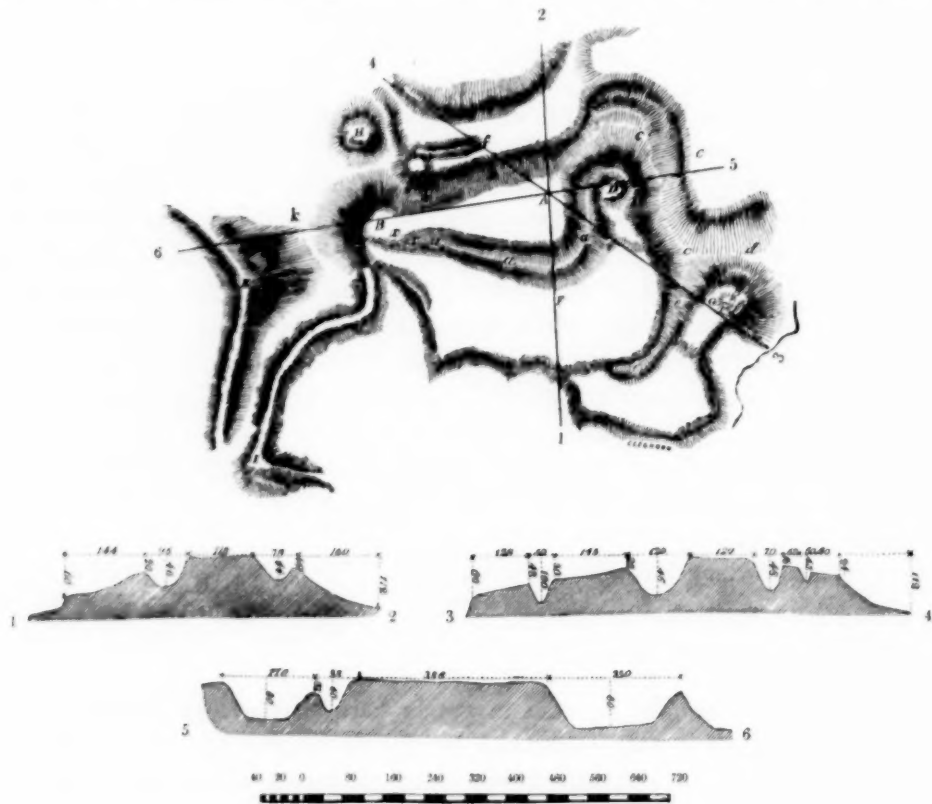
V. "When one on our side falls, fifteen of our enemies pave the way for his soul. They are many ; our army is but a little band. At length peace comes, &c."

The Camp, which was the work of these people, and made perhaps at the time referred to in the song, is most singular in its construction, being composed of a multiplicity of ditches, but without any traces of a vallum or rampart of any kind.

The hill, which has been moulded into a fort or retreat, is situated near the issue of the Nive from the mountains, on the summit of the highest of which are to be seen the remains of a wall, as I have been informed, but was unfortunately unable to

verify this by a personal visit. The hill of which the camp is formed is of a loose gravelly soil, upon sandstone, but the rock to all appearance has not been cut away in the ditches, but only the gravel removed. The summit of the hill appears to have been levelled into a kind of plateau that rises out of the fosses which surround it on all sides, leaving only a narrow neck of land uncut.

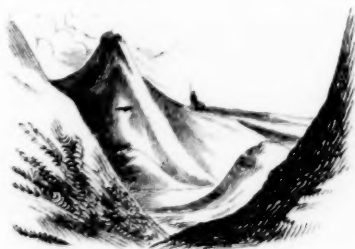
A description of this singular manner of castrametation will be best understood by a reference to the annexed vignette and sections. A B is the plateau, rendered level



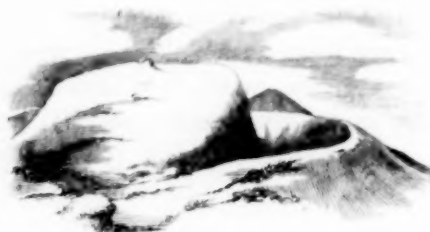
for the purpose of encampment, and is surrounded by the ditches *a a*, *b b*. The ditch *a* winds round the conical mound *D*, forming a basin at *c*, and then descends gradually to *d*, where a small stream flows by. From this approach or fosse a smaller ditch (*e*) branches off to the left on ascending, passing a second conical hill (*G*). The part *f* is a portion of the same hill as the camp, but is considerably lower than *A B*, which commands it.

The ditch *b b*, which cuts off the western slope of the hill, opens into a very large basin (*k*), to the level of which the plain A B descends precipitately. A small fosse (*f*) branches out of this basin (*k*), and runs a short distance parallel to the ditch *b b*. Near its mouth stands a remarkable bell-shaped mound (H), whose use, unless it were sepulchral, is inexplicable. Two narrow ridges (E, I) confine this great basin on the east side, and contracting inclose a kind of road bounded on either side by these two abrupt mounds, which are of considerable height, and so sharp on the top still as to leave barely room for one to walk. The high and almost pyramidal mound marked I, which is placed at the angle of the southern ridge, rises almost to the same height as the great plateau, but is so steep as to be climbed with difficulty, and leaves only just room sufficient to stand on the top. I had not time at my disposal to follow out these ridges and trace them out, but they run for a considerable distance, turning after at a right angle to their former direction and inclosing the road, if such the hollow between them may be considered. The sides of the ditches are steep almost to abruptness, but leave a level spot at the bottom of the fosses.

It may be remarked that at *x* the ditch or covered way *a* rises gradually to the level of B. I cannot remember whether the same fact applies to *e*. If I may offer a supposition on the use of some of the ditches, it is, that the broad one *d c c b* was used both for giving access to the plateau and as a covered way for descending to the stream, which former might also be obtained from the basin *k*, by passing up *c c* and winding through *a a a*, and ascending to the plain B A by *x*. There is room for three or four to walk abreast with ease at the bottom of these ditches: in *c c d* there is space for numbers more. The depth of the ditches will be seen by reference to the three sections, and I add a view of the mounds E and



MOUNDS E AND H.



PLATEAU A B.

H from the mouth of the fosse *b*; also a sketch of the plateau from B, shewing the ditch *a a*; and a general view of the camp from the distance. The scale for the plan and the sections is the same.

P.S.—It may be as well to remark that at A, the highest point of the camp, is a small upright stone from two to three feet high.



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CAMP.

XXXI.—*A few Notices respecting William Lynwode, Judge of the Arches, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of St. David's.* By JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.

Read February 19, 1852.

HAVING been so particularly called upon, at the last Meeting of the Society, to look into the state of our information respecting Lynwode, one of our most celebrated countrymen, and to report the result, I should have been wanting in proper respect to the President and the Society if I had not taken some little pains to put myself in the condition to do what was required of me.

Previous to the time of Leland, little if anything had been done to collect the facts in the lives of eminent Englishmen of whatever class, and to form what may be called a Body of English Biography. This was, however, a task which that diligent antiquary undertook, and his work has formed the basis of all subsequent accounts of English authors who lived before the Reformation. Of Lynwode he gives what are the main facts in any history that might be written of him.

The additions are but slight which are made to Leland's testimony by the two persons who followed in his track—Bale and Pits.

Godwin's notice of him, unlike many of the lives in his valuable work, is very brief, and adds little or nothing to what is to be found in the three writers so often named together—Leland, Bale, and Pits.

Fuller's notice of him is also brief, and is remarkable chiefly for fixing the birth-place of Lynwode at a village so named in Lincolnshire. In this he follows Harpsfield, an historical but not a biographical writer.

It does not appear that more was done till the time of Bishop Tanner. That most industrious and admirable person has taken Leland's account of Lynwode as his text, and has appended a body of notes and references to authors by whom Lynwode is occasionally mentioned, and also to the *Fœdera*, the publication of which, in the time of Tanner, opened new information in almost every department of English historical inquiry.

It would not be easy to give a satisfactory reason why Lynwode should have been left out in the general *Biographia Britannica* of the last century. He is, however,

not found there, and I am not aware of any material additions having been made to what is told of him by Tanner, till we had the satisfaction, at the last Meeting of this Society, to hear the Report of the Committee appointed to inspect the body which has recently been discovered in so singular a place of deposit at Westminster.

Whether the appearances are sufficient to leave no room for reasonable doubt that this body is that of a bishop, and, being so, of Lynwode, who was Bishop of St. David's at the time of his death, it may be considered a fortunate circumstance that the discovery has turned attention to the character and history of this distinguished statesman, prelate, and author: and, as a small contribution to any critical account of him to which this discovery may give occasion, I add a few remarks on what the old authorities have done for him, meaning more particularly Leland, Pits, and Tanner.

First, his Embassy to Portugal.—This fact in his history has all the evidence which can be required. For, first, we have the Letters of Credence which were given to him and Thomas Baron de Carrew, dated at Westminster, January 14, 9 Henry V., printed in the *Fœdera*, x. 167. There is a notice of the issue to him from the Exchequer, of 40*l.* on February 23, 9 Henry V., in advance for his expenses; and his account is still existing of his claim upon the Exchequer after his return. It appears from this account that he set out from London on March 3, and returned on the 14th of September, having been absent 196 days. His allowance for his services was 20 shillings per diem, which sum had been allowed to Simon Sidenham, Doctor of Laws, who had been employed in a previous embassy to France. The expenses of his passage and re-passage were allowed him. The sum which he claimed and was allowed was 162*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

This was one of several embassies to different states of Europe sent by King Henry the Fifth to announce the conclusion of peace with France. But, as Lynwode himself states that he went *in secretis negotiis*, it is probable that more arduous business was committed to him. It was during his absence on this embassy that the demise of the Crown took place.

Leland informs us that Lynwode had been employed in an embassy to Spain, and, as it would seem, before he went to Portugal. Of this embassy I have myself seen no proof, neither Letters of Credence, *Prestita*, nor Account: but I would not be understood to affirm that such evidence may not exist to support Leland's statement. But certainly, when Tanner refers from Leland's notice of this embassy to Rymer, x. 473, as if we had there proof of Lynwode having gone to Spain, the document to which he refers relates to a transaction nine years later than the Portuguese embassy, and moreover does not shew that Lynwode went to Spain at

all, but rather the contrary, inasmuch as it is a treaty concluded at London, November 8, 9 Henry VI., between Ambassadors of Spain and three Commissioners representing the King of England, who were William Bishop of Norwich, Ralph Lord Cromwell, and William Lynwode. We have the Commission in the Acts of the Privy Council, printed by the late Board of Commissioners on the Public Records, iv. 69.

He appears to have been much employed in negotiations at home and abroad, of which no notice is taken by the writers of his life; as in the 13th of Henry VI., when he went, in company with Sir John Radcliffe, to the Dauphin of France, according to the printed calendar of the Patent Roll of that year. In the 21st of that reign he was a Commissioner to treat in London with ambassadors from Holland and Zealand (Acts of the Privy Council, v. 307); and doubtless a careful search among the evidences relating to affairs in the early years of the reign of Henry the Sixth, which is the period to which his political life belongs, might bring to light his engagement in other important public business.

One part of his history ought to be placed in a clearer light than it has yet been, because, till the dates are well ascertained, we are in danger of ascribing to him business in which he was not concerned. He is said to have been Keeper of the Privy Seal, and there seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that he was so; but he certainly held for a time the office of Secondary Clerk to the Keeper of the Seal, an appointment of which the writers of his Life have taken no notice; and no one, as far as I know, has shewn the date of his first appointment to that high office, or of whatever break there may have been, if any, in the continuity of his tenure.

^a Acts of the Privy Council, v. 150.

XXXII.—*Report of the Committee appointed by the Council of the Society of Antiquaries to investigate the circumstances attending the recent Discovery of a Body in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster.*

Read February 12, 1852.

THE Committee appointed by the Council on the 20th January, 1852, to investigate the circumstances attending the recent discovery of a body in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, with power to have drawings made and with directions to report to the Society, beg to report, that, having obtained the necessary permission from Charles Barry, Esq., and secured the services of Mr. Scharf as draughtsman, they proceeded, on Friday the 23rd January, to the crypt under the Chapel of St. Stephen, Westminster, where the body in question had been discovered.

It had been found altogether unexpectedly by the workmen employed in removing a projection in the wall, which projection occupied the base of the window nearest to the altar on the north side of the chapel.

The projection had been used as a stone bench or seat, and the body was found inserted in the wall a short distance under the seat. The wall was rubble-built, and the cavity in which the remains were deposited had certainly not been built or formed over the remains, but had been excavated with a view to their reception. The cavity used as a grave having been thus formed, and being just of sufficient length to receive the remains, the opening into it had been carefully built up again after the interment had taken place, so as to leave no trace of there being anything unusual within. The lower surface or bed of the receptacle or grave was perfectly smooth; the upper or arched surface over the body, rough and uneven, no pains having been taken in levelling or finishing any other part of the cavity than that on which the remains rested. The drawing No. 1 (Plate XXX.) indicates the character of this singular place of interment.

The body lay extended with the feet to the east. It was swathed in cerements of strong, coarse, thick cloth or canvas, but was entirely destitute of coffin, or any apparent substitute. Around this swathing, for about two-thirds of the length of the trunk from the hips upward, were several turns of a well-made twisted cord, fastened in what is called the half-hitch, in good preservation.

Across the body was a wooden crosier, lying diagonally from the left shoulder to the right leg, the crook being over the shoulder, the point resting to the right of the foot. The crosier measured six feet two inches in length; the crook is filled by a carved leaf. The drawing No. 2 (Plate XXXI.) very accurately delineates this interesting relic. The crook of the crosier is of oak, and the staff of deal.

Three-fourths of the upper arms, or humeri, were included in the swathing of the trunk. The fore or lower arms were unswathed, and had consequently gone to decay. The Committee were informed that the bones of the right arm had been originally found placed across the breast, as if extended towards the crosier; but the bones, having become detached, had been removed by the workmen.

The length of the figure from the vertex to the heel was five feet eight inches; to the point of the toes, as they had been extended in swathing, five feet eleven inches; the breadth across the shoulders was fifteen inches; across the pelvis thirteen inches and a half. The drawing No. 1 may be again referred to as illustrating the appearance of the body as at first seen. On the feet, and secured by the swathing, were leathern soles, the remains of sandals, which were slightly moist and flexible. A medicated odour was thought by some persons present to proceed from the wrapping.

Such were the leading particulars of the appearance presented by the remains as the Committee at first saw them in the position in which they were discovered, but the lower limbs were still in part concealed by mortar and broken fragments of the wall.

On inquiry being made whether these fragments could be removed, the gentleman from Mr. Barry's office who was present at the examination stated that he had no authority to allow any one to touch the remains, and that, in fact, nothing more could be done without special permission from higher authority.

Upon consideration of these circumstances, it appeared to the Committee that the facts ascertained were of a nature to demand further investigation.

The place and character of the interment were unusual; the roughness of the mere hole in a rubble wall into which the body had been inserted seemed inconsistent with the respect usually shewn to the remains of a dignified ecclesiastic; there was a want of any positive certainty as to either the age or sex of the deceased, and a possibility that in the dust, or amidst the wrappings of the cere-cloth, there might be discovered some ring, chalice, paten, or other memorial which might lead to a personal identification of the deceased, or to some explanation of circumstances in the interment which appeared mysterious;—all these circumstances, together with the curiosity naturally excited by such an opportunity of examining the cere-cloth used in the embalming of the middle ages, conduced to a unanimous opinion in the

Committee that this was a case in which a further examination of the body was desirable. It was even thought that the Committee would be liable to a charge of having performed the task committed to them very imperfectly, if they did not use all the means in their power to endeavour to obtain permission for such further examination.

In conformity with this opinion, Lord Mahon, as President of the Society, was requested by the Committee to bring the subject under the notice of Lord Seymour, the Chief Commissioner of Works. The application of the Committee to the President concurred in point of time with a communication upon the same subject which was passing from Lord Seymour to Lord Mahon, and ultimately, on the 29th January, the President added Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, Esq., F.S.A., and John Bruce, Esq., Treas.S.A., to this Committee; and on the President's application to Lord Seymour, those gentlemen, together with the former members of the Committee, were invited to be present on Saturday, 31st January, at a further examination of the remains.

At the time appointed the members of the Committee met at St. Stephen's Chapel, and found that the body had been removed from the place in which they had before seen it, and had been placed for greater convenience of examination upon a table close to the spot where it was found. There were present on this occasion, besides the members of the Committee and Mr. Scharf, T. W. Philipps, Esq., Charles Barry, Esq., R.A., Dr. Lyon Playfair, Dr. W. V. Pettigrew, M. R. Hawkins, Esq., Augustus Franks, Esq., and one or two other gentlemen who were unknown to the Committee. The proceedings were directed by Mr. Barry.

The body presented the aspect of an Egyptian mummy in its outer envelope, a sheet passing over the whole of the anterior part, extending along the sides, and partly beneath the body. The head, as in the case of the Egyptian mummies, looked large, from the quantity of linen employed in the coverings, which were found waxed, and firmly impacted, somewhat dusty, and shining as if imbued with some saline matter.

A drawing of the body, as it appeared when placed on the table, was made by the artist, which drawing is No. 3 (Plate XXXII.) of those now exhibited.

The cere-cloth, which consisted of nine, and in some places of ten distinct layers, was originally dipped in wax. It had become, as it were, welded into one thick compact mass, nearly as hard as wood, and which it was impossible to separate, unrol, or divide in any other way than by cutting. Nearly the same state of the cere-cloth is described to have existed in the instance of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, interred in 1532, and in other similar recorded examples. In the

case of the Marquis of Dorset, Burton, the historian of Leicestershire, attests "the cutting open of the cere-cloth, myself," he says, "being then present."^a

The incision into the cere-cloth was, on the present occasion, judiciously performed by Dr. W. V. Pettigrew. The head had an extra covering of cloth or canvas beyond that of the rest of the body, forming a kind of mask. On removal of that part of the extra or outer covering over the face, the front part of the head was found swathed and tied round with cord in the same manner as the rest of the body. Its appearance in this condition is represented in the drawing No. 4 (Plate XXXIII.).

On the removal of the mask, or that part of the cere-cloth which covered the fore-part of the head, the face was at once seen. There was no sudarium or other covering of the face except the cere-cloth, nor was there any cap, cowl, or other covering on the head. The countenance was that of a person about seventy years of age; and when it had been finally uncovered and adjusted was admirably sketched on the spot by the draughtsman. This drawing is among those now exhibited, and is marked No. 6 (Plate XXXIV.). When first uncovered, a pledget of tow, imbued with wax, protruded from the mouth, forming a mass soft, black, and pliable, and producing some distortion in the countenance. It is in this state that it is represented in the drawing No. 5 (Plate XXXIII.). Considerable fœtor exhaled from the head when uncovered.

The colour of the countenance was dark brown, or chocolate, which is stated to have been that of Edward I., as described by Sir Joseph Ayloffe in his account of the proceedings of the members of this Society, who, in 1774, examined the remains of that monarch in Westminster Abbey.^b The same dark colour of the skin was remarked by Sir Henry Halford on the inspection of the body of King Charles I., in the presence of King George IV., then Prince Regent, in the year 1813.^c

Three or four teeth were found loose in the mouth; the alveolar processes had been entirely absorbed: the lips were well preserved and plastic; also the upper portion of the nose and its septum, so that it readily admitted of being restored to its original shape and appearance, with the nostrils perfect. The cranium was denuded of hair. On the chin were slight traces of beard.

The swathing of the trunk, after removing the cord, was next divided and turned to one side. It formed nine layers of thicker linen or canvas than that round the head, massed pretty firmly together, but partially separable with a little trouble. The muscular substance had become what is known as *adipocere*, a spontaneous conversion of animal matter into a substance resembling a kind of spermaceti.

^a Burton's *Leicestershire*, p. 51.

^b *Archæologia*, vol. III. p. 381.

^c *Essays* by Sir H. Halford, p. 163.

The viscera had not been removed from their cavities; the bones of the trunk had a blackened appearance; they had fallen from their articulations, and constituted a *debris* of the body; the ribs and sternum were detached; the hair of the pubis was fresh. One of the legs was afterwards laid bare, it was covered with only two layers of cere-cloth.

The process of preservation would appear to have been of the simplest kind. No traces were discovered of spices or resinous substances usually supposed to be necessary in embalming. On various folds of the cloth appeared abundance of crystals, but, in the opinion of Dr. Lyon Playfair, "there were no metallic salts present such as are now used for antiseptic purposes. Common salt and salts of lime were mixed with the cloth, but in such small quantity that they were no doubt derived from the mortar, or existed as impurities in the cloth. A small quantity of an ammoniacal salt was found, but this had obviously been a product of decomposition of the animal matter."

On exposure to the atmosphere the crystals appeared in part to deliquesce.

The inspection was not accompanied by any dissection. No incision was made, save that of the cere-cloth; nor was anything done which was inconsistent with a proper respect for the remains of the deceased. As soon as the inspection had been made, the severed cere-cloth was laid down, the cords were replaced, and the body was carefully deposited in a coffin prepared beforehand, by the direction of Mr. Barry, for its reception. The remains have since been interred in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, and an entry thereof made in the abbey register of interments.

The crosier was given up to the British Museum for preservation in the national collection of antiquities, and was at once handed over to Mr. Franks, as an officer of the Museum, for that purpose.

No inscription, ring, chalice, paten, or other relic or memorial of any kind was found on or around the remains, nor in the *debris* of the cavity which had been the grave, the whole having been carefully swept together and examined.

The facts upon which an identification of the deceased can be founded are therefore simply these:—that he was a man apparently about seventy years of age, and probably a bishop; that the place of discovery was the crypt of St. Stephen's; and that the workmanship of the crook of the crosier indicated the fifteenth century, a period which is not inconsistent with the nature of the embalming, and the character of the cere-cloth.

Before the Committee proceeded to the second examination, a letter dated from the Strand, and signed G. H., had been inserted in the Times newspaper, in which circumstances were stated which rendered it probable that the deceased was Wil-

liam Lyndewode, Bishop of St. David's, who died in the year 1446. The Committee thought it right to investigate the facts stated in behalf of this suggestion. Those facts led them to others; and in the end the Committee are of opinion that there is a very high degree of probability that the deceased was no other than the distinguished author and statesman alluded to.

In order to state the proof, it is necessary to glance at Lyndewode's biography.

He was descended from a respectable family seated at Lyndewode or Linwood, near Market Rasen, in the county of Lincoln, at which place he was born.^a He is stated to have been one of seven children. Gough has printed^b an inscription on a slab in the church of that parish, to the memory of John and Alice Lyndewode, who are thought to have been the father and mother of the bishop. The father died in 1419. Gough has also printed^c another inscription derived from the same church, to the memory of a second John Lyndewode, who died in 1420, and who is stated to have been a brother of the bishop. William Lyndewode was educated at Gonville and Caius College,^d in Cambridge, and was a Fellow of Pembroke Hall.^e He afterwards removed to Oxford, where he obtained a degree as Doctor of Laws.^f In 1411 he was collated to a prebend in the Cathedral of Salisbury;^g but the church does not seem to have ever been his profession. From an early period of life, he devoted himself to the study of the civil and canon law, and sought the public employments to which that study led. In 1414 he was appointed official of the Archbishop of Canterbury,^h and in 1417 was licensed by the Archbishop to preach within the diocese of Canterbury, either in Latin or English.ⁱ Early in the year last mentioned, King Henry V. sent him to Calais in the public service, as a special commissioner for negotiating the prolongation of a truce with the Duke of Burgundy.^k The commissioners held their meetings at Calais, and effected their object.^l Lyndewode was again employed upon a similar service at the close of 1417,^m and was afterwards sent into Portugal on a mission of a more important character.ⁿ

^a His Will, hereafter printed.

^b Sepulch. Mon. ii. 52.

^c Ibid. 53.

^d In a window of the Library of Gonville and Caius College, there was formerly this inscription:—"Pray for the welfare of the Rev. Mr. William Lindwood, Bishop of St. David's, some time Fellow Commoner of this College." Leland's Collect. V. 402, ed. 1770. The Committee are indebted to C. H. Cooper, Esq., F.S.A., for this and some other references.

^e Ibid.

^f Godwin de Præsul. p. 583.

^g Tanner, Biblioth. quoting Reg. Sarum.

^h Tanner, referring to Reg. Chicheley.

ⁱ Wilkins's Concil. iii. 389, from Reg. Chicheley, ii. fol. 131^b.

^k Ford. ix. 470.

^l Ibid. pp. 471, 481.

^m Ibid. p. 528.

ⁿ His dedication of his Provinciale to Archbishop Chicheley.

The death of King Henry V. stayed his course of preferment in the public service. He returned to the Ecclesiastical Court, resumed his office of official,^a and employed himself for seven years, that is from 1423 to 1430,^b in the compilation of his great work known by the title of the *Provinciale*; a code or classified collection of constitutions or decrees made in provincial synods by fourteen Archbishops of Canterbury, with a gloss or commentary by the compiler. This important and valuable book, the foundation of our system of ecclesiastical law, was probably the means of enforcing the attention of the government to Lyndewode's merits. In the same year in which it was completed, he entered upon his first permanent employment in the public service, which was probably that of Secondary in the office of the Keeper of the Privy Seal.^c From that time to his death, his course was one of constant service in connexion with the government, and in offices of most distinguished eminence. The public records are full of notices of his services. In 1430 he was a commissioner with the Bishop of Norwich and Lord Cromwell to conclude a treaty with Spain;^d about 1432 he was sent as the King's proctor to deliver a protest to the Council of Basil;^e in 1433 he became Keeper of the Privy Seal, and a Privy Councillor,^f tantamount at that time to what we now term a cabinet minister. From that time he was actively employed in all the executive business of the government of Henry VI., and especially in whatever related to foreign affairs. In the course of his life he seems to have been engaged in diplomatic intercourse with almost all the foreign nations with whom England, at that time, had any dealings. Besides Spain, Portugal, and Burgundy, countries which have been already mentioned, commissions are recorded authorising him to treat with France,^g Scotland,^h Pruce,ⁱ Holland, Zealand, and Friesland,^k the Hanse Towns,^l the Archbishop of Cologne,^m the Bishop of Munster,ⁿ the Count de Marck,^o Flanders,^p and some other countries. In the domestic affairs of his native country his employments were equally dignified. For example, upon a sudden dissolution of a parliament, he was appointed a commissioner to determine the petitions left unanswered;^q he was one of the commissioners at first appointed to compile the statutes of the new royal foundation of King's College in Cambridge;^r he was Speaker of the lower House of Convo-

^a His dedication of the *Provinciale* to Archbishop Chicheley.

^b *Ibid.*

^c Nicolas's *Proc. Privy Council*, iv. 82.

^d *Fœdera*, x. 473, 476.

^e Digby MS. in Bibl. Bodl. fo. 4^b. ^f *Fœd.* x. 546; Nicolas's *Proc. Priv. Co.* iv. 161; *Rot. Parl.* v. 434.

^g *Fœd.* x. 614; Nicolas's *Proc. Priv. Co.* v. 116.

^h *Ibid.* 684.

ⁱ *Ibid.* 688.

^k *Ibid.* 848.

^l Palgrave's *Ancient Inventories*, ii. 170.

^m *Fœd.* 716.

ⁿ *Ibid.* 741.

^o *Ibid.* 745.

^p *Ibid.* 750.

^q *Rot. Parl.* iv. 507.

^r *Ibid.* v. 87, 163; *Fœd.* xi. 36.

cation in a provincial council held under Archbishop Chicheley;^a and on the illness of a lord chancellor, he was chosen to open a parliament in his stead.^b

Such a course of life is Lyndewode's best eulogy. No man who was not expert in the management of public affairs, blameless in life and sound in judgment, would have continued so long in office, or have been so variously employed. Of his personal and individual character the committee have found but little trace. He was one of the visitors sent to Oxford by Archbishop Chicheley for the repression of Lollard opinions,^c and as a judicial officer he took part in the condemnation of William Taylor, delivered over to the civil power and burnt as a heretic in 1422.^d He was also officially concerned in several others of the Lollard prosecutions of that cruel period.

The only unquestionable trace of his actual mode of dealing with affairs which has occurred to the Committee is on the Privy Council register in 1443. The circumstances of the times were critical. The English had been gradually driven out of great part of their continental possessions, and the French, now at peace with Burgundy, were advancing in great strength to the recovery of Guienne and Normandy. England was appealed to for instant succour. The question was debated in the council to which of the threatened provinces assistance should first be sent. The council was divided in opinion. The lords were called upon to state their views separately, and each man's judgment was entered upon the council register. The opinion of Lyndewode, then an old man and verging to the close of his life, indicates a bold and fearless heart, ready to rise to the necessities of the occasion. Stripped of the uncouth orthography and obsolete phraseology in which it is recorded by the clerk of the council, Lyndewode's judgment may be rendered thus, "Relieve them both! If that is impossible, send help to the one that has the greatest need."

In the troublous days of Henry VI. the rewards of state employments, even if liberal in amount, were difficult to be obtained. We find that Lyndewode was obliged to procure special warrants from the king, in order to secure attention to his claims upon the exchequer;^e and that at his death a considerable arrear of "wages" was left to be discharged. At one time of pressing emergency, he advanced the king one hundred marks upon loan, apparently excusing the smallness of the

^a Wharton MS. Lambeth, 585, fo. 617; and Spencer's *Life of Chicheley*, 85.

^b Rot. Parl. iv. 367.

^c Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. Oxon.* ed. Gutch, i. 570, from Reg. Chicheley, fo. 362.

^d Spencer's *Life of Chicheley*, p. 75; Wilkins's *Concilia*, iii. 407, 409, 410, from Reg. Chicheley.

^e Nicolas's *Proc. Priv. Co.* v. 116.

amount, which was the same sum that he had advanced several years before, when he was a person of far less dignity—by adding that he would have made it £100, if he could have obtained payment of what the king owed him already. He probably found the Church a better paymaster than the State. If it was not so, it was certainly not because he lacked a succession of claims upon its liberality. Besides the preferments we have before mentioned, we find that in 1418, he was collated to the rectory of All Saints' in Bread Street;^a in 1419, appointed to the prebend of Taunton, in the cathedral of Wells;^b in 1422, to the prebend of Hunderton in the cathedral of Hereford;^c in 1424, to the prebend of Bishopstone in the cathedral of Salisbury;^d in 1433 to the archdeaconry of Oxford,^e and in the year following to the archdeaconry of Stow in the cathedral of Lincoln.^f In 1438 the king recommended him to the Pope for appointment to the bishopric of Hereford, in case Thomas Spofford, the then bishop, should resign on account of old age, which did not take place until ten years afterwards.^g Finally, in 1442, Lyndewode was preferred by the Pope under his assumed power of provision to the bishopric of St. David's,^h and was consecrated to the episcopal office in the chapel of St. Stephen's, Westminster.ⁱ

He probably thought that his course of ecclesiastical preferment had not yet come to an end, for in his will, which he made on 22nd November, 1443, he bequeathed a legacy, to the church of St. David's, of his two great antiphonars, and also his legenda, written in two volumes, but with this condition, "provided I shall be bishop there at the time of my death."

Such was the case. He is said to have died on the 21st October, 1446. His will was proved at Lambeth, before Archbishop Stafford himself, on the 26th November, 1446. In the Probate Act, the testator is described as "our venerable confrater" of good memory, the Lord William, late Bishop of St. David's."

His will contains many regulations and bequests which render it worthy of attention, especially to the investigator of our literary history. There are in it several legacies of books, and some special provisions in respect to the use and preservation of his own great work, which will be found to be of considerable curiosity and interest.

^a Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 245.

^b Tanner's Biblioth. referring to A. Wood's MS. c. 94.

^c Ibid. referring to Br. Willis.

^d Ibid. referring to Reg. Alnwyke.

^e Wilkins's Concilia, iii. 532

^f His Will, printed in the Appendix to this Report.

^g Ibid. referring to A. Wood's MS. c. 139.

^h Ibid. referring to Collect. Inett.

ⁱ Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Co. v. 195.

Such was the man whose remains the Committee see reason to think may have found the strange resting-place which they have described. The Committee now proceed to state the grounds upon which they come to that conclusion.

In his will, he makes precise and ample provision for his funeral. "I leave my body," he says, "to be buried in the chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster, where I received the gift of consecration, in such place as may be agreed upon between the dean and canons of the said chapel and my executors, and I wish that the place of my interment may be decently ornamented for at least twelve months after my decease. Also I leave to the said chapel, as a remembrance of me, my vestment of red satin and green velvet intext, and the cape of the same suit. Also I leave to the same chapel my vestment of black and green, with capes prepared for the same, and clothing for the altar, that they may be used there on the anniversaries of persons deceased." He also leaves liberal legacies to all persons who should be present on the celebration of his funeral, on his month's mind, and on his first anniversary; with money to be distributed amongst the poor people who should come thither at those times. Also he says, "I will that, on the said days, lights be kept burning round my *feretrum*, in an honest (that is, a respectable) manner, according to my quality as a bishop, and that the poor people holding those lights be remunerated every one with sixpence. Besides, also, wheresoever I may be buried, I will, that as soon as possible there be there founded a perpetual chantry for two priests to celebrate for my soul, for the souls of my parents, and of all my benefactors, if my goods be sufficient, otherwise for one priest at the least, receiving annually ten marks for his salary." He bequeaths legacies of 10*l.* to the poor monks, 10*l.* to the friars mendicant, and 10*l.* to the poor of the hospitals, in parishes in the neighbourhood in which he is buried, also 10*l.* to clothe the indigent poor. "Also," he says, "if I shall be buried in the Chapel of St. Stephen, at Westminster, I will, that out of the moneys now due and which shall be due to me at the time of my death for my daily wages by reason of my office of privy seal, there be expended by my executors about the completion of a cloister and bell-tower, if my executors are able to obtain as much from the king's highness, 600 marks, yet so that the dean and canons of the same chapel shall bind themselves to perform some special service in the same chapel yearly for my soul, as shall be agreed upon." After these and other legacies, he gave the residue of his estate to pious uses, and directed that, if necessary, his silver plate should be coined into money for the performance of his will; but it is important to observe that with respect to his best mitre, and his other episcopal ornaments and garments, he wished them, if necessary, to be sold, to defray the expense of repairing any houses on his benefices left by him in a state to need repair.

The bishop's executors passed their accounts at Lambeth on the 23d May, 1447, but, probably from not receiving the debts due to Lyndewode from the Crown, they were not able to settle his chantry until seven years afterwards. At length, on the 19th July, 32 Henry VI., that is in 1454, they obtained a royal license which gave permission to the bishop's executors, Robert Pyke and Adrian Grenebough, to found a perpetual chantry *in bassa capella*, that is, in the lower or under chapel of St. Stephen, within the palace of Westminster (the very place where this body was found) for two chaplains, or one at the least, daily in the same chapel, or one of them in the same under-chapel, and the other at the altar of St. Mary de Pewe, situate near the said chapel of St. Stephen's, to celebrate for ever, for the healthful estate of the king and his dearest consort Margaret, Queen of England, and for their souls when they should depart this life, and also for the soul of *the said late bishop, whose body rests interred in the said under-chapel*, and the souls of his parents, and all his benefactors, and of all the faithful deceased, according to an agreement between the said executors and the dean and chapter of St. Stephen's. It was further provided that the said chantry should be called for ever the Lyndewode chantry.

Here we arrive at the fact, clearly stated upon the highest authority, that Bishop Lyndewode was buried in the crypt or chapel in the basement of St. Stephen's, where the body in question was found.

The provision in the will respecting the disposal of his ecclesiastical ornaments for the repair of the residences on his benefices, may also account for the absence of any ring or other episcopal ornament or garment amongst the discovered remains.

The chronological indications deducible from the crosier agree with Lyndewode's period. It is also obvious, from a consideration of Lyndewode's public employments, of the most important kind, extending over a period of thirty years, that he must have attained the age of the person whose body was inspected.

Such a chapel must also be regarded as a very unusual place for the interment of a bishop. In Lyndewode's case, he states special reasons for his preference of St. Stephen's, but it is not probable that any bishop would have been interred there except one who, like Lyndewode, died at a distance from the cathedral of his see, and from the churches in which he possessed preferment. It is even still more improbable that two bishops should have been buried in such a place near about the time which is pretty well fixed by the crosier.

All these circumstances seem strongly to point to Lyndewode. But it may be said that such an interment as that lately laid open is inconsistent with the whole tenor and spirit of Lyndewode's will, and especially with the directions for ornamenting the place of his interment. It is obvious that Lyndewode himself looked forward to a conspicuous if not a splendid entombment.

The Committee think there is considerable weight in this objection, but beg to submit a suggestion which has been made to them for its removal. It is, that the interment probably, in the first instance, took place under some table or other monument raised above the floor of the chapel, as was common in the case of founders of chantries, but that at the suppression of the religious houses the monument was removed, and the pavement levelled. On removing the monument the body would be discovered, probably inclosed in an outer covering of lead^a. Embalmed as the body was, it could not be put out of sight so easily as many others of the bodies which were then disturbed. To get rid of it without publicity or needless offence, the hole in the wall was hastily picked out, and the body deposited therein. This may also account for the absence of external indication of the interment, and for the decay of the fore-arms, supposing them to have been once swathed in with the rest of the body.

The Committee submit these circumstances to the judgment of the Society, and beg to append to this report a full copy of the will of Bishop Lyndewode, transcribed from the register at Lambeth, by permission of Felix Knyvett, Esq., Secretary to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury; a copy of the license for the erection of Lyndewode's chantry, kindly furnished to the Committee by Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq., one of the assistant-keepers of records; and a copy of the minute of the agreement between the Dean and Chapter of St. Stephen's and the executors of Bishop Lyndewode, as entered on the original register of the chantries attached to St. Stephen's, now the Cottonian MS. Faustina B. VIII., fo. 8; of which register the Committee were reminded by Dr. Travers Twiss, Bishop Lyndewode's successor at the present day in Doctors' Commons.

The Committee have also appended an enlarged statement of the contents of some of the authorities for Lyndewode's biography to which they have referred, and some bibliographical particulars respecting the various editions of the Provinciale.

JAMES PRIOR, Chairman of Committee.

T. J. PETTIGREW.

W. J. THOMS.

JOHN BRUCE, Treas.S.A.

J. Y. AKERMAN, Res.Sec.S.A.

^a A body swathed in cere-cloth, of exactly the same character as the present, but wrapped in lead, was found at Bury St. Edmund's in 1772. It was suggested to be that of Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, who died in 1426.—See Philos. Trans. vol. lxii. p. 465.

APPENDIX.

I.

WILL OF WILLIAM LYNDEWODE, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

[Reg. Stafford, fo. 142; and also MS. Lambeth, 585, fo. 617.]

In dei nomine, Amen. Ego Willielmus Lyndewode per dei gratiam Menevensis episcopus sanus mente et corpore hac die xxij^{da} mensis Novembris, videlicet in festo sancte Cecilie Virginis, anno domini M^o cccc^{mo} xliij^o, condo testamentum meum in hunc modum. Imprimis lego animam meam Deo et toti curie celesti, corpusque meum sepeliendum in capella sancti Stephani apud Westmonasterium ubi munus consecrationis accepi, loco tali de quo poterit inter decanum et canonicos dicte capelle et executores huius voluntatis mee concordari, et volo quod locus sepulture mee ornetur condecenter ad minus infra annum post obitum meum. Item lego ad vsum dicte capelle, in memoriam mei, vestimentum de rubeo satyn et viridi velueto intext^o et capam eiusdem secte. Item lego dicte capelle vestimentum meum de nigro et viridi cum capis pro eodem preparatis et indumento altaris, ut ibi deserviant in anniversariis defunctorum. Item lego in primis exequiis meis ibi celebrandis decano dicte capelle xl denar^o, et cuilibet canonico tunc presenti duos solidos; item cuilibet vicario eiusdem presenti xij^d; item cuilibet clerico eiusdem tunc presenti sex denar^o; item cuilibet choriste presenti quatuor denarios, et tantundem lego solvendum cuilibet eorum presenti die tricesimo obitus mei, et consimiliter in primo anniversario meo. Item lego ad distribuendum inter pauperes dictis temporibus confluentes, vizt. in primis exequiis xx^s, in die tricesimo cuilibet pauperi confluenti unum denarium, in anniversari quadraginta solidos. Item volo quod in qualibet dictarum exequiarum in luminibus accendendis circa feretrum meum servetur modus honestus secundum qualitatem episcopalem et quod pauperes tenentes illa luminaria remunerentur, vizt. ipsorum singuli habeant sex denarios. Item lego ecclesie de Lyndewode, ubi natus sum, antiphonarium meum minorem de tribus. Preterea ubicunq. sepultus fuero volo qd ibi quamtocius fieri poterit fundetur una cantaria perpetua duorum presbyterorum celebratorum pro anima mea, parentum, et omnium benefactorum meorum, si ex bonis meis perfici poterit, alioquin de uno capellano ad minus, recepturo singulis annis decem marcas pro salario suo. Item lego nepoti meo Willo Auncell filio sororis mee centum libras vel valorem in rebus ei necessariis. Item lego Roberto Auncell patri ipsius Wilfi ciphum meum deauratum insculptum hac dictione, Osanna. Item lego librerie universitatis Oxon^{is} Hostien^{is} meum in lectura in duobus voluminibus et psalterium meum glosatum de pulcra manu. Item lego librerie universitatis Cantabrigie commentarium meum super codicem et Bartholum in papiro super digestum novum. Item lego ad distribuend pauperibus monialibus illarum parochiarum prope quas sepultus fuero decem libras. Item lego distribuend inter fratres mendicantes earundem

parochiarum decem libras. Item lego consimiliter ad distribuendum inter pauperes hospitaliū x^{li}. Item lego ad vestiendū paupes indigentes x^{li}. Item lego ad reparacionem pontium et viarum decem libras. Item lego pro communi distributione elemosine facienda x^{li}. Item lego D^{no} Thomæ Hevy x^{li}. Item lego Mag^{ro} Johanni Cantor librum vocatum Wilhelmus in spec^l. Item lego Adriano Grinbogh xx^{li}. Item Ricardo Swanley decem marcas. Item Johanni Wilde quinque marcas. Item Wilhelmo Kyrkeby quatuor marcas. Item Johanni Forider quinque marcas. Item Lamberto xxvj^s et octo denarios. Item Johanni Ingram quinque marcas. Item utrique duorum garcionum jam in coquina servientium xx^s. Item Witto Priour quinque marcas. Item Johanni Porter quinque marcas. Item Riço Fernour xx^s. Item cuilibet alteri generoso sive domicello michi personaliter per triennium famulanti et obsequenti xl^s. Item cuilibet alteri valetto per tantum spatium mihi personaliter obsequenti et servienti xx^s. Item cuilibet alteri garcioni michi tanto tempore personaliter obsequenti x^s. Item cuilibet pagetto quinque s. Præmissa omnia et singula servitoribus meis familiaribus sic legata eis sic solvi volo si michi familiares et servientes personaliter sint tempore obitus mei. Item si contigat me sepeliri in capella S^{ci} Stephani apud Westmonasterium volo quod de pecuniis michi debitis et que debentur tempore obitus mei de vadiis meis diurnis ratione officii mei privati sigilli expendantur per executores meos circa performance claustrum et campanilis dicte capelle dummodo per eos haberi et obtineri possint a regia celsitudine sexcentas marcas: sic tamen quod decanus dicte capelle et canonici eiusdem obligent se quod aliquid speciale adimpleant in eadem capella annuatim pro animâ mea prout concordari poterit inter decanum et canonicos eiusdem capelle et executores meos. Item hujus testamenti mei constituo executores magistrum Robertum Pyke artium magistrum, dominum Thomam Hevy capellanum, magistrum Radulphum Dreff in legibus bacallaureum, Thomam Hethman, et Adrianum Grynboch prenommatum, cum legatis premissis. Item cum predictis executoribus ordino Johannem Arden Baronem Scaccarii domini regis ad finem quod ipse cum ceteris predictis videat consulat et disponat pro consummatione operis predicti, cui lego pro labore suo x^{li}. Item lego ecclesie Menevensi si ibi fuerim Epus tempore mortis mee duo antiphonaria mea magna; item legendam meam in duobus voluminibus scriptam. Item lego ecclesie parochiali de Trynge meam legendam in uno volumine. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum superius non dispositorum lego disponendum per executores meos predictos in usus pios prout saluti anime mee magis eis videbitur expedire. Et volo quod vasa mea argentea monetentur ad finem impletionis voluntatis mee predictæ si necessarium fuerit. De meliori autem mitra et aliis ornatibus meis episcopalibus eos disponi volo cum aliis meis indumentis et rebus aliis prout eis videbitur in recompensâ, si qua opus fuerit pro reparacione michi aut dictis executoribus meis incumben^t in locis et maneriis per me dimissis irreparatis. Item, volo quod corpus meum juris civilis reparetur in ligamine et co-operturâ et donetur per viam elemosine alicui pauperi bene disposito ad addiscendum ut oret pro animâ meâ. Item volo quod liber meus quem compilavi super constitutiones provinciales reponatur in catheris et inferratus sit ut salvo et secure custodiatur in superiori parte capelle S^{ci} Stephani predictæ, vel alias in vestiario eiusdem capelle, ut quotiens opus fuerit pro veritate scripture primarie eiusdem pro correctione aliorum librorum ab eodem tractatu copiandorum recurri poterit dum sit opus. Item volo quod copia eiusdem libri quem ut profertur compilavi et pro majori parte scripsit Thomas

Hethman, remaneat penes eundem Thomam jure proprio, ut ex copia eiusdem locanda possit aliquid lucrari in recompensā laboris sui. Item volo quod familiares mei sustineantur communiter sumptibus meis per dimidium anni post obitum meum ut interim sibi possint providere pro salariis aliunde. Hujus autem testamenti mei supervisorem ordino facio et constituo reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Willielmum dei gratia Lincolniensis Episcopum et eidem reverendo patri pro laboribus et diligentis suis in ea parte impendendis lego x^{li}. In cuius rei testimonium voluntatis mee disponi sigillum meum apposui die et anno Dñi supradictis.

Probatum fuit presens testamentum bone memorie venerabilis confratris nostri domini Willielmi nuper Menevensis Episcopi defuncti corā nobis Johanne, &c. in manerio nostro de Lameth xxvj^o die mensis Novembris anno domini Millesimo cccc^{mo} xlvj^{to} et per nos approbatum insinuatum et legitime pronunciatum pro eodem: commissaque fait administratio omnium bonorum dictum defunctum et ejus testamentum concernē ubique infra provinciam nostram, &c. magistro Roberto Pyke artium magistro, magistro Thome Hevy, magistro Radulpho Dreff in legibus baccalaureo, et Adriano Grynboch exeč, &c.

[Reg. Stafford, fo. 149^o.]

Vicesimo tercio die mensis Maij anno domini supradicto [1447] apud Lameth acquietati fuerunt executores bone memorie domini Willielmi Lyndewode nuper Menevensis Episcopi defuncti salvo jure alterius cuiuscunque, et super hoc obtinuerunt literas in forma.

II.

ROYAL LICENCE TO FOUND THE LYNDEWODE CHANTRY.

Among the Records in the custody of the Master of the Rolls, pursuant to statute 1 and 2 Victoria, cap. 94, and preserved in the Tower of London, to wit, Patent Roll 32 Henry VI., memb. 4, it is thus contained:—

D licencia fundand) R omibz ad quos, &c. saltm Sciatis qd de gra nra spali ac de avisamento et
Cantariam.) assensu consilij nri concessim^o et licenciam dedim^o p nob et heredibz nris
quantum in nob est ditcis nob Robto Pyke ctico et Adriano Grenebough executoribz testamenti
ven^oabilis pris Wiffi Lyndwoode nup Meneven Epi ac nup custodis privati sigilli nri qd ipi seu
eoz alr ad Dei laudem et divini cultus augmentacoem quandam cantaria ppetuam in bassa
capella sci Stephi infra palacium nrm Westm de duobz capellanis ppetuis sive de uno capellano
ppetuo ad minus divina singulis diebz in capella pdca sive uno eozdem capellanoz in ipa bassa
capella et alro eoz ad altare capelle be Marie de Pewa ppe dcam capellam nram sci Stephi situat
p salubri statu nro & carissime consortis nre Margarete Regine Angl & aiaz nris cum ab hac
luce migaverim necnon p aia pdci nup Epi cujus corpus in dca bassa capella quiescit humatum
et aiaz parentum et oim benefcoz suoz ac oim fidelium defunctoz juxta ordinacoem in pdcos

executores et decanū et canonicos dē capelle nre sēi Stephi in hac parte faciendū imp̄m celebratū erigē facē creare fundare et stabilire possint vel possit Ita qd postq^m dē cantaria sic erecta fca creata fundat et stabilit fuit sit cantaria ppetua et cantaria de Lyndwoode Chauntie in capella pdca imp̄m nuncupet^r Et qd dē duo capellani et eoꝝ successores p noia capellanoꝝ ppetuoꝝ cantarie ppetue vocat Lyndwood Chaunterye sint psone habiles in lege et capaces sive utq^q eoꝝ p nomen capellani ppetui cantarie ppetue vocat Lyndwood Chaunterye sit psona habilis in lege et capax ac pfitare et implitari necnon respondere et responderi possint vel possit in quibuscumq^q accionibz realibz psonalibz et mixtis tam coram nob heredibz et successoribz nris q^m coram quibuscumq^q justiciariis et iudicibz spualibz et secularibz in quibuscumq^q euf locis et placeis Et ulius de ubiori gra nra ac de avisamento et assensu pdcis concessim^o et licenciam dedim^o p nob & heredibz nris quantum in nob est dilcis nob in xpo Wille Walesby nunc decano capelle nre sēi Stephi pdict et canonicis ejusdem capelle et successoribz suis qd ipi et successores sui pdci terf teñ et reddit cum ptiñ ad valorem viginti et quatuor marcaꝝ p annū ult^m reprisas licet terf teñ et reddit ist de nob teneant^r in capite socagio vel burgagio Salvis nob et heredibz nris reddit et viñ inde debi et consuet pquirere possint et tenere sibi et successoribz suis pdcis imp̄m et eadem terf teñ et reddit sic pquisi vel alia terf teñ et reddit de quibz dē decanus et canonici modo sint possessionati licet eadem alia tr teñ et reddit fuint de fundacoe dē nre capelle sēi Stephi que de fundacoe pgenitoꝝ nroꝝ quondam Regum Angl et nro p̄onatu existit onare possint cuicumq^q psone sive quibuscumq^q psonis sibi placuit ad usum dcoꝝ capellanoꝝ in quodam annuo redditu viginti et quatuor marcaꝝ cum clausula districōis p̄cipiend eidem psone sive eisdem psonis heredibz et assign seu succesoribz suis annuatim ad talem v̄minū seu tales v̄minos put in scripto de et sup concessione hujusmodi redditus in hac parte conficiend continebit^r sive continebunt^r ad sustentacōem et exhibicōem dcoꝝ duoꝝ capellanoꝝ et successoꝝ suoꝝ in dca bassa capella nra sēi Stephi ut pdcm est singulis diebz celebratū ac cujusdam obitus p aia nra et aia dē consortis nre ac aia pdci nup Epi necnon aiaꝝ oim fideiū defunctoꝝ in die anniṽsarij ipius nup Epi solempni in dca capella nra sēi Stephi annuatim celebrand juxta ordinacōem inde faciend sicut pdcm est imp̄m Et eidem psone sive eisdem psonis qd ipa vel ipe concessionem hujusmodi redditus de pfatis decano et canonicis seu successoribz suis ad intenōem pdcam recipe et redditum illum tenere possint vel possint sibi heredibz et assign seu successoribz suis pdcis sicut pdcm est imp̄m tenore psenciū simili^r licenciam dedim^o spalem Dumtamen p inquisicōes inde debite capiend et in Cancellar nra et heredum nroꝝ rite retornand comptum sit qd id fieri possit sine dampno seu p̄judicio nri vel heredum nroꝝ aut alioꝝ quocumq^q Nolentes qd pdci executores vel hered sui aut dē capellani seu capellanus vel successores sui sive pfati decanus et canonici capelle pdcē seu successores sui aut dca psona vel dē psone vel hered et assign aut successores sui pdci rōne p̄missoꝝ p nos heredes vel successores nros justic escactores vicecomites aut alios ballivos seu ministros nros vel heredum nroꝝ quoscumq^q occōnent^r inquietent^r molestent^r in aliquo seu g^{ve}nt^r occōnet^r inquietet^r molestet^r in aliquo seu g^{ve}vet^r Statuto de tris et teñ ad manum mortuam non ponend edi^r seu aliquo alio statuto ordinacoe inquisicōe concessione restricōe actu pvisione matia causa vel alia re quacumq^q non obstant. In cujus, &c. T R apud Westm xix die Julij.

P bre de privato sigillo et de dat, &c.

III.

ENTRY RELATING TO THE LYNDEWODE CHANTRY IN THE REGISTER BOOK OF
CHANTRIES OF ST. STEPHEN'S, WESTMINSTER.

[MS. Cotton. Faust. B. viii. fol. 33.]

Anni'sarium
sive obitus
Lynwod.[In a later
hand]
Nō dies obit

Lynwod.

et virgheag'
vj.d.

Inter cetera articulos et capitula ordinacōis Lynwod. continetur ista articulus capi^m et verba quo ad oblatōem obitus ejusd. Item volumus et ordinamus qd obitus siue anni'sarium pro aiaby dicti Dñi Regis et pfa^t consortis sue cū ab hac luce migravit nōn pro aia p^dicti nup Epi ac aiaby oim fidelium defuncti in dict Capella Sancti Stephani singulis annis imppetuum p nos pfa^t Decanum et Canonicos ac alios ministros ejusdm Eccleie solempnit^r celebretur videlicet scāz undecim milia virginū exequie secundum usum Sa^z cū nota et in crastina die missa de Requiem solempniter per notam. Et volumus qd Decanus dict Capelle pro tempe existens si hñoi exequiis interfuerit et dict missam de Requiem celebravit v^t quicumq; alius Canōicus ejusdem Capelle dict exequiis intessens et dict missam de Requiem vice dict Decani celebrans habeat .ij.s. Et qd dictus Decanus pro tempore existens si dict exequiis et misse interfuerit et missam illam non celebravit habeat .xx.d. Et qd quilibet alius canōicus ejusdm Capelle hñoi exequiis et misse intessens habeat .xvj.d. Et quil^t vicarius ejusdm Capelle intessens ad hñoi exequias et missam habeat .vij.d. Et quil^t clericus chori dict Capelle ad dict exequias et missā intessens habeat .vi.d. Et quil^t choristaz ibidem interessens .ij.d. Et sacristarius pulsans .iiij.d. Et custos Capelle de Pewa si presbiter fuit .vi.d. Aliter .iiij.d. Item volum^o et ordinam^o qd supradict Capellani dict Cantarie eisdem exequiis omnio intersint ministerium eo^z in eisdem diligēter et attente faciant si possint et qd uterq; eo^z habeat pro suo intesse .vij.d. Pretea nos p^dicti execu^t volumus et ordinamus qd si contingat pfa^t Decanum et Canonicos p^dicti Capelle Sancti Stephani v^t suc^c suos in aliquo p^missoz quod ad eos facere ptinet deficere sic qd quidm̄ annualis redditus xx^o et iiij^{or} marea^z quē dict Decanus et Canōici Capelle p^dicti vigore et virtute licencie Regie in ea pte habi^t concedere possint et ex aggregamēto nro concedere debent Decano et Capello dict Eccleie Cath et suc^c suis ad sustentacionē et exhibicōem dco^z nūc Capl^{toz} et suc^c suo^z ac obitus sup^o dñi ipis Decano et Capi^o ejusdm Eccleie Cath et suc^c suis occasione alicujus hñoi defectus fuerit levabilis et levetr qd tunc patronatus et advocacio Cantarie p^dicti ac presentacō ad eandm̄ quociens et qñ Capellanie siue loca Capellanorum p^dico^z sive Capellania seu locus alterius eo^zdm̄ vacavint seu vacavit ad dcos Decanum et Ca^m dñe Eccleie Ca^{lis} et suc^c suos imppm̄ devolvant^r. Quam ve^o p^sentacōem de ydonea psona sive de ydoneis psonis nos dñi execu^t volumus fieri infra .xl. dies post noticiam hñoi devolucōis dictis Decano et Ca^o ejusdm̄ Cath p^dicti et eo^z suc^c habi^t immediate sequent^r p Decanum et Ca^m dñe Ecclie Cathe^{lis} vel Decanatu ibm vacant^r per ipm̄ Ca^m ad Decanum et Cano^{os} dict Capelle Sancti Stephani pro tempe existēt vel Decanatu ibm vacant^r tunc ad ipos Canonicos dñe Capelle Ca^m ibm facientes. admissione institutione inducōe et installacōe hñoi p^sentati vel p^sentato^z infra qⁿdenā a tēpore p^sentacōis hñoi nūandam fiendis et expediendis Decano et Capi^o dñe Capelle Sancti Stephani vel Decanatu ibm vacant^r ipi Capi^o ut premittitur reservatis.

IV.

REFERENCES TO RECORDS AND AUTHORITIES WHICH INDICATE THE COURSE OF THE PUBLIC LIFE OF BISHOP LYNDEWODE.

——— 1417.—License from Archbishop Chicheley to William Lyndewode, utriusque juris doctor, "quem literarum scientia, morumque laudabilis vitæ meritis, aliisque virtutibus præconiis, sufficienter novimus insignitum," to preach in Latin or English within the diocese of Canterbury.—*Wilkins's Concilia*, iii. 389, from *Reg. Chicheley*, ii. fol. 131^b.

23rd July, 5th Henry V. 1417.—Sir William Clifford, knight, and dilectus clericus regis Willielmus Lyndwod, legum doctor, were commissioned to treat with the Duke of Burgundy for the prolongation of a truce.—*Fædera*, ix. 470.

8th August, 1417.—The Commissioners met certain Commissioners of the Duke of Burgundy at Calais, in the house of William Bardolf, and there agreed to a prolongation of the truce to Easter next.—*Ibid.* 471, 481.

— December, 1417.—Lyndewode was again commissioned with Henry Were, Keeper of the Privy Seal, to effect a further prolongation of the same truce.—*Ibid.* 528.

14th January, 9th Henry V. 1422.—Commission to Thomas Baron of Carreu and to William de Lyndwode, clerk, utriusque juris doctor, to treat with John, King of Portugal.—*Fædera*, x. 167.

20th April, 1423.—20 Aprilis, anno primo, apud Westm̄ concessum est, quod Magister Willielmus Lyndewode, legum doctor, de presenti in servicio Regis profecturus in Francia, in societate Domini Episcopi London' pro essendo ibidem de consilio Regis, habeat a domino Thesaurario per viam prestiti £50 et warrant'.—*Nicolas's Proc. of Privy Council*, iii. 66.

1429.—Demumque post Hispannici littoris sulcata maria et à regno Portugalliæ reditum (piissimæ memoriæ Henrico rege Angliæ quinto in cujus legatione tunc eram ultimo die Augusti, A. D. 1422, apud Boscum Vicennarum in Franciâ vita functo) reassumpto officialitatis officio anno tunc sequenti eadem statuta glossare proposui.—*From the Dedication of the Provinciale to Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury*.

1430.—Sed operis hujus finem speratum, adveniente Paschalis Festivitatis die Jubilæo, videlicet Vigiliâ Pentecostes, anno gratiæ M.CCCC.xxx. fæliciter attingens, gratias indesinenter refero omnium largitori, cujus majestati, &c.—*Conclusion of Lyndewode's gloss upon the constitutions*, p. 356, edit. 1679.

19th May, 8th Henry VI. 1430.—Letters for repayment of loans to the king from (*inter alios*) Magister Willielmus Lynwode, 100 marcas.—*Rot. Parl.* v. 420.

8th November, 1430.—W. Lyndewode, utriusque juris doctor, joint Commissioner with the Bishop of Norwich and Lord Cromwell, signed a treaty with Spain.—*Fædera*, x. 473, 476.

12th January, 9th Henry VI. 1431.—Reverendus vir, Magister W. Lyndewode, legum doctor, opens a Parliament in the place of the Chancellor, who was too ill to attend to business.—*Rot. Parl.* iv. 367.

20th March, 9th Henry VI. 1431.—Warrant to the Treasurer and Chamberlains to pay Master William Lyndewode, legum doctor, and John Tirell, whom the king has assigned to be

of his Council about his person, in his kingdom of France, for half a-year next following, to each of them £100.—*Nicolas's Proc. of Privy Council*, iv. 82.

The same day.—Another warrant to pay the before-mentioned Master William, by reason of his office of secondary in the office of the privy seal, £40 as a gift from the king for reward for the past year.—*Ibid.*

24th March, 11th Henry VI. 1433.—Master William Lyndewode, Keeper of the Privy Seal, principal commissioner to treat with the Duke of Brittany.—*Fœdera*, x. 546.

4th May, 11th Henry VI. 1433.—W. Lyndewode present at a meeting of the Council, and signs the minute of the proceedings as one of the Lords of the Council.—*Cleopatra*, F. iv. fo. 67; *Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, iv. 161.

24th May, 11th Henry VI., 1433.—W. Lyndewode, as one of the Lords of the Council, signs an order to the Treasurer and Chamberlains to pay the Cardinal of England 10,000 marks, a debt owing to him from the King.—*Rot. Parl.* v. 434.

[Upon the authority of this document, misunderstood, Lyndewode has been termed Chamberlain to the King, an office which he never held. Several entries on the Parliament Rolls, referring to him, are mistakenly indexed under the head of "Chamberlain." The same index is wrong in several others of its entries relating to Lyndewode. The one which sets down to him a death-bed confession affecting the Duke of Suffolk relates, as is well known, to another Keeper of the Privy Seal. The entries relating to Lyndewode in the index to *Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council* are equally inaccurate.]

14th August, 11th Henry VI. 1433.—W. Lyndewode, described as Custos Privati Sigilli.—*Fœdera*, x. 555.

17th February, 12th Henry VI. 1434.—W. Lyndewode, Custos Priv. Sig., one of various principal persons of the realm, who advanced 5000 marks for the king's use.—*Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, iv. 161.

12th November, 13th Henry VI. 1434.—W. Lyndewode, Keeper of the Privy Seal, present at an important council held at Cirencester.—*Rot. Parl.*, v. 438; *Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, iv. 289.

13th Henry VI. 1435.—William Lyndwood, clerk, Keeper of the King's Privy Seal, and Sir John Radcliff, knight, ambassadors of the King towards the Dauphin of France.—*Cal. Rot. Pat.* p. 278.

10th June, 13th Henry VI. 1435.—W. Lyndewode, going into France to treat with the Dauphin, had licence to take with him *in moneta massa et plata* to the amount of 500 marks.—*Fœdera*, x. 614.

6th November, 15th Henry VI. 1436.—Appointed with other commissioners to treat with Ambassadors of Pruce.—*Fœdera*, x. 657. With whom he and the other commissioners concluded a truce for nine years.—*Ibid.* 688.

22nd March, 15th Henry VI. 1437.—He concluded a treaty of peace with the Hanse Towns.—*Ibid.* 753.

22nd June, 15th Henry VI. 1437.—W. Lyndewode, Keeper of the Privy Seal, one of a Commission of Lords of the Council to answer petitions left unanswered in the Parliament.—*Rot. Parl.* iv. 507.

13th November, 16th Henry VI. 1437.—W. Lyndewode, Keeper of the Privy Seal, re-appointed on the King's Council.—*Rot. Parl.* v. 439; *Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, vi. 313.

20th March, 16th Henry VI. 1438.—Appointed to treat with the King of Scots.—*Fædera*, x. 684.

The same day Master William Lynewode, Keeper of the King's Privy Seal, delivered into the King's treasury a truce with the parts of Prucie dated at London, 22nd March, 15th Henry VI. And on the same day the same Master William Lynwode delivered in a truce sealed with the seal of the city of Lubec, dated at Lubec, 20th August, 1437.—*Palgrave's Ancient Inventories*, ii. 170.

12th July, 16th Henry VI. 1438.—Letter from Henry VI. to Pope Eugenius IV. recommending William Lyndewode, utriusque juris doctor, custos priv. sig., dilectus clericus et consiliarius regis, for the bishopric of Hereford, in case Thomas [Spofford] then Bishop should resign on account of old age. The King describes Lyndewode as "ita castus, humilis et modestus, ac inflexibiliter, ubi opus sit, justus, ut locorum quocunque pervenerit, omnia vitæ propriæ integritate purificet."—*Wilkins's Concilia*, iii. 532, referring to Lambeth MS. 211, fol. 1.

4th February, 17th Henry VI. 1439.—Appointed to treat with ambassadors from the Archbishop of Cologne.—*Fædera*, x. 716.

12th December, same year.—One of the commissioners who concluded in London a treaty of alliance and subsidy with the Bishop of Munster.—*Ibid.* 741. And a similar treaty with the Count de Marck.—*Ibid.* 745.

24th December, 18th Henry VI. 1439.—Chief Commissioner for proroguing a truce with Flanders.—*Fædera*, x. 750.

20th May, 18th Henry VI. 1440. A petition to the King from "William Lyndewode, Keper of your Prive Seal," for his wages for "his goying late to Arras in your ambassiat."—*Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, v. 116.

10th June, 18th Henry VI. 1440.—Warrant to "Maister William Lyndewode, Keper of our Prive Seal," to deliver certain books of the King's gift to All Souls' College, Oxford.—*Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, v. 118. Other warrants similarly addressed, 20th June, 18th Henry VI. (*Ibid.* pp. 119 and 120); and 7th July, 18 Henry VI.—*Ibid.* p. 121.

12th February, 19th Henry VI. 1441.—W. Lyndewode appointed one of a commission to frame laws for the King's new college at Cambridge.—*Rot. Par.* v. 87 & 163.

[These commissioners did not complete their work, their commission being subsequently revoked.—*Fædera*, xi. 36.]

3rd June, 19th Henry VI. 1441.—Adam Moleyns, Secondary in the Office of the Privy Seal, petitions for the same yearly reward in clothing as was given to Maister William Lyndewode, late Secondary in the said office.—*Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, v. 150.

14th July, 19th Henry VI. 1441.—Appointed Chief Commissioner to treat with the states of Holland, Zeland, and Friesland.—*Fædera*, x. 848.

10th August, 1442.—Pope Eugenius IV. having provided for the Church of St. David's, in the person of Master William Lyndewode, he as bishop elect renounced all words in the papal bulls relating to his preferment which were prejudicial to the King and his crown.—*Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, v. 195.

14th August, 20th Henry VI. 1442.—Temporalities of St. David, restored on his election to the see.—*Fædera*, xi. 13.

21st August, 20th Henry VI. 1442.—Present at a council held in the King's parlour at Sheen "Theslit of St. David's."—*Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, v. 196.

7th October, 21st Henry VI. 1442.—Present at a council held at Eltham "Seint David's keeper of the privie seal."—*Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, v. 210.

6th February, 21st Henry VI. 1443.—Lyndewode present at a council in the King's presence in his "secrete chamber at Westminster," where the question was debated whether the King should send succours first to Guienne or Normandy. The opinions of the councillors are recorded, and that of Lyndewode stands thus:—"My lord of Seint David's seemeth, bothe to be releved, yif that it might, and ellis that that hadde gretest neede."—*Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, v. 223.

13th July, 1443.—Appointed to treat with Commissioners of Holland and Zealand, for a settlement of disputes respecting English persons who "have done attemptats."—*Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, v. 307.

1443.—Assigned with the two Chief Justices to hear a matter between "them of Pruce and the Kyngs subjectis."—*Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, v. 234.

1443.—A difficulty having arisen at the Exchequer respecting some payments to be made to him, the same was ordered by the King himself to be rectified.—*Nicolas's Proc. Priv. Council*, v. 116.

25th February, 25th Henry VI. 1447.—Licence to elect a Bishop of St. David's in lieu of William the late bishop, deceased.—*Fœdera*, xi. 157.

V.

NOTES UPON THE EARLY EDITIONS OF LYNDEWODE'S PROVINCIALE.

Whether there was an edition of Lyndewode's Provinciale printed by Caxton, has been long considered a subject of doubt. Ames was assured by Maurice Johnson that he possessed a book entitled "Reverendissimi viri dni. Gulielmi Lyndewodi, LL.D. et epi. Asaphensis constitutiones provinciales ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Impressū per Willm. Caxtonum, sine commentariis, 24mo." Herbert remarks "I have an edition of this book with Caxton's mark only, at the end, after which is a table of contents with W. de Worde's colophon, and the same mark at the end of it, 12^o."^a Dr. Dibdin adds, "I strongly suspect that W. de Worde's edition has been mistaken for Caxton's."^b It is clear that whatever the book might be which was possessed by Maurice Johnson, the title was quoted by him very inaccurately, probably from recollection. Lyndewood was never bishop of St. Asaph's; nor if he had been would he have been styled "reverendissimus;" nor would his degree "utriusque juris doctor," have been in Caxton's time expressed by the initials LL.D.; nor were diphthongs in use in printing at that time; nor is it likely that "sine commentariis" would have been put upon the title page. The size, also, if not unknown among Caxton's works, is extremely rare. No such production of Caxton's press is now known, and it cannot be doubtful that no book with such a title ever existed.

^a Herbert's Ames, i. 98.

^b Dibdin's Typog. Antiq., i. 345.

But, although Maurice Johnson was certainly mistaken in the title, and might also be mistaken in the size of the book to which he alluded, the question still remains whether there was not an edition of the *Provinciale* of Caxton's time, even if it did not really proceed from the press of Caxton. The only edition that may possibly be so regarded is one in folio, without a title page, and without printer's name or place of printing. This is certainly the first complete edition of Lyndewode's work, and is undoubtedly the production of a very early printer. Ames has written upon an imperfect copy of it, which is now in the British Museum, that "this book is the first printed Provincial Constitutions, and at Oxford, about the year 1470 or 80, by comparing this letter with other Oxford printed books." The type is unquestionably that of an early printer, and the paper, as shewn by the paper-marks, may be of the fifteenth century:^a the initial letters, also, at the commencement of the chapters or divisions, have in some cases been inserted by hand. These are indications of an early period in the practice of printing, and the use of signatures does not certainly bring the book down later than about 1480. Prefixed to the volume, on the reverse of what might have been a title page, is a wood cut of a male person in monastic costume, sitting at a desk writing. This has been presumed to be a portrait of Lyndewode, and has been partly engraved upon that supposition. It is probably merely the customary representation of an author writing his book, the person sitting being no more to be regarded as an actual portrait than the objects of architecture, and the trees and fields introduced into the background of the original, but not into the modern engraving, are to be looked upon as a representation of a real landscape. Copies of this rare volume occur both at the British Museum and at the Bodleian. The latter, which is a very fine one, was produced with great kindness for the inspection of the Committee, by Dr. Bandinel, together with all the other editions of Lyndewode in the library under his care.

The book commences "*De sūma trinitate et fide catholica*," the heading of the first classified division of the Constitutions, after which follows Lyndewode's prefatory dedication to Archbishop Chicheley, which should have preceded the heading.

The colophon runs thus, "*Explicit opus Magistri Wilhelmi Lyndewode super constituciones provinciales. Laus deo.*" Then follows a *Tabula Compendiosa* of the contents of the book and a Table of the Constitutions arranged under the names of the several archbishops.

The next edition of Lyndewode (if it be the next) contained only the Constitutions as collected and arranged by him without his gloss. The volume is entitled, "*Constituciones prouinciales ecclesie anglicæ . per . do . Wiilhelmū Lyndewode vtriusq; iuris doctorem edite. Incipiunt feoliciter.*" This title is placed over a small wood-cut of a bishop in pontificals, with his right hand in the attitude of blessing, and holding in his left hand a pastoral staff. Herbert terms this "a wood-cut of Lindwood." It looks more like a representation of a boy-bishop than that of a man who was not advanced to the episcopal dignity until he had attained more than sixty years.

The colophon runs as follows: "*Opus presens fabricatum est. et diligenter correctum per Wynandum de Worde. Apud Westmonasteriū. In domo caxton. Anno Incarnacionis Mil-*

^a We allude especially to a broad-ended open pair of shears, and a shield crowned, bearing three fleurs-de-llys, with a cross pendant from the shield. Both these are among the paper-marks of the Paston Letters.

lesimo quadringêtesimo nonagesimo sexto. Ultima die May acabatūq. Gloria deo." In the Grenville Catalogue, this volume is stated to be 16mo. At the end of the Constitutions is the following further colophon: "Explicit opus magistri Wilhelmi Lyndwode super constituciões puinciales. Laus deo." On the next page is Caxton's smaller device; the one in which the letters W. C. are printed in black letters upon a white ground, with the well-known cypher between them. On the succeeding page, "Incipitt tabula constitucionum prouicialium." The book contains 168 leaves. It is well described in Herbert's Ames, p. 103; and is noticed in Dibdin's Typog. Antiq. i. 53.

This book was several times reprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, once probably in the very year of its first publication, for a copy in the Douce Collection at the Bodleian, also dated in 1496, contains some typographical variations from the one before referred to in the Grenville Library. In 1499 there was another edition by Wynkyn de Worde; and on the title page (as if to shew how utterly worthless all the title-page wood-cuts of that period are as portraits) there is another wood-cut of a bishop or archbishop, who is represented as a much older person than the bishop figured on the title-page of the edition of 1496. Mention is made by Lowndes of other editions by Wynkyn de Worde in 1508, 1517, and 1529, all in 16mo.

The Constitutions, as arranged by Lyndwode, were also twice printed without his gloss, but with the addition of the Legatine Constitutions of Otho and Othoboni, by Pynson, without title-page, place of printing, or date, but with different type, and with his two different printer's marks. One of the editions has a dedication to John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Pynson edition was reprinted by Robert Redman in 8vo. 1534; and the same printer in the same year put forth a translation of the Constitutions into English, of which a very interesting account is given in Herbert's Ames, i. 392. This is the only English translation.

The Constitutions, with the addition of the Legatine Constitutions of Otho and Othoboni, as printed by Pynson and Redman, were also printed by Thomas Marshe. This volume was dedicated by the "humilis typographus" to Cardinal Pole. On the title-page, by a strange mistake, the date is printed 2557 instead of 1557.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century, Lyndwode's work was taken up by the printers of Paris. Several editions were published, all of course intended for the London market. These editions were revised or edited by Jodocus Badius Ascensius, although printed by two several printers. The first edition is dated in 1501; and was printed by Andrew Bocard, "in inelyta parisiana academia, anno salutis nostre millesimo quingentesimo primo, Maii vero die, xxviii."

The next edition was in fact a reprint of that printed by Bocard, but set forth in a style of typographical excellence commensurate with the importance of the work itself. This edition stands pre-eminent in dignity and beauty even to the present day. It was revised by Jodocus Badius Ascensius, and was printed at Paris by Wolfgang Hopylius, with many elegant typographical embellishments. It is a folio volume, with the date of 1506, but the colophon bears date March 22, 1505. It seems to have been a speculation of William Bretton, "an honest merchant of London," who procured many English books to be printed abroad. The copies intended to be sold abroad are announced to be sold at Paris apud T. Kerver; those

to be sold in London are similarly announced as purchaseable among the booksellers in St. Paul's Church-yard, London, at the sign of the most Holy Trinity and St. Anne the mother of Mary. The full title-page of this book runs thus: "Provinciale, seu Cōstitutiones Anglie cū summariis atq; iustis annotationibus politissimis characteribus summaq; accuratiōe rursum revise atq; impressæ." The colophon is as follows: "Explicit preclarum opus Wilhelmi Lyndewode eruditissimi viri, super constitutiones prouinciales Anglie: summa cura atq; diligentia Wolffgangi Hopyllii reuissum, emēdatū, atq; In inclita Parisiorū Academia Impressum: vna cum annotationibus debitis: cūq; summariis suis locis prepositis. Impēsis vero et sumptibus honesti mercatoris Londoñ Wilhelmi Brettoñ. Anno salutis nostre Millesimo quingētesimo quinto, xxij. Martij."^a

In 1525, another "honest merchant," named Francis Bryckman, procured the Paris edition of 1505-6 to be reprinted at Antwerp. This is also a handsome edition, and has some curious typographical ornaments; one, a representation of the universal church in heaven and earth united in singing *Te Deum*; and another of the combat between St. George and the Dragon, with the Princess Cleodelinda praying for her champion, with all the other details of the legend. The title and colophon are verbatim the same as those of the Paris edition of 1505, with the substitution of Francis Bryckman's shop in St. Paul's Church-yard as the place of sale, and Christopher Endovien of Antwerp as the printer.

These editions sufficed to supply the public demand until after the restoration of the monarchy and our system of ecclesiastical law, in 1660. An edition for practical use, containing the Constitutions as printed in the editions of Wynkyn de Worde and Pynson, with a selection from Lyndewode's notes, was published under the editorship of Dr. Sharrock, a Fellow of New College. 8vo. Oxford, 1664.

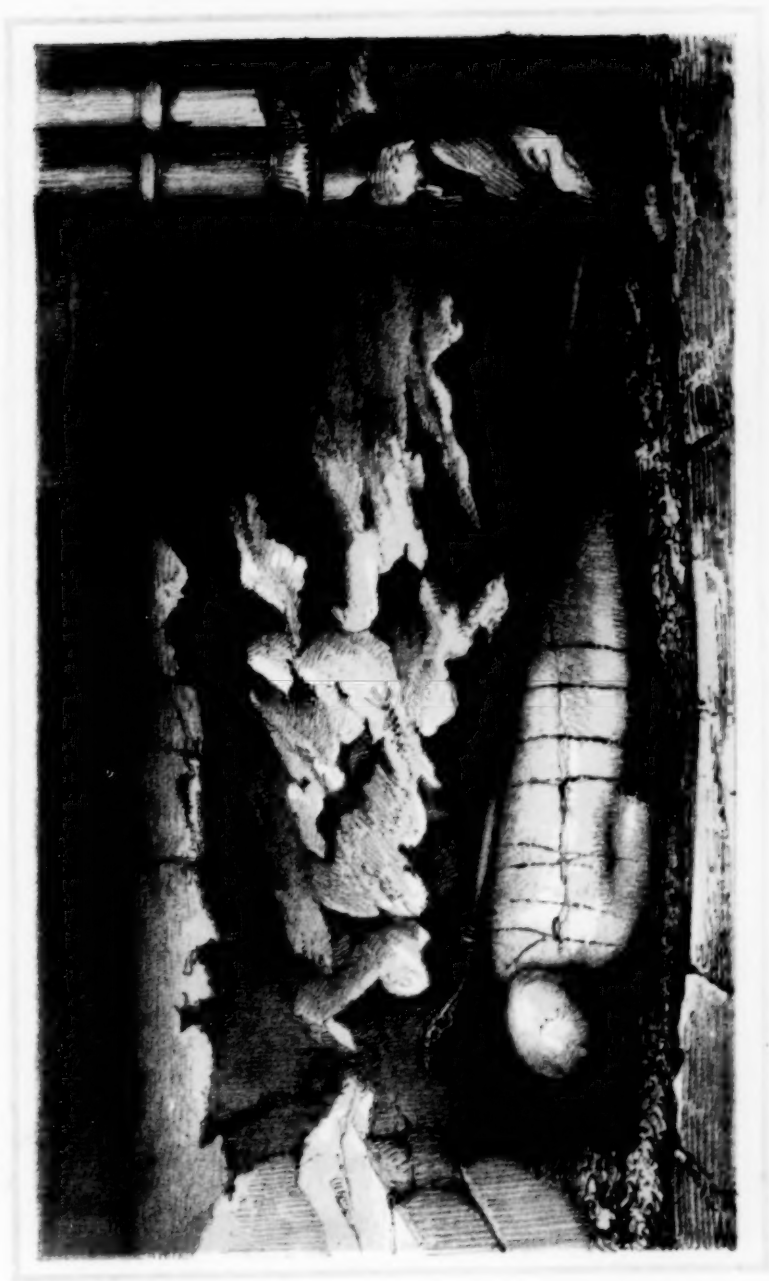
The last edition, and the one now presumed to be the best, is that of Oxford, 1679, fol. It is totally devoid of the attractions of those of Paris and Antwerp, being badly printed and upon poor paper, but it contains Lyndewode's work complete, with the Legatine Constitutions of Otho and Othoboni, and the Commentary upon them of John de Athona.

Any re-impression of Lyndewode's work is not hereafter to be looked for; but it still retains its position as an authority in Doctors' Commons. Bishop Gibson, in his *Codex Jur. Eccles. Anglie*, i. xii. speaks of it thus: "Next to the solemn judgments of law are the Commentaries of Lyndewood and John de Athona; the first, upon the Provincial, the second upon the Legatin

^a In *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxxi., pt. 2, p. 625, is a letter from Mr. Holmes, of East Retford, in which he gives an account of a MS. addition to a copy of Lyndewode's *Provinciale*, Paris, 1555 [probably a mistake for 1505], printed at the charges of W. Bretton, an honest merchant of London. This addition is entitled "*Verba Willielmi Lindewode ad Clerum*." It is a poem of sixty-four lines of advice addressed to the clergy. The following is a specimen:—

Oribus tenemini vestris predicare,
Sed quid, quibus, qualiter, ubi, quando, quare,
Debitis sollicitè præconsiderare,
Nequis in officio dicat vos errare.

Constitutions, whose authority (especially that of the first) is greatly regarded in the courts of civil and canon law, not only as the opinions of persons eminently learned in both laws, but chiefly as they are witnesses of the practice of the Church of England in their respective ages which practice, in very many cases, having continued the same, and been derived down to the present age upon their evidence and authority, their rules became in effect the common law of the Church, and in that respect deserve great regard not only in the spiritual, but also in the temporal courts." Fuller eulogises Lyndewode's work as "a magazine of the canon law," which, "though now beheld by some as an almanac out of date, will be valued by the judicious whilst learning and civility have a being." (Church History, book iv.)

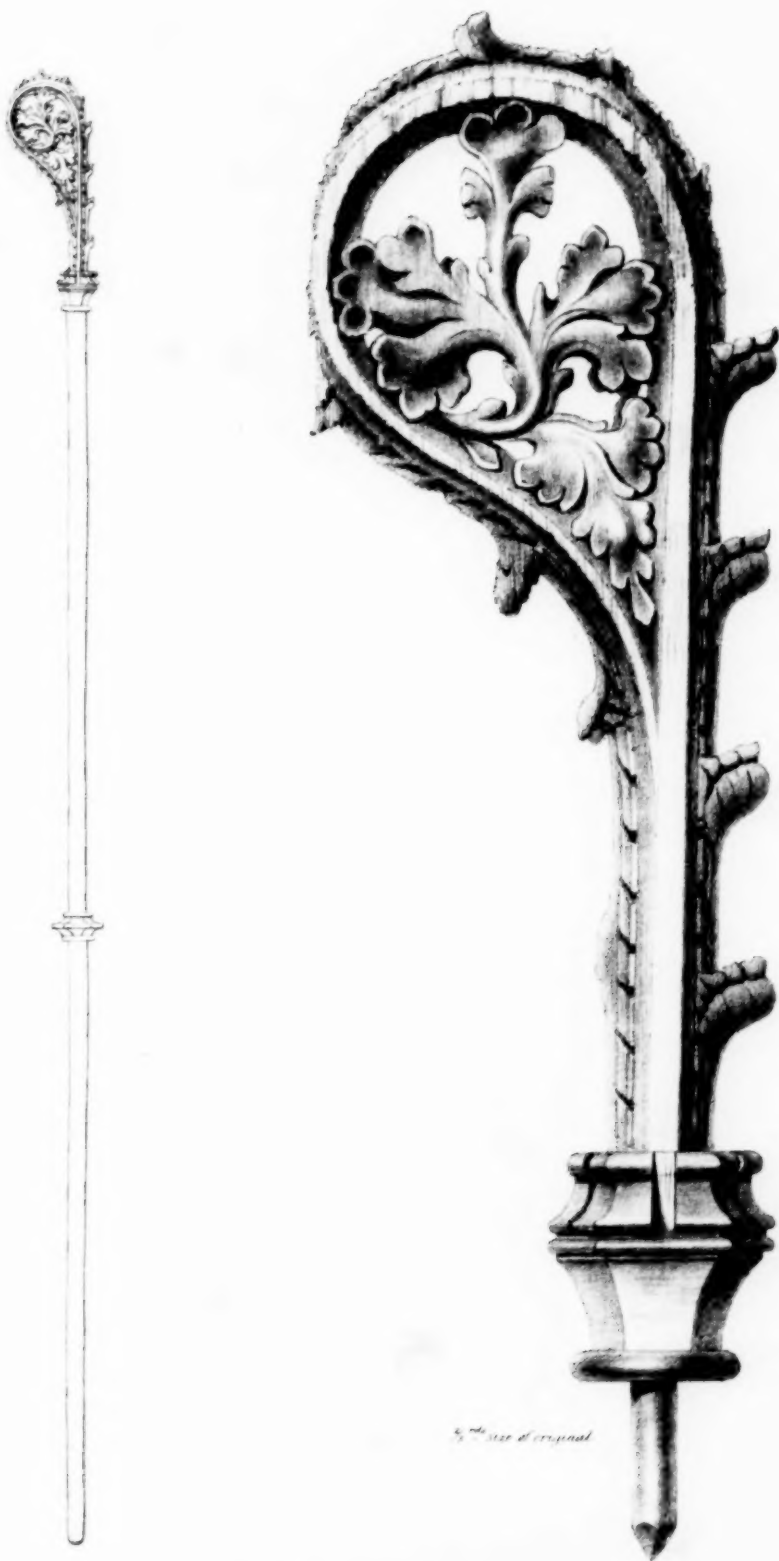


George Schiavi del. J. Smith sculp. 1832

Basin, 1832

The Mummy in St. Stephens Crypt Westminster previous to its removal

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 27th April 1832

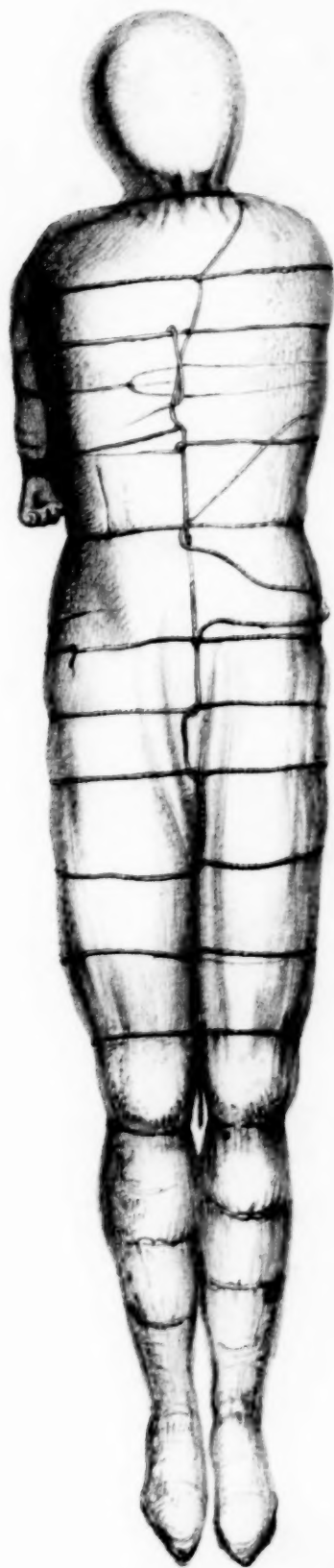


1/2" size of original

The Crozier

J. B. B. del et sculp.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 25th April 1852



George Schaeff del. Jan^r 31st 1852

J. Russell sculp.

The Body swathed in cere-cloth

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 45th April 1852



Head with the outer covering removed



George Schiavi del. Jan. 31st 1852

Head with the pledget of tow in the mouth

Thos. Peck sculp.



George Scharf del. Jan^y 31st 1852

H. B. L. lith.

The Head after the removal of the Tow.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 22 April, 1852

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

Account of Goodrich Castle, accompanying the Exhibition of Rubbings from Sculptures upon the Walls there, supposed to have been cut by Prisoners. By
THOMAS WILLIAM KING, Esq. F.S.A. York Herald.

May 9, 1850. The origin of Goodrich Castle seems to be involved in some obscurity. Castellum Godrici, its ancient appellation, demonstrates that it owes its foundation to some one of the name of Godric. Grose considers that Godricus Dux, whose name twice occurs as a witness of charters of Canute, was the founder; but this opinion has not always been received, as the monasteries to which those charters have relation were at Hulme in Norfolk, and Saint Edmundsbury in Suffolk. The incursions, however, by the Welsh into the Marches or English borders had been so successful as to encourage their boldness; and which would afford some reason for the erection of a fortress in this situation. In 1057, Leofric, Earl of Leicester, having died, he was succeeded by his son Algar,^a who was soon afterwards removed to make room for Ranulph Meschines, Earl of Chester. This being resented by Algar, he entered into a league with Gryffydd ab Cynan, Prince of North Wales; when, uniting their forces, they made a powerful irruption, and ravaged the Marches. They defeated Ranulph within two miles of Hereford, and having destroyed the city returned to Wales in triumph in the year 1058.

Edward the Confessor raised Harold, second son of the Earl of Kent, to the earldom of Hereford, and sent him, in 1059, with considerable force to retaliate the injuries inflicted by the Welsh. Advancing upon their hills, Harold laid every thing waste. A law was enacted that every Briton from that time after who should be found with a weapon on this side of the limit he had prescribed, namely, Offa's Dyke, should have his right hand cut off by the officers of the King.

On his return from this expedition Harold rebuilt and fortified the city of Hereford. This, however, did not retard the Welsh from renewing their provocations; for, Gryffydd ab Cynan and Algar having retreated into South Wales, the latter engaged Gryffydd ab Llewelyn to espouse his cause. In 1063 Harold again took the field; and, being successful in North Wales, marched in the next year into South Wales, where Gryffyth ab Llewelyn was vanquished and slain. The inhabitants of Wales submitted to pay tribute; and on this occasion a castle was first built to guard the Willow or Wel across the Wye, by some important person, from whom it was called Godric's Castle. It is not mentioned in Domesday, though five individuals named Godric occur as holding lands in other parts of the county of Hereford.

In the Liber Niger Scaccarii, however, we are informed that in the reign of Henry the Second

^a Algar was his son by the famous Lady Godiva of Coventry notoriety.

William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, held of the Abbey of Winchcombe in Gloucestershire, *inter alia*, 65 knight's fees and a half in the honour of Striguil, and two knight's fees with the Castle of Goodrich; and on reference to Dugdale, we find that, in 811, Kenulph, King of Mercia, amply endowed that abbey; and that from 1054, till after the Norman Conquest, Godric was its abbot. Thus some light is thrown upon the early history of the castle, which also affords a conjecture as to the probability that Godric the Abbot was the first who erected it.

There appears to be no record extant of the first governors of this fortress; but, traditionally, it seems to have been held by the Clares, as in 1135 Richard de Clare, Earl of Hereford, is supposed to have held it from the circumstance of having proceeded on a journey from Netherwent into Cardiganshire (Goodrich Castle being situated in the Netherwent or Gwent-ys-coed), when he was slain on his way in a private feud by Morgan ab Owain, with his son Gilbert de Clare, in 1136.

There is an architectural description of Goodrich Castle in King's Munimenta Antiqua; and in the Harl. MS. No. 6726, fo. 54, sub "Gotheridge," will also be found several interesting notices, compiled by Silas Taylor in 1655, who gives an account of its then appearance. He says, "About a quarter of a mile or thereabouts from the church is the Castle of Goodrich, a very strong pile, a mighty deep trench being hewen in the maine rocke, where it wants the steepnes of the hill w^{ch} it hath upon 2 sides and part of the 3rd. The entrance into it, through a strong gatehouse, is over a little neck of land borne up on both sides with stone work, and is towards the east. It is noe great circuit. It is almost square in figure, haveing 4 great round towers for its defence at the 4 corners of it.* When you are passed the strong gate of the castle, the first thing on your left hand is a chapple, wth the picture of a talbot on the south wall, with the garter of St. George about it, and an earles crownett upon it. It is reported that the keepe of the castle was by way of ransome built by one Macbeth or Macmac, an Irish coñander, who with his sonne was taken prisoner by John Earle of Shrewsbury in Ireland, and here imprisoned, and to this day it is called Macbeth's Tower, and to our times were alsoe kept in this castle the memorialls of this atchievement; viz. the two head-pieces of father and sonne, of that vastness and capacity that the one would hold half a bushell of graine; the less was very thicke, and both very ponderous. The lady's tower was battered by Coll. Birch. It is reported by many witnesses that y^e cellars of the castle were floored with Irish earth, for that whenever they brought a toade into them and laide it on y^e earth it would dye, and this they did to preserve their cellars from venome, and it is thought that the very timber came alsoe from Ireland, for there was not either spider or cobwebbe to be seen, but it is reported that in Monmouthshire there is a little spott of land of that nature. The hall was on the west side of the castle, where was observable a beame of oake intire without knott or knarle of 66 feet long, and held 20 inches of 2 feet square the whole length. The hall itself was 60 feet, allowing 3 feet for the beame in the wall."

The keep-tower, which is a Norman structure, is formed of stone from the forest of Deane,

* The gatehouse must then be reckoned as one, for there are but three others at the angles, the keep-tower being within the court-yard.

and of excellent masonry. It was called Macbeth's Tower in connection with the tradition above mentioned; but which has been interpreted to relate to the circumstance of Strongbow, who held the castle, capturing Waterford in Ireland, and taking Reginald the Danish chief, and O'Falan the Irish king of the Decies, whose lives were spared to strengthen his interest in that country.

To the year 1172, when Strongbow returned from Ireland to propitiate Henry the Third, we may attribute the period of the commencement of the present keep; the previous structure having been no doubt simply of wood, and perhaps surrounded by a wall. This tower was a place of great strength, and a fit occasional residence for its possessor, partaking of the general character of border castles. John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, is supposed, in the time of Henry the Sixth, to have inserted two windows in the keep-tower; also two in the chapel, of which till within a few years ago some portions of the tracery remained, though now completely gone. Walter Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, died in the upper chamber of the keep in 1246. William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (*jure uxoris*), who married his niece, Joan daughter of Warine de Montchensi and Joan one of the sisters and coheirs of Walter, died in 1296; to whom, from his love of splendour, as well as to his riches, have been ascribed the round towers, curtains, and rooms now in ruins. The style in which they were built corresponds with the age in which William de Valence flourished; but whether those extensive buildings were not in reality erected by his widow, who died seized of the castle in 1307, or by Aylmer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, their son, there may be some occasion to surmise. An immense moat was excavated from the rock which furnished stones for the purpose, and contributed to construct such a fortress with every contrivance to render it impregnable in the then system of warfare, the remains of which exist at this time in a sufficient degree to attest its former strength and magnificence.

The possession of the castle ultimately came to the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury. Sir Richard Talbot, Lord Talbot, having married Elizabeth the daughter of John Comyn, one of the competitors for the crown of Scotland, and Joan his wife, sister and co-heir of Aylmer de Valence, became the possessor of Goodrich Castle, *jure uxoris*; and, though he does not appear to have repaired the castle, he did much towards the embellishment of Goodrich Church, and obtained from Edward the Third the grant of a prison in Goodrich Castle for the punishment of malefactors.

In 15 Ric. II., Richard Lord Talbot, grandson of Sir Richard Talbot just mentioned, was found to be one of the cousins and heirs to John the son of John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, viz. the son of Sir Gilbert Talbot, K.G., son of Elizabeth daughter of Joan, one of the sisters and heirs of Aylmer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke; and therefore succeeded to his possessions.

We are now arrived at the period when the Sculptures, Rubbings from which I exhibit to the Society, are supposed to have been made, probably by some unhappy persons who were imprisoned in the south-east tower of this fortress, in the latter part of the 14th century. These sculptures are made in the stone walls of the apartment, in the first floor of the tower, on the

sides of the east and west windows; the figures composing them being formed by cutting away the surrounding stone, and leaving them as in a sort of alto-relievo.

The first, cut upon the south side of the west window, reads thus, *MASTR SUM ADAM HASTYNS*. It is accompanied by a figure of a man, apparently crowned, with a divided beard;^a and, according to the opinion of the late Sir Samuel Meyrick, in the costume of the time of Richard the Second. He is holding a hawk on his hand, and below him is a dog.

The remaining sculptures are in the east window. One represents a similar figure of a man to that just described, in the same costume, with a divided beard, and wearing a coronet distinctly composed of what are termed in modern heraldry, strawberry leaves. He holds a hawk upon his hand. This figure is not so high in relief as the others; and is little more than an outline. The remaining figures consist of the Virgin (crowned) and child; a stag couchant, and swan; a hawk, belled, pouncing on a bird; a hare, and rabbit; and a bird, apparently a pheasant.

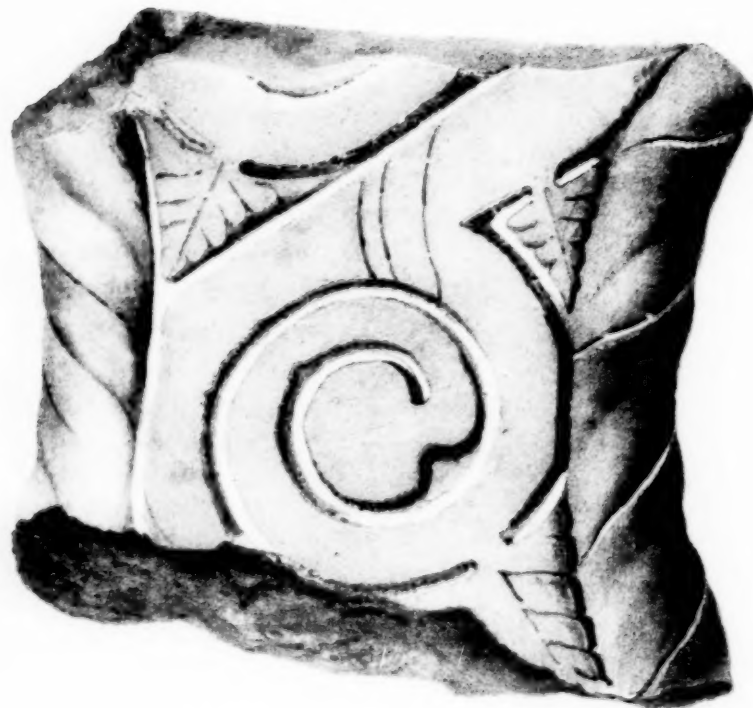
The figures of the animals are evidently drawn by a hand not unacquainted with the nature of animals; as, upon inspection, they will be found to possess some good drawing, considering the period of their execution. It has been suggested that the stag and the swan represent the badges of Richard the Second and Henry the Fourth, respectively; but there does not seem to be sufficient evidence of this, or that it was the intention of the artist that they should be considered so, because all the animals above enumerated are associated with the wild sports of the day.

To resume the brief outline of the history of Goodrich Castle. It remained in the Talbot family till towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; when George, sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, marrying Elizabeth, the daughter and heir of John Hardwick, of Hardwick, in the county of Derby (and widow successively of Robert Barlow, of Barlow, in that county, Sir William Cavendish, Treasurer of the Chamber to Henry the Eighth, and of William St. Lo, knight, Captain of the Guard to Queen Elizabeth), obtained a licence to alienate the castle of Goodrich, and other estates, in favour of her son Henry Cavendish, who married Grace, a daughter of the Earl by his former wife.

George sixth Earl of Shrewsbury was succeeded in 1590 by his son Gilbert the seventh Earl. Gilbert married Mary daughter of the before-mentioned Sir William Cavendish and Elizabeth afterwards Countess of Shrewsbury; but died in 1616, leaving three daughters his coheirs; of whom Elizabeth became the wife of Henry Grey, Earl of Kent, to whom she brought the Goodrich Castle estate. This lady survived her husband, who died without issue in 1639, and retained possession of the castle during her life.

It was during the period of the Countess of Kent's possession that this ancient fabric at length fell from its former and wonted magnificence in the disastrous civil wars of the 17th century; having sustained a siege by the Parliamentarians in 1646, when, after a stout resistance, it surrendered to Colonel Birch on the 31st of July in that year. In the March following the Parliament ordered it to be demolished; and, as far as its former capacity for defence was concerned, the order of Parliament was effectually executed. The Countess of Kent did not long survive the destruction of her property; she died in 1651.

^a "A marchant was ther with a forked berd."—*Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*.



Size of Original

Ancient Stone with Saxon Characters found at Densbury

In her will dated 20th June, 1649, she confirms a settlement of her estates which she had made in the previous year, and by which she had conveyed the Goodrich property to her own use for life, with remainder to the heirs of her body, ultimate remainder being to such persons who were named in the settlement. On her decease it devolved upon Anthony Grey, eleventh Earl of Kent, who was lineally descended from George Grey, second Earl of Kent, the great-great-grandfather of her husband.

Anthony, Earl of Kent, died in 1702, and was then succeeded by his son, Henry, the twelfth Earl, who was created Marquess of Kent, Earl of Harold, and Viscount Goodrich; and, subsequently, Duke of Kent. He was sometime Lord Chamberlain to Queen Anne, by whom these honours were conferred. On his death, without issue male, in 1740, his estates, pursuant to an Act of Parliament passed in 1725, were sold. Goodrich Castle was purchased by Admiral Griffin, and is now the property of a lady, one of his descendants.

Portion of a Saxon Inscription.

June 20, 1850. Sir Henry Ellis, by the kindness of Dr. Hemingway, of Dewsbury in Yorkshire, exhibited to the Society an architectural fragment of sand-stone, apparently part of the springing of an Arch, bearing a portion of a Saxon Inscription, sufficiently curious to be preserved, but not perfect enough in its legend to be explained. It was found about twenty years ago in the neighbourhood of Dewsbury Church, and is represented in Plate XXXV.

It was in the edition of his *Britannia* of 1600, that Camden first mentioned the tradition of Paulinus's Cross at Dewsbury. He says—

“— Calderus petit Dewsborough sub colle excelso positum. An nomen habuerit a dvi illo quem modo dixi, Deo Topico, non dixerim, nomen sane non abludit, sonat enim Duis Burgum, et floruit sane in prima enascentis Ecclesiæ infantia inter Anglos in hac Provincia. *Accepimus enim Crucem hic extitisse in qua inscriptum fuit*

PAVLINVS HIC PRÆDICAVIT ET CELEBRAVIT.

“Paulinum verò hunc primum fuisse Archiepiscopum Eboracensem, circa annum Salutis DCXXVI., Annales consentiunt omnes.”

Dr. Dunham Whitaker in his *Loidis and Elmete*, pp. 209—301, in addition to a more recent Paulinus's Cross, has engraved several Remains undoubtedly of Saxon antiquity, brought to light during a partial demolition of Dewsbury Church in 1766 and 1767: which are still remaining, heaped together in a sort of pile, in the vicarage garden at Dewsbury.

A valuable Memoir upon the Ecclesiastical History of this parish will be found in the first Volume of the “*Collectanea Topographica*,” pp. 149—168, by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, in which both Paulinus's Cross, and the Antiquities engraved by Dr. Whitaker, are subjects of discussion. The present fragment is apparently coeval with the oldest Sculptures in the Vicarage Garden.

Letter from Beriah Botfield, Esq., F.R.S. and F.S.A., accompanying the Impression of a Seal found at Dawley, co. Salop.

Norton Hall, July 25, 1850.

Dec. 12, 1850. MY DEAR SIR,—The impression which accompanies this Note was taken from a Metal Seal with a folding handle, found on the sill of the east window of the ruined Chapel of Malins-lee, in the parish of Dawley, and county of Salop. The building itself is of the early Norman period, and having fallen into decay, it was only recently that in clearing away the rubbish from the interior this Seal was found. It closely resembles the seal in the Society's Museum engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. III. p. 425. Sir William Blackstone, in his letter to the Hon. Daines Barrington on this subject, considers it to have been one of those made in obedience to the statute of 1 Edward VI. chap. ii., and intended for, and probably used in, granting probates of wills, letters of administration, and the like, within the peculiar jurisdiction of each diocese. The seal figured in the *Archæologia* was used for the Deanery of Sunning in Berkshire; the present example bears the following inscription, encircling the royal arms of the Tudor line, "Sigillum Regiæ Magistratus ad causas Ecclesiasticas pro peculiari juris. de Stratforde upon Avon." This species of seal has been rarely if ever noticed by our legal Antiquaries, and the seals themselves, from their scarceness, as well as the controversies they afterwards occasioned, may be regarded as no vulgar curiosity. Their scarceness has arisen from the very short period of time during which they continued in use, and the zeal with which it may be supposed the generality of them were destroyed on the return of the papal authority, under the reign of Queen Mary. The seal under notice is now in the possession of William Botfield, Esq., at Decker Hill, near Shifnal.

I am, my dear Sir, faithfully yours,

BERIAH BOTFIELD.

To J. Y. Akerman, Esq. Secretary.

Letter from Thomas Wright, Esq. to Sir H. Ellis, on a Leaden Tablet or Book Cover, with an Anglo-Saxon Inscription.

Nov. 28, 1850. MY DEAR SIR,—Lord Londesborough has desired me to present to our Society in his name, the accompanying plaster Cast (Plate XXXVI.) of a very curious leaden tablet in his lordship's collection.

The original is a thin plate of lead, with three holes on one side, which, from the fact of one of the leaden rings still remaining, evidently served for joints or fastenings. The inscription in Anglo-Saxon characters, or more correctly speaking in the Latin characters used by the Anglo-Saxons, is easily deciphered; it is as follows:—

"Ic Ælfric munc et mæsse-preost wearþ asend on Æþelredes dæge cyninges fram Ælfeage biscope, Æþelwolde after-gengan, to sumum mynstre þe is Cernl'. Ða bearn me on mode, ic treowege þurh Godes gife, þæt ic pas"

þ t B æ ŷ ʒ ʒ
 t l y ʒ t l t t

Ic Ælfric muuc & mæsse pre
 þæt. þearf aſend þu Æþelr
 eder dæge cſunzer fram
 Ælſeaze biſcope Æþelpolde
 æfter-zenzan to ſumun
 mynſtre þe iſ Cenul þa be
 aſlme þu mode ic tæpze
 þurh goder zife. þæt ic þar

J. Barrow del. et sculp.

Leadon Book Cover with an Anglo-Saxon Inscription.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1850.

In English:—

"I, Alfric, monk and mass-priest, was sent in King Athelred's time from Alfeah the bishop, the successor of Athelwold, to a certain minster (or monastery) which is [called] Cernel. Then it came into my mind, that I would this"

A little knowledge of Anglo-Saxon literature will enable us to recognise in these lines the opening of Alfric's preface to his first collection of Anglo-Saxon homilies, which in the text that has come down to us stands thus:—

"Ic Ælfric munuc and mæsse-preost, swa þeah waccere þonne swilcum hadum gebyrige, wearð asend on Æþelredes dæge cyninges fram Ælfeage biscope, Æþelwoldes æfter-gengan, to sumum mynstre þe is Cernel gehaten, þurh Æþelmæres bene 8æs þegenes, his gebyrd and goodnys sind gehwær cupe. Ða bearn me on mode, ic truwigc þurh Godes gife, þæt ic 8as boc of Ledenum gereorde to Engliscre sprace awende."

The English of this is:—

"I, Alfric, monk and mass-priest, *although more weakly than for such orders is fitting*, was sent in King Athelred's time from Alfeah the bishop, the successor of Athelwold, to a certain minster which is called Cernel, *at the prayer of Athelmer the thane, whose birth and goodness are known everywhere*. Then it came into my mind, I believe through God's grace, that I would this book turn from the Latin language into the English tongue."

It thus appears evident that this plate of lead has been the outside board (if one may use such a term) of a manuscript of Alfric's homilies; and that the English preface was commenced on the cover and continued, I suppose, on the first page of the vellum of the manuscript itself, for there is no inscription or ornament on the reverse of the plate. It is a unique, and, I think, curious sample of Anglo-Saxon binding.

The title is written in Runic characters. In the days of Alfric, when the use of the Anglo-Saxon language was superseding the Latin, it became fashionable to adopt in short titles and inscriptions the ancient national alphabet of their race. As they seem not always to have used exactly the same forms of the Runic letters, they are often not easy to decipher; and my own knowledge of this part of the subject is but slight. As far as I can make them out, the first line seems to be:—

p a b o k of.

which is intelligible enough; of the second line I can only make conjecturally:—

a l h f c u a t.

which may, perhaps, stand for, *Alfric speaks or says*, though I am doubtful of it. It appears as though the inscription were imperfect, and it may have run across another page; perhaps on the tablet which formed the other side of the cover.

It will be observed, that in the text as preserved in the manuscripts, there are some words which are not found in the inscription on the leaden plate. On considering these, it seems to me far from improbable, that the copy to which this leaden cover belonged was Alfric's own first copy of his homilies, and that in revising it for publication he added the words which we find wanting in it.

Perhaps it is hardly necessary for me to state, that Athelwold and Alfeah were successive bishops of Winchester; Alfric (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), was sent by the latter

bishop to be abbot of the newly-founded Abbey of Cerne in 988 or 989, and there translated his first volume of homilies, of which this is the commencement of the preface, in 990. The writing of this tablet is of the best age of Anglo-Saxon literature, that of Alfric himself, and may very well be of the date just mentioned.

This curious relic has been purchased recently by Lord Londesborough, and is now deposited in his valuable collection of antiquities. It had, I understand, been in the possession of the gentleman from whom his lordship purchased it some years, and he bought it of a labourer at Bury St. Edmund's in Suffolk, who found it while excavating in the abbey grounds there. This I believe is all that is known of its history.

I remain, my dear Sir, very sincerely yours,

THOMAS WRIGHT.

To Sir Henry Ellis, K.H.
Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries

Letter from Miss A. Gurney to Sir Henry Ellis on the lost City of Vineta.

North Repps, June, 1850.

Dec. 19, 1850. DEAR SIR HENRY ELLIS,—I lately met with a German tradition concerning Vineta, the submerged Pomeranian city, on which you have published a curious letter by a Mr. Churchman, and I forward you the translation, to shew that the belief of such a city beneath the waters, mingled with some superstitious notions, is still current.

It appears to me that Mr. Churchman must be mistaken in saying that the ruins lie between Rugen and Bornholme. By this German tradition they must, as you have stated, lie on the coast of Usedom; and from the Danish and German writers that I have been able to look at, there appears to be many ruins of ancient fortresses all about that part of the Pomeranian coast, some raised by the Wends to keep off Scandinavian and Danish pirates, others by these last, as strongholds to facilitate their predatory inroads.

I find from Torfæus (in his Trifolium) that it was in his time a subject of discussion whether Vineta or Jummeta and the famous Jomsberg are the same town. Langebeck considers Wineta, which he places in Usedom, distinct from Julin, which last he identifies with Jomsberg.

Suhm in his history, speaking of the destruction of Jomsberg, or Jummeta, 1043, says of it that this is not rightly called Wineta, but adds that, long after, an insignificant village remained on the site, and traces of the old town were to be seen under water (vol. iv. 87); but in vol. i. he states that "Vineta, or Jumne," was in existence 1158, since a Councillor of Lubeck is described as born there in that year; and that the Jomsburg destroyed by Arch: Absalom in 1188, as recorded in the Knytlinga Saga, was identical with Julin.

As far as I can make out the conclusions of the Antiquary Kombst in two rather tangled dissertations (tangled at least to one who cannot follow the topographical arguments), in the first number of the "Baltic Studies," published at Stettin in 1832, it seems probable that the ancient Wendish town "Vineta" was the same with the *old* Julin (sometimes partly transposed

into Lubin), and that the well-known Jomsberg was the *new* Julin, perpetuated in Wollin. The ruins, however, extended far beyond the bounds of Wollin, according to the account of Chytræus, who examined them, it seems, about the end of the sixteenth century.

It appears also that Kanzow, the chronicler of Pomerania in the sixteenth century, considered Vineta to have been a town built by the Wends about the time of Charlemagne, and that in his days the country people called it "Little Venice" (Venedie); that the foundations were yet to be seen; and that there were stories then current about them. (Kanzow's Chron. edit. Böhmer, p. 276.) This seems clearly to make a distinction between Vineta and the later Jomsberg, the Danish fortress, which would accord with the supposition of an earlier and later Julinum; but the sea has wrought so many changes on that coast, that it might not be easy now to fix on the exact site of either.

Many floods are recorded to have taken place; one in the winter of 1178, when the two forts built by the Wends at the mouth of the Swine were quite washed away.

It is, however, worthy of notice, that the tradition of the metal gates and marble walls of Vineta has some corroboration in the similar account we read of the harbour of the noted Jomsberg, and there is no doubt many traditions would be found in a tract named from the Wendish and Finnish great deity Jom, or Jomala, from whose name we can derive both Jomsberg and Julinum.

In the Jomsvikinga Saga the grandeur of the harbour is thus described, in terms which may well account for the tradition of marble ruins:—"Palmatoki founded a strongly fortified seaport, which was afterwards called Jomsburg; he caused a haven to be made within the fortifications, so large that 300^a long ships might lie therein, all in safety. It was built round with great skill, and at the entrance a stone arch was erected, and gates^b of iron fastened from within; and upon the stone arch was a tower, and engines for slinging stones therein. Some parts of this fortification stood out into the sea, and are called the sea-forts, and are so constructed that the harbour is quite inclosed."

The latest tradition of the submerged city to which I have referred in the beginning of my letter, is found in a volume of North German popular stories, customs, &c., collected by Kuhn and Schwartz, and published at Leipzig in 1848. It is thus given:—

"VINETA—Verbally, from Swinemund and Heringsdorf.

"About a quarter of a mile from the Stachel-berg, a promontory of Usedom, there was in very ancient times a large and rich town named Vineta; wherein all shone with gold and silver and marble; but the people were godless. They stopped up little holes in their walls with bread, and made their swine eat out of golden troughs, and even these were not good enough for them. Then the Lord of heaven willed that this godless town should perish; and one fine summer day a storm suddenly arose; the waves broke over into the town and overwhelmed it all; only one single person, who was a pious man, mounted his swift horse and hurried away, the waves rolling on after him. He however escaped to Coserow, and was saved; but his horse fell dead under

^a The Stockholm edition has 200.

^b The Swedish edition has "strong stone portals fastened with iron."

him. Thus did Vineta perish; but every year, on the holy morning of Easter, it rises from the water, and dances and springs gaily upon the waves."

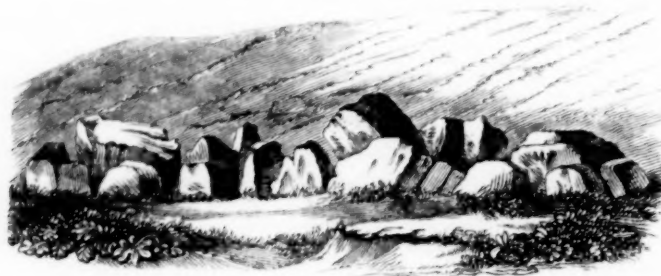
I hope, my dear Sir Henry Ellis, that this proof of the permanence of the story may be of some little interest to you; and I am, with much respect and regard,

Yours very truly,

A. GURNEY.

To Sir Henry Ellis, &c. &c.

Ancient Tombs, called Huns-graves, in the Netherlands; described in a Letter from Walter White, Esq.



London, Dec. 26, 1850.

JAN. 16, 1851. DEAR SIR,—Last summer, while on a ramble in Holland, two monuments of antiquity came under my notice, an account of which may perhaps prove interesting to you. I was following a by-way leading from Steenwyk to Haavelte, in the province of Drenthe, to gain the highroad to Meppel, when at the foot of a long, low slope, rising from the vast and dreary level of heath which overspreads that part of the Netherlands, I saw two grayish mounds at some distance to the left of the route, which excited my curiosity, and drew me to a closer inspection. I found them to be ancient tombs, of the kind known as *Hüne-bedden*, or Huns' graves; of which, according to Higgins^a and other writers, there are several in the north-eastern provinces of Holland.

The larger of the two has sixteen stones on one side and eleven on the other, and nine of huge dimensions, some of them many tons weight, which formerly lay across on the top. One only of the latter, at the east end, remains in its place; the others have all fallen or been thrown down, and now fill up the spaces between the upright stones at the sides in so confused a manner as to render the original construction difficult of recognition.

The width inside is about seven feet, the height four feet: the ground within is lower than the surrounding level, and presents all the appearances of frequent excavation and upturning. The total length is twenty-four paces; this is exclusive of an outer ring or fence of twenty-two upright stones, some of which do not rise above the surface, others from two to three feet high. The

^a Reference to Plate 22 of Higgins' "Celtic Druids" will show that the general form of the tomb there represented and those of which I have attempted a description is the same.

ground between this fence and the tomb is hollowed, and appears to have been formerly lower than at present.

The smaller tomb lies one hundred and eighty-nine paces to the east of the larger; this is the one represented in the accompanying sketch. It has eight stones at each side, one at each end, and is twenty paces in length. Interior width, about six feet; height, three feet; and all the roof-stones fallen. All round it, at a distance of six feet, are the remains of a low mound.

It is worthy of remark that the country, for miles round, presents no appearance of stone; and it would be interesting to know from whence the builders of these tombs procured the ponderous granite rocks of which they are constructed.

Mention of similar tombs not unfrequently occurs in topographical and other descriptions of the northern countries of Europe. The "Times" correspondent, writing from the seat of war in Schleswig, in July last, remarks—"A large mound, one of the many tumuli that are scattered over this part of the country, and are called the 'Huns' graves,' was the only elevation that commanded a good view of the wood directly in front, and upon and around it the head-quarters for the time were placed."

Very faithfully yours,

WALTER WHITE.

J. Y. Akerman, Esq.

Letter from Sir H. Ellis to J. Y. Akerman, Esq., accompanying Impressions from the Seals of Margaret the second Queen of Edward I. and of Cardinal Beaufort.

British Museum, Feb. 27, 1851.

March 6, 1851. MY DEAR SIR,—I beg to lay before the Society impressions of two Seals, in gutta percha, which have been obligingly prepared for me by Mr. John Doubleday. They come from the archives of the Bishoprick of Winchester.

The first Seal is that of Margaret of France, second queen of Edward the First. Sandford, in p. 120 of the third book of his Genealogical History, has engraved a small round seal of her arms, of the size of a half-crown, appendant to a deed granted by her in the ninth year of Edward II. bearing *semé* of *fleurs de lis*, dimidiated with King Edward her husband's arms; being, as he states, in that instance the first queen of England who bore her arms in one escutcheon with her husband's. Sandford, however, has not engraved the seal an impression of which I now lay before the Society.

The obverse bears a full-length figure of the Queen crowned, bearing a long sceptre in her right hand, the front of her dress ornamented with the lions of England, and on each side of her a tree. One of these trees, to the right of the figure, having a shield suspended bearing the arms of France as already described; the other tree bearing a shield charged with a lion rampant. The border, round the whole, carries this inscription,

MARGARETA . DEI . GRATIA . REGINA ANGLIE.

The Reverse, or Counter-Seal, presents a large escutcheon hanging upon a tree charged with



the arms of her husband King Edward the First; viz. three lions passant guardant. A bordure of fleurs de lis surrounds the area in which the escutcheon is represented, and beyond that is the inscription,

MARGARETA DEI GRATIA D^{NA} HYBERNIE DVCISSA AQUITANNIE.

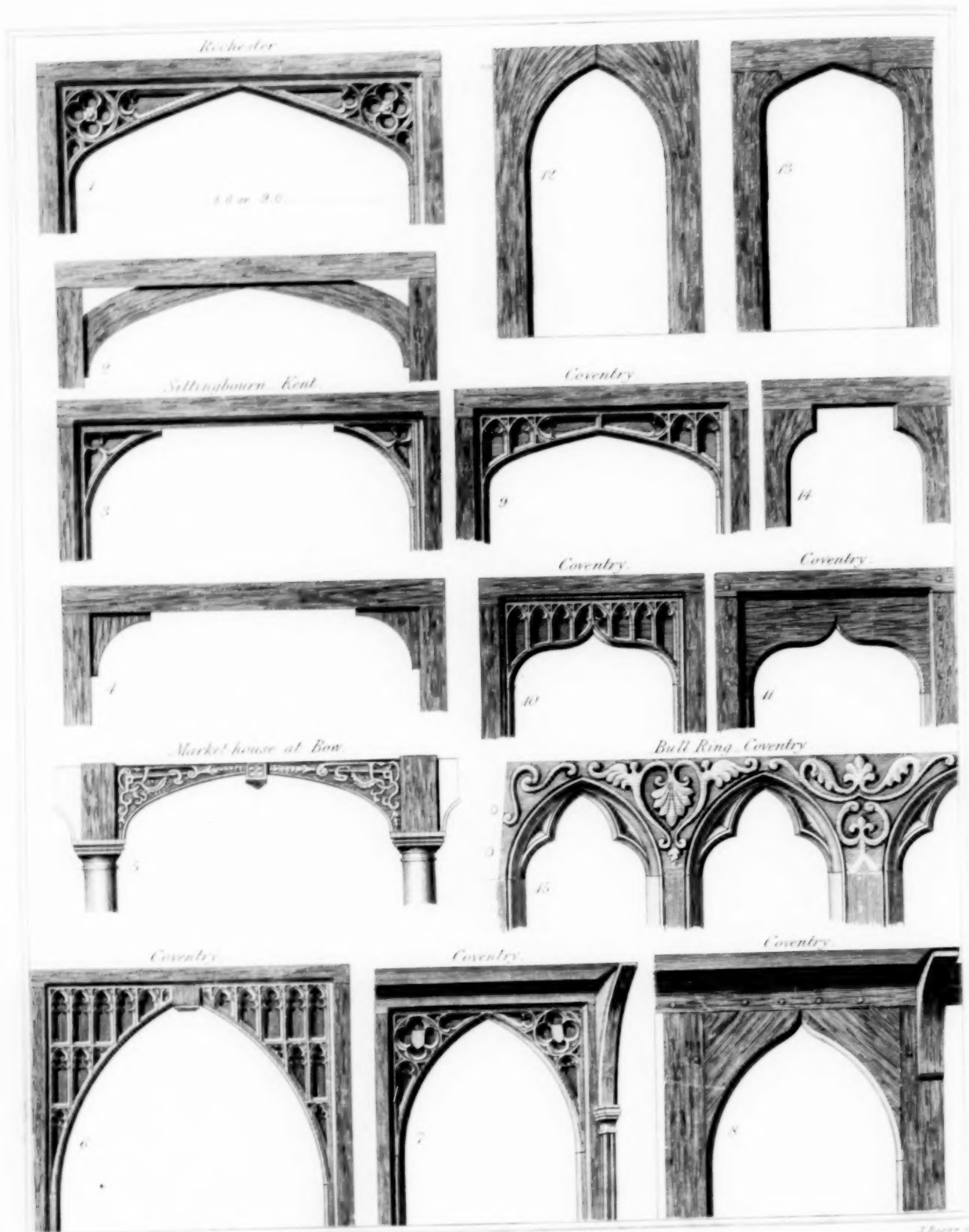
The other seal, round, of the size of a crown-piece, is that of Cardinal Beaufort. In the centre it bears his arms, surmounted by the cardinal's hat. The inscription reads

Sigillum armorum Henrici misericordie divina cardinalis Anglie episcopi Wynton.

I remain, my dear Sir, very truly yours,

HENRY ELLIS.





Examples of the Construction of Timber Arches

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 10th 1836

John Adey Repton, Esq. F.S.A. on the Construction of Timber Arches.

Springfield, near Chelmsford, May 9, 1851.

May 22, 1851. MY DEAR SIR,—Will you allow me through your hands to lay the inclosed paper before the Society of Antiquaries. It relates to the construction of Timber Arches, which is very different from those executed in stone or brick; but this is a circumstance so little attended to, that, among many other instances, I have seen the door of a coach-house (designed by a celebrated architect) which was formed by three horizontal boards, and the flat arch cut out by a saw, thus setting at defiance all rules of construction.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN ADEY REPTON.

To Sir Henry Ellis, &c. &c. &c.

Plate XXXVII. shows the various construction of Timber Arches (and also showing the grains of the wood.) The arch, fig. 1, is composed of two pieces of oak, which are sometimes richly carved, as at Rochester. The plain arch, fig. 2, is more commonly found. The archway is sometimes composed of corner brackets; see figs. 3 and 4.

Fig. 5 is from the market-house at Bow (now destroyed), of the date of Elizabeth or James I. It has a key in the centre, and is supported by wooden columns; but the capitals are not formed like those in modern carpentry, *i.e.* composed of four pieces mitred at the corners, but they are cut out of the same piece of timber with the shaft. This may account for the bad proportion in many capitals, arising from the difficulty of procuring the timber of a proper size.

The wooden key may be traced as early as the time of Henry VI. or VII. as in the arch, fig. 6. In doorways or in open shops, we frequently find arches composed of two pieces, and richly carved as fig. 7. And in warehouses or store-rooms they are quite plain, as fig. 8.

Figs. 9, 10, and 11, the heads of doorways, are composed of one piece. In small doors, we find a different mode of construction, see fig. 12: an early specimen, which requires a large piece of timber, generally cut from a tree where the branch began to spread out from the trunk, as seen by the grains of the wood. In the flat arch, fig. 13, no difficulty can be found when joined by a horizontal piece.

Fig. 14 is another specimen of a small door.

Fig. 15 may be considered as a very early specimen of a succession of arches carved out of one piece of oak 2 feet or 2 ft. 2 in. broad. The carved ornaments remind us of the period of the later Norman, or about 1200; but, from the character of the trefoil arches, they appear to be as late as the end of Henry III.

Letter from Thomas Reveley, Esq. of Kendal, to Capt. W. H. Smyth, Esq. V.P. and Director, presenting to the Society a Torque, a Fibula, and several Coins.

Kendal, May 21, 1851.

May 22, 1851. SIR,—Herewith I send you for presentation to the Society of Antiquaries, London, for deposit in their museum, a silver Fibula Vestiaria, and a silver Torquis or collar, (Plate XXXVIII.) found together in April, 1847, in a crevice of the limestone rock on the north side of Orton Scar, in the parish of Crosby Ravensworth, in the county of Westmerland, not far from the summit, by a labouring man there employed in quarrying gate-posts; they were lying, as he informed me, at the depth of some five feet from the original unbroken natural surface of the rock. I consider the discovery of these remains important, as tending to throw still further light on the line of the Roman Iter from Bremetonacæ [Overborough, near Kirkby Lonsdale] northwards, as to which there has hitherto been doubt. I also present the Society with a silver Coin of the Roman Emperor Lucius Verus, found near Trainlands, in the same parish of Crosby Ravensworth, a few years ago, on removing a heap of stones, and which I also consider as furnishing evidence of the line of the Iter. I also present the Society with a silver Coin of Edward the Confessor, and two silver Coins of William the Conqueror, severally found, with many others, in 1834, on digging a grave in the church of Betham, in the same county of Westmerland, which church Nicholson and Burn, in their County History, mention as having been dedicated to Saint Leoth, otherwise Lioba or Liabgytha. I also present the Society with a British Coin in very fine preservation, said to have been found near Huddersfield, in the county of York, with many others, some years ago.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

THOS. REVELEY.

Captain Smyth, R.N., Cheyne Walk, Chelsea.

Celtic Remains from a Tumulus near Scarborough.

June 19, 1851. John Tissiman, Esq. of Scarborough, exhibited to the Society two drawings—one representing two curiously ornamented Slab-stones found by him in a tumulus in Yorkshire; the other representing an Urn and two large Grooved Stones, both taken from a tumulus near Scarborough last year. This tumulus was small, and known by the name of "Rudda." It is situated on the first rise in the land from the sea cliff, from which it is distant about a mile and a half. Further west is another large ridge, called "Pyre Rigg," beyond which stretches the moor as far as the eye can reach. This tumulus was originally about 45 feet diameter, and consisted of large stones, some of which had been taken away for the purpose of draining. After working for a short time, a seam of ashes and calcined bones was laid bare, in following which to the centre of the mound the fragment of a large urn was discovered. On clearing out the loose sand at the bottom, the small urn and two grooved stones represented in the drawing (Plate



Silver Fibula and Torque, found at Orton Sear, in Westmoreland

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 1846

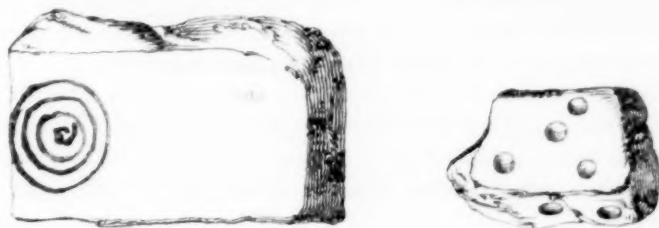
J. Basset del. &c.

XXXIX.) were discovered. From their size, and the manner in which the grooves have been formed, Mr. Tissiman conjectures that these objects have been used as the anchor-stones for the wicker and skin coracles of the early inhabitants of the district, a supposition rendered the more plausible from the circumstance of the tumulus being situated near Hayburn Wyke, where access to the sea is easy. These stones weigh 24lbs. and 12½lbs. respectively.

The following is Mr. Tissiman's own Letter to John Yonge Akerman, Esq., accompanying this Exhibition.

Scarborough, November 16, 1851.

"MY DEAR SIR,—In communicating some account of the two Stones recently discovered upon Cloughton Moor, I must first call your attention to the locality, and secondly, as to the probability of their being part of a great cairn of which the 'standing stones,' or 'Druidical circle,' in the immediate vicinity, are part of the remains of that sepulchral memorial.



"About six miles from Scarborough, on the top of Cloughton Bank, commences that great tract of moorland which extends over so many miles to the north and west, and which at an early period was studded with tumuli, a majority of which have been rifled of their contents, the stones of which they were composed having either been carried away for the purpose of road-making, or scattered over the surrounding moor. Under nearly similar circumstances were these stones found, stone being wanted for the building of a boundary wall, the wall passing over what has been usually called the 'Druid's circle.'

"The position of the circle is similar to several undestroyed tumuli in this district, being situated upon the highest land, and commanding the most extensive views, to the north of which is Hayburn Wyke and Stainton-dale, up to Stoupe and Ravenhill; on the west, the moor as far as eye can reach; on the south is seen the castle hill and bay of Scarborough, the headlands of Filey and Flamborough, part of the northern face of the Yorkshire wolds, and the cultivated lands below from Scarborough, to the head of Harewood-dale.

"That the carved stones formed a part of the sepulchral chamber of a cairn there can be no doubt. On reference to Mr. J. W. Lukis's paper and description in vol. iii. page 270 of the British Archaeological Journal, he states that carved stones were found in the cromlech of Gaer Innis, in Britany, 'covered with engraved lines forming patterns resembling the tatooing of the New Zealander,' also that 'the pattern itself is sunk, or I may term it grooved, in the stone,

half an inch deep, and, though some of the patterns appear to resemble each other, still they cannot be said to be attempts at exact imitation.' At page 276 also, 'In the Channel Islands none of the cromlechs show any ornamental work about them; but in a small cromlech at Lancrese, Guernsey, there are on one of the props about fourteen circular hollows. These depressions have been evidently worn with a rude muller to the depth of about one inch, and three or four inches in diameter.' And at p. 277, 'In viewing the designs on the stones of Gaer Innis, we are at once reminded of the tatooing on the face of the New Zealander. May not this mode of ornamenting their faces thus be of a very ancient date, and have also been practised by the ancient race whose monuments we are now considering? The marking of the body among all the early tribes is well known, and in some measure assimilates with the designs on some of these stones. May not, therefore, each stone bear the fac-simile of a chief or a family therein deposited?'

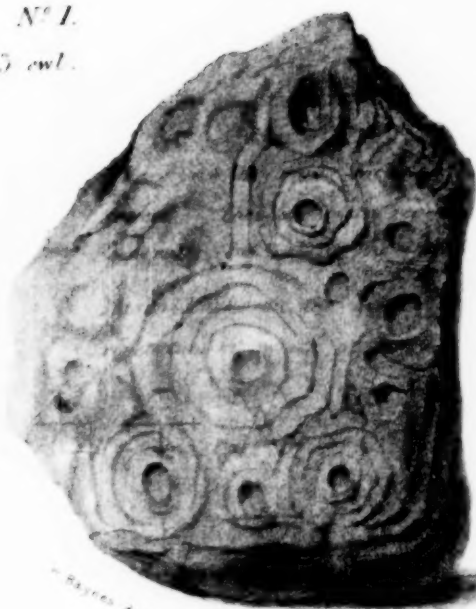
"In the Newgrange mound in Ireland stones of a similar character have been found. These of Cloughton Moor partake of the character of all these described, having the incised or grooved lines and circular hollows, the lines running into the hollows, these being from one inch to two-and-a-half inches in diameter, and double the depth of the incised lines; the marks of the tool or instrument with which they were worked being quite fresh and sharp.

"I must conclude my letter to you, my dear Sir, by another extract from Mr. Wilson's Pre-historic Annals of Scotland, in which he describes the Ring of Stennis. This group, he states, 'was composed at no distant period of seven or eight stones, and no doubt can be entertained the figure was originally a circle inclosing within its vallum a large cromlech, the ruins of which still remain in the area.'

"This is precisely the case with the circle called the 'Druids' Circle,' upon Cloughton Moor.



N^o 1.
5 cwt.



N^o 2.
2 cwt. 5 qrs. 4 lb.



Celtic Remains from a Tumulus near Scarborough

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 27 April 1852

The circle is complete, being 52 feet in diameter outside the standing stones, and 32 feet inside, the stones and earth being two feet above the level of the surrounding moor. The stones still standing vary from two to four feet in height, and are of irregular shape and weight; the largest being from fifteen cwt. to one ton. Within the area are stones of various sizes, some of which are still firmly set on edge in the ground, and forming what may have been one side of a vault, near which was found the stone with pecked holes. The finding of this stone is another proof of what the work has been—that of its having originally been a sepulchral monument of an aboriginal inhabitant of our island. In my numerous opening of tumuli I have often found stones with pecked holes, varying in number of holes and sizes, and, in most instances, immediately surrounding the interments. With the drawings, you will receive one of the Ravenhill Vault Stone, having incised circles carved at one end. This vault is three feet nine inches in length, two feet four inches wide at the south end, one foot four inches wide at the north end, and two feet deep (what depth the stone may be in the earth I cannot say). The vault still remains entire and will be further excavated in the spring. The stone which is carved forms the western side of the vault, and is three feet nine inches long, two feet deep, clear of the earth, and six inches thick.

“The dimensions of the picked hole stone are,—one foot ten-and-a-half inches in length, one foot in breadth at the thick end, and varies from nine inches in the centre to eight-and-a-half at the bottom, and four inches at the top in thickness or depth. The whole of these stones are of the sandstone of the district, and have been carved upon the rough blocks.

“Your humble servant,

“JOHN TISSIMAN.”

Ancient Moulds for casting Metal Horn-Books for Children.

Nov. 27, 1851. Sir George Musgrave, F.S.A., exhibited, by the hands of Capt. W. H. Smyth, V.P. and Director, a leathern case, with a brass clasp, in which were two engraved pieces of hone-stone, with evident marks of having been used in casting Metal Horn-books for children. (Plate XL.) They are thus described in a letter dated Eden Hall, 18th November, 1851:—

“Seven years ago a labourer digging among the ruined walls of Hartley Castle, the habitation of my family from Edward the Second’s time till 1700, when it was partly pulled down, found a cannon-ball; and a few days afterwards, at the same place, he discovered a mouldering leather case, with a brass clasp, in which were two engraved pieces of hone-stone, which I now forward for your inspection. They look to me like moulds for casting leaden horn-books for little children, with rude figures of birds and crosses on the outer side; and they are certainly very curious. I have mentioned lead, because there are old mines of that substance in the manor: and the stones are blackened a good deal, as if from the pouring in of molten metal.

“I have cut out wooden models of them, and made some sealing-wax impressions, which show what sort of things they are; and, if you deem them of sufficient importance, pray present them

to the Society of Antiquaries. I would very gladly give the moulds themselves to the Society, only, being found in the ruins of an old family mansion, I wish to deposit them with the "Luck of Eden-hall," &c.

"Yours faithfully,

"GEORGE MUSGRAVE."

Letter from John Williams, Esq. to Captain W. H. Smyth, V.P., on the Coin of Bona of Savoy.

Royal Astronomical Society, Somerset House,
July 24, 1851.

November 27, 1851. MY DEAR SIR,—Having lately been examining your account of the Coin of Bona of Savoy, given in the Supplement to the Description of the Astrological Clock belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, and feeling certain that you would wish to be perfectly accurate in everything you might advance, I take the liberty of sending you the result of my investigation, particularly as it differs from the conclusion to which you have arrived.

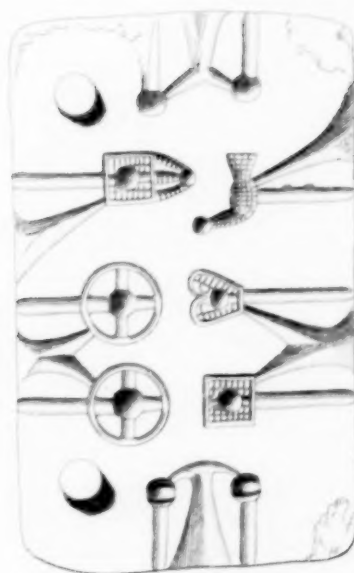
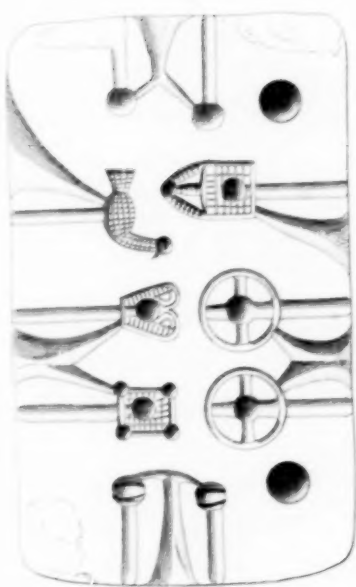
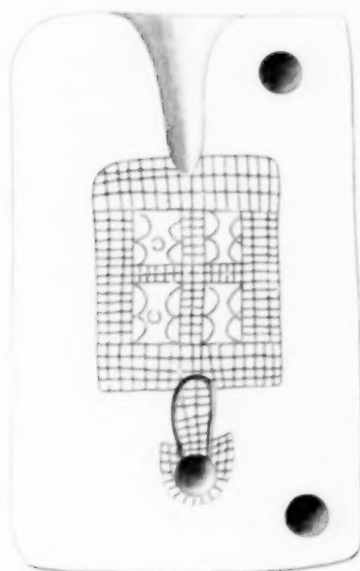
My observations relate principally to the solution of the legend on the obverse, which you justly remark is a matter of some difficulty, and which you evidently give only conjecturally. The inscription on the coin is BONA . Z . IO . GZ . M . DVCE . MELI . VI . which you say may probably be thus uncoiled: "Bona Zabaudie Johanne Galeazzo Mortuo Duce Mediolani Vidua." I am, however, compelled reluctantly to dissent from you, for the following reasons:—

Upon looking into the history of the Dukes of Milan, I find that the name of the *husband* of Bona of Savoy, who was assassinated in 1476, was Galeazzo Maria Sforza, and that John Galeazzo the Second, the prince whose name is on the coin, was his and her *son*. It consequently follows that the letters VI cannot signify that Bona was the widow of the prince mentioned on the coin.

Let us now look at the succession of the Dukes of Milan. The first who took the title of duke was John Galeazzo 1st, John Maria was the 2nd duke, Philip Maria the 3rd, Francisco Sforza the 4th. The husband of Bona, Galeazzo Maria, was the 5th duke, and their son, John Galeazzo 2nd, was the 6th who had that title. It follows, then, that the letters VI most probably signify the number 6, and apply to the then reigning Duke of Milan, and not to Bona.

Again, the letter Z is the common abbreviation of the word ET on coins of this period, and is found in this sense (as I have no doubt you are well aware) on the English gold coins from Edward III. to Mary.

The letter M after the name Galeazzo, or rather after its contraction GZ, is the one in the solution of which I have found the greatest difficulty. Upon referring, however, to the preceding list of the names of the Dukes of Milan, you will find the name Maria as a very common appellation among them. Thus we have John Maria, Philip Maria, and Galeazzo Maria, who, as I have before stated, was the husband of Bona, and the father of the prince named on the coin. I am, therefore, of opinion that John Galeazzo 2nd had also the name of



Leaden Horn-Book Moulds found at Hartley Castle.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 23rd 1886.

J. Evans del.

Maria; and this being granted, will render the whole inscription not only perfectly clear, but also quite consistent throughout. I must, however, observe that, should he really have had that name in addition to his other appellations, I know, at present, of no other authority for it besides this coin, as all the documents I have been able to refer to give the name John Galeazzo 2nd, without the addition of Maria. The legend, therefore, reads, Bona et Johanne Galeazzo Maria Duce Mediolani VI. "Bona and John Galeazzo Maria, 6th Duke of Milan," thus alluding both to the regency of Bona and the actual reign of her son. I need scarcely add that the principal words are in the ablative case: "struck," or "coined by," being understood, as is not unusual on other coins.

I must also hazard a few remarks on the inscription on the reverse, "Sola Facta Solum Deum Sequor." You appear to consider this as a continuation of the former; but it appears to me to be quite independent, and to refer entirely to the device—a Phoenix in the Flames. I need not repeat the legend of the Phoenix; it may suffice to say that this bird was fabled to have been produced by the action of the rays of the sun upon the ashes of its predecessor. The words "Sola Facta," seem to allude to the supposition that it was called into existence, not according to the usual laws of reproduction, but by the sole and peculiar influence of that luminary. The legend may therefore possibly imply "Produced alone, or singly, I follow God alone." I cannot help thinking, however, that in the words "sola" and "solum" there is also a punning allusion to this supposed action of the Sun (Sol) in producing this marvellous bird, and this would lead to the following reading as the ultimate or hidden sense of this motto, "Produced by the sun, I follow the sun as a God:" but I must observe that this is by no means corroborated by the grammatical construction of the sentence, as that would require the substitution of "sole" for "sola," and "solem" for "solum." Still I think it not unlikely to have been in the mind of the person who composed this legend, and it would be quite in accordance with the taste of that age.

I have thus given you my thoughts upon this subject, submitting them to you with all deference to your better judgment, and now beg leave to subscribe myself,

My dear Sir, yours faithfully,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

Capt. W. H. Smyth, R.N. V.P.

Letter from Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A., to John Bruce, Esq. Treas. accompanying the Exhibition of a Volume in the handwriting of Patrick Ruthven.

24, Sydney Street, Brompton, Dec. 3, 1851.

Dec. 4, 1851. MY DEAR SIR,—The interest excited by your excellent paper on the history of Patrick Ruthven, has encouraged me to exhibit to our Society a volume which appears to be in the handwriting of that unfortunate representative of one of the noblest families in Scotland. Ruthven, as you have told us, professed himself a medical practitioner and an alchemist, and the volume I now send you seems to have been a common-place book on the latter subject, and therefore illustrates not only his pursuits, but those of many of the learned men of his age. I need only point out as worthy of notice the remarkable article in this volume, entitled—

"Heer foloweth a discours that passed betwixt D. Müller, and Markestone, when the sayde Doctor was lyen sicke of the goute in Edinbroughe, and thought to have died, as the same was set downe by the sayd Markestone, and founde after his death amongst his papers,"—

as showing, what I think was not previously known, that alchemy was one of the studies of the celebrated mathematician, Sir John Napier, of Merchistoun. The minute of Napier's conversation with Dr. Daniel Müller, a German physician, who seems to have been one of Ruthven's intimate friends, commences as follows:—

"Upon Saterday the 7th of November, 1607 years, I Jhon Napeir Fier of Markeston, came to confer with Mr. Daniel Müller, Doctor of Medicine, and student in Alchymie, aneint our phylosophicall matters, not knowinge that he was sicke," &c.

The fact that this manuscript was written by Patrick Ruthven is proved by the title of another article in the volume, which runs as follows:—

"The coppie of D. M. Letter, writen to the Earle of ARG. containinge the holl worke ænigmaticallie as he conceived it firste out of the former wheels and sypher of Trithemius, and then made it with his owne handes. Copied by me from the originall letter under D. M. owne hande. (Copied I saye.) An. 1629, Octob. 2, *per me Patricium Ruthvenum.*"

I need hardly observe that the way the writer corrects his equivocal expression with regard to the date can leave no doubt it was Ruthven himself who wrote it. D. M. is of course Dr. Müller, and the letter was, I presume, addressed to the Earl of Argyle.

I remain, my dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

THOMAS WRIGHT.

To John Bruce, Esq., Treas. S.A.

INDEX.

A.

- Aahmes Arinefer, the queen, 379
 Aahmes-Pensuben, one of the Elleithyan princes,
ibid.
 ——— tablet of, in the Louvre, 375
 Abu, station at, "the ivory island," 379
 Achilles, spear of, of brass, 173
 Adalantada, 329, 330
 Adalantina, the, 302
 Admiral, the Lord, 296, 315
 Æthiopia, gold of, 375
 ——— in the reign of Amenophis governed by a
 viceroy, 378
 ——— until the 19th dynasty ruled by viceroys, 387
 Agathius, his description of the arms of the Franks,
 177
 AIRY, GEORGE BIDDELL, *Esq.* Communication
 from, "On the place of Julius Cæsar's Departure
 from Gaul for the Invasion of Britain; with an
 Appendix on the Battle of Hastings," 231—250
 Airou, Church of, in Poitou, 293
 Aishley, Capt. 297
 ——— Sir Anthony, 319
 Akaiat, land of, 367, 381
 AKERMAN, JOHN YONGE, *Esq.* Account by, of the
 discovery of Roman and other Sepulchral Remains
 at Stone, near Aylesbury, 21—32
 ——— Remarks by, on a coloured Drawing of
 some ancient Beads, executed by BENJ. NIGHTIN-
 GALE, *Esq.* from specimens in his possession,
 46—50
 ——— On some of the Weapons of the Celtic
 and Teutonic Races, 171—189
 ——— Account of Roundells or Fruit-Trenchers,
 t. James I. by, 225—230
 VOL. XXXIV.
- Alb, the garment so called, explained, 54 *note*
 Aldborough, co. York, specimen of an antique glass
 bead found with Roman Coins at, in 1843, 47
 Allaghi, tradition that the country of, contained Gold
 Mines, 370
 Amen Ra. fête or festival of, 371
 Amenamha IV. 384
 Amenemha I. 380
 Amenemapt, the son of Pahur, Prince of Æthiopia,
 investiture of, 386
 Amenemes III. 374
 Amenophis, 390, 391
 Amenophis I. 379
 Amenophis III. 376, 381
 Amenti, on the Deities of the, as found in Egyptian
 Mummies, 392, 393
 Andrewes, Richard, 222
 Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, great number of weapons
 found in the, 187
 Anglo-Saxons, name and dresses of the, 182
 Angers, Cathedral of St. Maurice at, 274
 ——— Church of Ronceray, 275
 ——— ruins of the Church of St. Laurent, 276
 ——— Church of St. Martin, and Trinity Church,
 277
 ——— Hospital of St. John, 278
 ——— St. Serge, 279
 ——— the Castle, 280
 ——— All Saints, *ibid.*
 Anjou, Notes of Churches and Architectural Re-
 mains in the county of, 273—285
 Antonio, Don, endeavoured restoration of to the
 Crown of Portugal, 301
 Aphrodite at the Bath, the subject of, often repeated
 upon Works of ancient Art, 269
 Aquila, Don Juan de, 312, 333

Arabia, high antiquity of the names of many places in, 378, *note* °.

Arden, Edward, 147

"Ark Raleigh," vessel so named, 151

Arnada, Spanish, 156, 157

Arran, Earl of, tyranny of the, 191, 192, 196

Arundell, Charles, Esq. 142

Arundell, Sir Matthew, 142

Asbestos wick, terra cotta lamp with the, found at Nismes, 69

Ascensius, Jodocus Badius, editor of one or two editions of Lyndewode's Provinciale, 428

Asses used in crossing the Arabian Desert, 384

—— noticed in Egyptian inscriptions, 385

Astrolabe, ancient, Account of the, 260, 261

Authie, estuary of the, 236, 237

Axe found in Merovingian graves, 180

—— a favourite weapon with the Franks, *ibid.*

—— discovery of, as a weapon, in numerous places, 181

—— the weapon of the Barcanians, 182

—— a favourite weapon with the Anglo-Saxons, 185

—— how represented in the Bayeux tapestry, 185

B.

Bachelor, the, as represented on a Roundell. *t. Jac. I.* 228

Bachenaten, 380

Bacon, Sir Francis, remark of, on Antiquities, 171

Baden, Chambers at, supposed to have been used by the Secret Tribunals of Germany, considered to have been originally Roman, and of sepulchral origin, 29

Balance and escapement in Clocks, 2

Banishment, Memoir on the practice of, as it obtained in the reign of James II. among those who were sentenced to death for their participation in the Rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, 350—366

Banks, Sir Joseph, and party, open a tumulus at Sandwick, in Orkney, 109, *note*

Banners used in Processions, 55

Baresi, laxity of morals among the, 19

Barkal, Mount, propylon of, 375

Barker, Capt. 297

Barlow, Capt. 344

Barrows, great numbers of, scattered through the Orkney Islands, 90

—— common form of the Orcadian barrow, the *bowt-shape*, 91

—— note of the only elliptical or long barrow existing in Orkney, upon the shore of the North Loch, 110

Baskerfield, Sir Thomas, 314

Bassan, Don Alonso de, 306, 307, 310, 311

Bayonne, Account of the Remains of an ancient Camp near, 399—402

Beachy Head, alteration in the cliff at, 239

Bead, antique, of variegated glass, discovered in the Thames, near London Bridge, in 1847, 47

—— Remarks on a coloured Drawing of antique beads, 46—50

—— glass, dug out of a Moss near Caldale, parish of St. Olaf, in Orkney, 117

Beaufort, Cardinal, Seal of, 443, 444

Bedouins, tradition of the, that the Djebel Oellaky, or Alleghi, contained gold mines, 370

Beechey, Capt. information from, regarding the tidal time of Caesar's landing in Britain, 239, 241

Beeston, Capt. George, 297, 305

Behistun, Notes on some paper Casts of Cuneiform Inscriptions upon the sculptured Rock at, 73—76

Beitoually, Inscription at, 386, 387

Bel Air, Cemetery of, 184

Belus, the inventor of the iron Sword, 173, *note* °

"Big How," Mount so called, 102

Bipennis, or double Axe, 177

—— use of the, among the Anglo-Saxons, 182

BIRCH, SAMUEL, Esq. On a Silver Disc from Tarentum, in the possession of Henry Vint, Esq. of Colchester, 265—272

—— Upon an Historical Tablet of Rameses II. 19th Dynasty, relating to the Gold Mines of Æthiopia, 357—391

Birkenhead, Thomas, 222

Birsay, in Orkney, Picts House discovered at, 129

Birza, Bronze Pin from a Tumulus in, 95

- Biscay, "Lelo," or national chant of the inhabitants of, 399
- Black Knowe, the 91
- Blunt, Sir Christopher, 318
- Bodkin, or Baudekin, stuff so called, 56
- Bona, Queen. Addenda respecting, 17
 ——— Engraving of a Testoon of, 19
- Borough, Sir John, 310
- Boruchero. Don Diego de, 332, 333
- Booth, Sir William, Monmouth prisoners given to, 351
- Bostocke, Capt. 297, 301
- BOTFIELD, BERIAH, *Esq.* communicates the Impression of a Seal found at Dawley, co. Salop, 438
- Bowl barrows, 91, 97
- Brechin, St. Ninian's Lodge at, law of, that every Mason should register his mark, 34
 ——— Masons' marks upon the several ancient buildings of, *ibid.* 35
- Box Lane Chapel, Herts, Roman Remains found in the burial-ground attached to, 394
- Box Moor, Herts, Account of Roman Remains found at, 394—398
- Bradgate, Capt. 330, 344
- Bremtonacæ, Roman station of, 446
- Bretton, William, 428, 429
- Brickman, Francis, 429
- Bridgeman, William, *Esq.* Secretary to Lord Sunderland, obtains a certain number of the Monmouth prisoners, 351
- British Museum, Tablet in the, dated in the reign of Amenemha I. containing an Account of the mining services of an officer in Æthiopia, 375
 ——— Tablet of Samneh, presented by the Duke of Northumberland to the, 389
- Brogar, 96
 ——— King of, 97
 ——— Gigantic pillar at the end of the Bridge of, 101
- Brooke, Sir William, 322
- Broughs, Pictish, 118
- Browne, Capt. 344
- BRUCE, JOHN, *Esq.* Observations by, upon certain Documents relating to William, first Earl of Gowrie, and Patrick Ruthven, his fifth and last surviving son, in a Letter to Sir Chas. G. Young, 190—224
- Bucket, ancient, with iron hoops, found at Stone, 25
- Bûkan, Ring of, and its dimensions, 106
- Burgher, Brough of, 122
- Burgher in Evie, 118
- Burghill, 249
 ——— the, of Burg-wood, 249
- Burghley, Lord, Letter of, 158
 ——— warrant of, to Sir Walter Raleigh, 157
- "Burg Wood," 245
- Burnell, Captain, 305
- Burra, meaning of, 118
- Burravoe (Brough vaag) remains at, 123
- Burroston in Shapinsey, remains of Entrenchments and Fortifications at, 118

C

- Cadiz, Account of the Earl of Essex's Expedition against in 1596, 315
- Cæsar, Geography of his Movements, 233
 ——— his campaign in Switzerland, U. C. 695, *ibid.*
 ——— marches against the Belgic Confederation, U. C. 696, *ibid.*
 ——— conquers the Veneti at Sea; his Lieutenant conquers Normandy, U. C. 697, *ibid.*
- Caistor, co. Norfolk, ancient beads found at, described, 48
- Caldale, glass beads dug out of a moss near, parish of St. Olaf in Orkney, 117
- Calf of Edey in Orkney, ruins of circular chambers in the, 134
- Canche, estuary of the, 236, 237
- Candes, near Fontevrault, Account of the Church at, 282
- Cape Town, 233
- Carewe, Sir George, 315, 323
- Carey, Sir John, governor of Berwick, 196
- Carnick, John, vicar of Eltham, not mentioned in Hasted's List of the Vicars, 58
- Castlefield near Manchester, antique glass bead found at the Roman Camp at, 47
- Cawfield, Capt. 344
- Caxton, error of Maurice Johnson as to an edition of Lyndewode's Provinciale printed by, 426

- Cecill, Sir Robert, 341
 ——— extract of a Letter from, relating to Sir Walter Raleigh, 164
- Celtic and Teutonic Races, On some of the Weapons of the, 171—189
- CHAFFERS, WILLIAM, jun. *Esq.* Account by, of Glass Vessels and other Antiquities of the Roman period found at Nismes, 68—72
- CHALMERS, PATRICK, *Esq.* On the use of Mason-Marks in Scotland, 33—36
- Chaucer, Geoffrey, Account of the Seal of, 42, 43
 ——— Writ of Rich. II. addressed to, appointing John Gedney his successor as Clerk of the King's Works, 45
- Chaucer, Thomas, of Ewelme, afterwards Sir Thomas Chaucer, son of the poet, 43
 ——— Indenture from, relating to certain lands, chiefly in Oxfordshire, 10th Hen. IV. 43, 44
- Chauvigny, Church of, in Poitou, 293
 ——— Church of Chauvigny St. Pierre, 294
- Churchyard, Thos. Lines by, on Sir John Norris and Sir Philip Sidney, 140
- Cicco Simoneta, 20
- Clares, the, at one time owners of Goodrich Castle, 434
- Clifford, Sir Alexander, 315, 330
- Clifford, Capt. 312
- Clifford, Sir Conyers, 318
- Clock, Astrological, belonging to the Society, Supplement to the Description of, 1—20
 ——— ancient, said to have belonged to Dr. Hook, 15, 16
- Clocks, earliest portable specimen of now known, 3
 ——— representations of ancient portable Clocks 9, 10, 11
 ——— forms of mediæval portable Clocks, 5
 ——— representation of one from a MS. entitled *L'Orloge de Sapience* of the 14th century, 9
 ——— of the Clock given by Hen. VIII. to Anne Boleyn, 12
- Clouston, Rev. Charles, remarks of, on the tumuli of Orkney, 92
- Coad, John, of Stoford, one of the partizans of the Duke of Monmouth, relation of his sufferings, 351—353
- Cadogan, on the ancient Domitian Way, at Nismes, Cinerary Urn found at, 69
- Coins, Roman, enumeration of, found at Hemel-Hempsted, 397, 398
- Colchester, antique Bead found in Butt Lane at, 47
 ——— iron head of an ancient Axe found at, 179
- COLLIER, J. PAYNE, *Esq.* Communications by, of new particulars of Sir Walter Raleigh's Life, 137, 149, 160
- Columba, Saint, 89
- Contra Pseleis, 360, 370
- COOPER, WILLIAM DURRANT, *Esq.* Notes of, respecting the South-Eastern district of Sussex, 248—250
- Cope, called also *pluviale*, use of, explained, 55
- CORNER, G. R. *Esq.* Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of Eltham in Kent, communicated by, 51—65
- Cornwall, Order for 2000 men in, An. 1588, 155
- Covenanters taken at Bothwell Bridge, fate of, 351
- Country Gentleman, character of the, *t.* James I. upon a Roundell, 227
- Courtier, character of the, upon a Roundell, 226
- Cowell, Col. Stepney, the representative of the last male descendant of the Gowrie family, 190
 ——— Papers intrusted to Mr. Bruce by, enumerated, 192, 193
- Cromlech at Ystumcegid, co. Carnarvon, account of a, 66, 67
 ——— only three Cromlechs known in Orkney, 99
- Crosse, Capt. 297, 307, 310
- Crosse, Sir Edward, 330
- Crosse, Sir Robert, 315
- Crump, or vitrified stone, 110
- Ctesius, the Greek physician, ascribes the most remarkable of the antiquities of Behistun to the Assyrian Queen Semiramis, 73
- Culina, explanation of the term, 32
- Cumberland, Earl of, 304, 508, 311
 ——— Voyage undertaken by the, An. 1589, 304
 ——— to the coast of Spain, 1592, 311
- Cuneiform inscriptions upon the sculptured Rock at Behistun, Lieut.-Col. Rawlinson's Notes on some paper casts of the, 73—76

D.

- D'Anville, theory of, respecting the place of Cæsar's departure for the expedition against Britain, 231—248
- Darius, the tablets of, 74
- Dartford Heath, sepulchral shafts at, 30
- Davison, William, Letter of to Sir Christopher Hatton, 209
- Delgada, road of, 328
- Dennie, Sir Edward, 307
- Dewsbury, portion of a Saxon Inscription found at, 437
- Djebel Oellaky or Allaghi, tradition that the mountains of contained Gold Mines, 370
- Disc, silver, account of a, from Tarentum, 265—272
- Divine, character of the, upon a Roundell, 226
- Dover Castle, early Clock in the Tower of, 3
- Drake, Sir Francis, 296, 297, 301, 304, 313
— his conduct in the Action of Portugal, A.D. 1589, 302
- Drake, Sir Francis, and Sir John Hawkins, their Voyage to the Indies, and their deaths, 313, 314
- Drake, Captain Thomas, 313
- Driffield, account of the opening of some Tumuli near, 251—258
- "Druidical Beads," traditionally so called, found throughout England, in all parts of the Continent, and even in remote places in the East, 48
- Dudley, Sir Robert, 315, 323
- Duffield, Capt. 307

E.

- Edmonds, Mr. *t.* Eliz. 142
- Egypt, ancient beads of transparent glass from, described, 49
- Egyptians, the earliest people who assigned to particular divinities certain portions of the body, 392
- Eileithya, or El Kab, 379
- Eileithya, Inscription of, 375
- Elephantina, called "the ivory island," 379
- Elizabeth, Q. favour of to Sir Walter Raleigh, 158
- Elizabeth, Queen, writes a Letter to James VI. in pity for the sufferings of the Ruthven family, 194
- Ellinsworth, or Illingworth, Eliz. 206
- ELLIS, SIR HENRY, Communication from on the subject of Fruit Trenchers, 228—230
— his Communication of a Narrative of the principal Naval Expeditions of English Fleets, 1588 to 1603, from a Cottonian MS. 296—349
— Account of the finding of a Saxon Inscription at Dewsbury, 437
— his Account of the Seals of Margaret Queen of Edw. I. and of Card. Beaufort, 443, 444
- Eltham, in Kent, Extracts from the Churchwardens' Accounts of the Parish of, 51—65
— Cross-house at, mentioned in the parish Records, 59
- Embsay, West-riding of Yorkshire, bronze collar found at, 85
- Eshuanib, or Eshnanib, mine of, 370
- Essex, Robert Earl of, 169, 301, 315, 322
— with the Lord Admiral of England, generals equally both by sea and land, 1596, 315
— Voyage of, to the islands, A.D. 1597, 322, 323
- EVANS, JOHN, *Esq.* Account by of Roman Remains found at Box Moor, Herts. 394—398
- Euergetæ, gods, 372

F.

- Fairford, Gloucestershire, Notes on Saxon Sepulchral Remains found at, 77—82
- Farley Heath, antique glass beads found on the site of the Roman station at, 48
- Fellowes, Sir Charles, his Collection of early Clocks, 12, 13
- Fenner, Captain, 297, 305, 307, 312
— Capt. Thomas, 297, 301
— Capt. William, 301
- Fenton, Capt. 297
- Fibulæ, ancient, notices of the discovery of, 23, 24, 81
- "Fifteen-penny lands," a portion of land so named at Eltham in Kent, 53 *note*

- Finée, Oronce, 259
 Flemminge, Capt. 298, 317
 Flores de Valdes, Diego, 298, 299
 Fontevault, present state of the Abbey of, 283—285
 ———— early history of, 283, *note* *
 ———— Mortuary Chapel dedicated to St. Catherine in the cemetery of, 285
 Fortescue, Mr. 330
Francia, the ancient German weapon so called, 175
 France, Notes during a Tour in the West of, 273—295
 "Francisca," or taper axe, 179
 ———— whence the name derived, 180
 Franks, descriptions of the Arms of the, 176, 177
 Free-masonry, when introduced into Scotland, 36
 Frobisher, Sir Martin, 207, 305, 310, 312
 ———— his Voyage with Sir John Hawkins in 1590, 305
 ———— Voyage of, to Brest in Britany, 1594, 312
 Froissart, extracts from his *Hortoge Amoureuse*, exhibiting the first accurate description of a wheeled clock, 6—9
- G.
- Garrett, Sir Thomas, 318
 Gascoigne, George, 138, 139
 Gauls, weapons of the, as described by Polybius, 174
 Gemma Frisius, 260
 Gifford, Sir George, 315
 Gilbert, Adrian, 342
 Gilbert, Sir Humphrey, 139, 142, 144, 145, 146
 ———— Letter of, to Sir Walter Raleigh, 193
 Gilbert, John, 142
 Gilbert, Sir John, 154, 323
 ———— Letters of, to Sir W. Raleigh, 167
 Goer, Capt. 333, 334
 Goeringe, Captain, 301
 Gold-mines, tradition among the Bedouins that the Djebel Oellaky or Allaghi contained them, 370
 Goodrich Castle, Account of, 433—437
 ———— Silas Taylor's description of, 434
- GOULD, S. BARING, *Esq.* Account by of the Remains of an ancient Camp near Bayonne, 399—402
 Gowrie, Observations upon certain Documents relating to William first Earl of, and Patrick Ruthven his fifth and last surviving Son, 190—224
 ———— Countess, bold conduct of the, 195
 Gowrie, James 2d Earl of, 195
 ———— James 3d Earl of, 195
 Gowrie, William the 1st Earl of, his Seal, 193
 ———— ill-treatment of his widow, 194
 Graves of the Scandinavian period, 130
 Graylle, service-book of the Romish Church, why so called, 53, *note*
 Greenefeld, Sir Richard, Vice-Admiral, 307
 ———— rashness of, when acting with Lord Thomas Howard as Vice-Admiral, in 1591, 307, 308
 Grenville, Sir Richard, 151
 ———— Letters of, to Sir W. Raleigh, 156, 157
 Greville, Sir Fulke, 329
 Grey, Arthur Lord, 141
 Groyne, landing at the, *t. Eliz.* 301
 Guiana, Sir Walter Raleigh's Tract relating to the discovery of, 166
 Gundry, Hugh, of Broadwinsor, 365, *note*
 GURNEY, *Miss* A. Letter from on the lost City of Vineta, 440—442
 Gwilym, Dafydd ap, notice of a Clock by, about A.D. 1340, 5
 Gwynneth, Prince Owen, residence of, at Ystumcegid, burnt during the wars of Owen Glendowr, 22
- H.
- Halley, Dr. observations of, regarding Caesar's landing in Britain, 238
 Hammond, William, a vicar of Eltham, in Kent, not mentioned by Hasted, 55
 Hangs-eid, the isthmus of the hillock, in Orkney, now corrupted into Hoxa, description of, 119, 120
 Hapi, the Nile, 372
 Harold, Earl of Hereford, rebuilds that city, 433
 Harra, parish of, in Orkney, 96

Harvey, Sir William, 322, 329
 Hastings, on the Battle of, 246—248
 Hatton, Sir Christopher, 154
 ——— account of, when resident at Eltham, 60,
note
 Havard's "teign," 111, 112
 Hawkins, Captain, 297
 Hawkins, Sir John, 297, 305, 313
 ——— Voyage of, with Sir F. Drake to the Indies,
 1595, and their deaths, 313, 314
 Hawkins, Sir John, and Sir Martin Frobisher, their
 voyage of A.D. 1590, 305
 Heliopolis, 373
 Hemel Hempsted, enumeration of Family and other
 Roman Coins found at, 397, 398
 Hemingway, Dr. his communication through Sir H.
 Ellis of a portion of a Saxon Inscription found at
 Dewsbury in Yorkshire, 437
 Henneage, Sir Thomas, 149
 Hercules, bronze statuette of, found near Nismes, 72
 Hereford laid waste by the Welsh, 433
 Hess, Deirick, 222
 Hicks, Christopher, 352
 Hoer, Captain, 330
 Holy-fire, used on Holy Saturday, 52, *note*
 Hooped Vessels, antiquity of, 25, *note*^a
 Hooper, Captain, 344
 Hopper, Mr. of Kelly Thorpe, 251, 252
 Hopylius, Wolfgang, 428, 429
 Horace's description of the common burial-ground
 without the Walls of Rome, 31
 Horse, the, when first known in Egypt, 384
 Horsy, Sir Edward, 142
 Horn-Book moulds found near Hartley Castle, 449,
 450
 Horus, 368, 380
 "Houngerland," parish land so called at Eltham, in
 Kent, 64
 Howard, Sir Francis, 344
 Howard, Sir Philip, Monmouth prisoners given to, 351
 Howard, Lord Thomas, 296, 307, 315, 318, 322,
 325, 329
 ——— fleet sent to the Islands under his charge A.D.
 1591, 307

Howard, Lord Thomas, journey of, to the Downs,
 1599, 329
 Hrossey or Rossey, the Scandinavian name of the
 Island of Pomona, 95
 Hui, Ethiopian prince, his tomb, 380
 Huns' graves, tombs so called in the Netherlands, 442,
 443
 HUNTER, *Rev. JOSEPH*, Account of the Seal of
 Chaucer, 42—45
 ——— Notices by, respecting William Lynwode,
 Judge of the Arches, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and
 Bishop of St. David's, 403—405
Hut, explanation of, 360
 Huxley, Thomas, Vicar of Eltham, Kent, not men-
 tioned by Hasted in his list of Vicars of the
 Parish, 53, *note*

J.

James I. Remarks on the character of, 193
 ——— implacability of, to the Ruthven family, *ibid.*
 196, 197
 Jason, Captain, 344
 Jericho, cattle of, 385, *note*^c, 385
 Jerningham, Sir Henry, Account of, 53, *note*
 Inchiquin, Earl of, 353
 Inscriptions, ancient, found at Nismes, 69, 70
 Insula Batavorum, 234
 Johnson, Maurice, mistaken as to an edition of Lynde-
 wode's Provinciale printed by Caxton, 426
 Jonson, Ben, allusion by to the Great German Clocks,
 14
 Jonas, Capt. 330
 Jones, Edward, 154
 Isabella of Arragon, the mother of Queen Bona, 19
 Judas light, 54, *note*
 Julius Cæsar, On the place of his departure from
 Gaul for the Invasion of Britain, and on the place
 of his landing in Britain, with an Appendix on the
 Battle of Hastings, 231—250

K.

Kendall, Capt. James, M.P. 351
 Kertch, in southern Russia, description of ancient
 beads found at, now in the Emperor's Museum, 49

- Khem, the god, 372
 Kinge, Capt. 315
 Kinsale, seige of, 1601, 333
 Kuibb, the name of the maker of the old clock at Windsor Castle, 20
 Knitting-sheath of wood from Links of Skail, supposed of the last century, 95
 Knowe, the, of Cruston, 94, 95
 Kouban or Kobban, village of, the Contra Pscelcis of the Itinerary of Antoninus, 370
 Kush, the Biblical, 378
 — chiefs of, 380
 — gold sent from, 386

L

- Lamb Head, Stronsey, Piets' Castle at, 130
 Lannoy, tombeau de F. de, representation of a clock on the basement of the, 11, *note*
 Lawguste, the chief town of Algarola, 321
 Lawyer, character of the, upon a Roundell, *t. Jas. I.* 227
 Lee, Sir Henry, 60, *note*
 Lewson, Sir Richard, 322, 330, 331, 333, 334
 — Voyage of to the Islands, *An. 1600*, 331
 — in Ireland, *An. 1601*, 333
 — Expedition of Sir Richard Lewson and Sir William Monson to Spain in 1602, 334
 Lister, Captain, unfortunate conduct of, 305
 Lobo, Don Diego de, 342
 Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire, Notice of a bronze beaded collar found in, 83—87
 LONDESBOROUGH, LORD, An Account of the opening of some Tumuli in the East Riding of Yorkshire by, 251—258
 — ancient Tablet with a Saxon Inscription belonging to, 438
 Lyndewode, Bishop, biography of, 411—417
 — Inscription in memory of in a window of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 411, *note*^d
 — observations on his will, 414, 415, 417
 — chantry for, 416
 — copy of his will, 418—420

- Lyndewode, Bishop, copy of the licence to found the Lyndewode chantry, 420, 421
 — entry relating to the Chantry in the Register Book of Chantries of St. Stephen's, Westminster, 422
 — References to Records and Authorities indicating the public life of Bishop Lyndewode, 423—426
 — Notes upon the early editions of Lyndewode's Provinciale, 426—430
 Lynwode, William, Judge of the Arches, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of St. David's, Notices respecting, 403—405
 — Embassy of to Portugall, 404

M

- "*Madre de Dios*," Spanish Carrack so called, 164
 Magnentius, obliterated coin of, found at Stone, 23
 Maide, the, poetical description of upon a Roundell, or fruit-trencher, *t. Jas. I.* 230
 Mainwaringe, Capt. 333
 Mansfield, Sir Robert, 315, 322
 Manwayringe, Capt. 334
 Map, ancient Egyptian, at Turin, 382
 Married-man, poetical description of the, upon a Roundell, *t. Jac. I.* 229
 Mashakit, temple at, 386
 Mason-marks, on the use of in Scotland, 33—36.
 Maye, Capt. 344
 Medina Sidonia, Duke of, 297, 298, 320
 Megestein of Cologne, his claim to the invention of the *scape* in clocks, considered, 2
 Melgrund Castle, built by Cardinal Beaton, occurrence of Masons-marks on, 35
 Memnon, sword of, in the temple of the Nicomedenses, of brass, 173
 Memphis, the old, numerous Remains in the vicinity of, 373
 Menega, Ferventelas de, 312
 Mentuhelp, or Mandouphis, 372
 Merimes, 376
 M'eshoo, or Meashowe, the name of the most remarkable tumulus in Orkney, 111

Merchant, poetical character of the, upon a Roundell,
t. Jac. I. 227
 Metapii, the, 233
 Milan, succession of the Dukes of, 450
 Mines, Egyptian, Notices of the working of the, 385
 "Mocas de Camara," 341
 Mœris, or Moteris, the Lake, 384
 Monmouth, James Duke of, nature of the banishment
 of persons who had been sentenced to death for
 participation in his rebellion, 350—356
 Monson, Capt. 309
 Monson, Sir William, 304, 308, 311, 318, 321, 322,
 323, 325, 329, 334, 343, 344
 ——— Capt. under my Lord of Essex in 1596 in
 the Expedition to Cadiz, 317
 ——— with the Earl of Essex in the Voyage to the
 Islands, 1597, 323, 324, 325
 ——— his advice to the Earl, 327
 ——— Expedition of, with Sir Richard Lewson to
 Spain in 1602, 334
 ——— Prisoner in 1591 aboard the Spanish galley
 the Suis, 343
 ——— Voyage of, to the coast of Spain, an. 1602,
 344
 Montauban, Renaud de, Representation of a Clock
 from a MS. of the Romance of, 9
 MORGAN, C. OCTAVIUS, *Esq.* Supplementary Obser-
 vations by, on an Astronomical and Astrological
 Table Clock, together with an Account of the
 Astrolabe, 259—264
 ——— his Collection of early Clocks, 12, 13
 Morgan, Sir William, 142
 Morini, and their country, 233, 234, 235, 237
 Moselle, River, 234, 235
 Mountjoy, Lord, Deputy of Ireland, 322, 333
 Mummy, Egyptian, unrolled at Jersey in 1837, 392
 ——— another, unrolled at the United Service
 Museum in 1841, *ibid.* 393
 Musgrave, Sir Christopher, Monmouth prisoners
 given to, 351
 MUSGRAVE, Sir GEORGE, his Exhibition of some
 ancient Moulds for casting metal Horn-books for
 Children, 449, 450

VOL. XXXIV.

N

Nahsi, the (Negroes), 387, 391
 Naval Expeditions of English Fleets between 1588
 and 1603, Narrative of the principal, 296—349
 New-year and Birth-day Presents, Clocks frequently
 among them, 17, *note*
 NIGHTINGALE, BENJAMIN, *Esq.* Remarks by, on a
 coloured Drawing of ancient Beads, executed by
 him from specimens in his possession, 46—50
 Nile, Symbols of the, 372
 Ninus, or Semiramis, no trace of either in the histori-
 cal Inscriptions of Nineveh, 73
 Nipho, or Nopho, Hieronymo, Monmouth prisoners
 given to, 351, 354
 Nismes, Account of the discovery of Glass Vessels
 and other Antiquities of the Roman period found
 at, 68—72
 Norris, Sir Edward, 301
 Norris, Sir John, 138, 301, 304, 312, 344
 North, Lord, 142
 Northumberland, Algernon Duke of, his present of
 the Tablet of Samueh to the British Museum, 389
 Northwold's Mill in Norfolk, Ancient Beads found
 at, 47

O

Odin Stone, 100, 101
 Orcades, the islands so called occupied by the Picts, 90
 Orkney, Account of the Celtic Antiquities of, in-
 cluding the Stones of Stenness, Tumuli, Picts'
 Houses, &c. with Plans, &c. 88—136
 ——— Derivation of the name of Orkney, 88
 ——— only three Cromlechs known in, 99
 ——— the most remarkable tumulus in, called
 M'eshoo or Meashowe, 111
 ——— Site of a Picts' Castle in, generally known
 by the name of "Brough," 118
 Orton Scar, Westmorland, account of antiquities dis-
 covered at, 446
 Osymandyas, Palace of, 385
 Otgar the Dane, Sword of, 187 *note* ^d

3 O

P

- Palmer, Sir Henry, 297, 329
 Pape, collegiate Irish Priesthood of that name, account of, 89
 Papey, Picts' House upon the holm of, 127
 PARKER, JOHN HENRY, *Esq.* Notes by, made during a Tour in the West of France, 273—295
 Parma, Prince of, 299, 300
 Parthenay, Old, Church of, in Poitou, 292
 ——— Churches of St. Laurent and St. Croix, and Notre Dame de la Coudre, at, 293
 ——— remains of medieval houses in the town of, *ibid.*
 Pascal Tapers, 52, *note*
 Pavement, Roman tessellated, covered up near the Box-Moor station, Herts, 396
 Paulinus's Cross, 437
 Peckham, Sir Geo. 142
 Penn, William, 355
 ——— applies to have a few of the Monmouth men, sentenced to be banished, sent to Pennsylvania, 351
 Penne, George, 355
 Pentland, properly Pightland, Firth, 90
 Perdeswell, co. Worcester, ancient bronze collar found at, 85
 Penruddock and Grove, Salisbury rising of, 351
 Perrott, Sir John, 151
 Perrot, Monsr. descriptive Account by, of the ancient interments at Nismes, 68, 69, 70
 Peti, a prince of Æthiopia under Rameses III. 387
 PETTIGREW, THOS. JOSEPH, *Esq.* On the Deities of the Amenti, as found in Egyptian Mummies, 392, 393
 Pevensey, little alteration in the beach at, 239
 ——— one of the probable places of Cæsar's landing in Britain, 242, 243, 244
 Pevensey Bay, change in the sea-shore at, since the days of the Romans, 249
 Pewe, St. Mary de, 416
 Pharaohs, principal inducements which led them to the South, 374
 Phial, Island of, taken, 305
 Phtha, temple of, enlarged by Rameses II. 373
 Phtha-ka, land of, 372
 Physician, character of the, as described on a Roundell, *i. James I.* 229
 Pietish Broughs, fancy for burying in the, 122
 Picts, ruins of ancient buildings in the Orkneys ascribed by tradition to the, 89—118
 Picts' Castle upon the isthmus which connects Lamb Head with the mainland of Stronsey, 123
 Picts' Houses, subterranean, wholly or in part, in Orkney, 129
 Pierowall, Picts' House upon the Links of, in Westray, 129, 130
 Pillars of the Ring of Brogar, dimensions of, 105
 Pinney, Azariah, history of the banishment of, after being sentenced to death for participating in Monmouth's Rebellion, 353—355
 Pinney, John Frederick, 355
 Pinney, Nathaniel, Item from his Accompt Book, 355
 Pits, of the simplest and rudest construction, made depositories for the ashes of the humbler classes of the Roman people, 31
 Poitiers, City of, an important Roman station, 286
 ——— Temple of St. John at, *ibid.*
 ——— Church of St. Hilary at, 287
 ——— St. Nicolas, 288
 ——— St. Porchaire, 289
 ——— Montierneuf, *ibid.*
 ——— St. Radegunde's Church at, 290
 ——— Church of Notre Dame la Grande, *ibid.*
 ——— St. Peter, 291
 Poitou, Notes of a Tour through the County of, 286—295
 Poyntull, Castle of, 318
 Pomona, isle of, described, 95
 Pope Street, a hamlet of the parish of Eltham, Kent, 56
 Portugal, the Action of, 1589, 301
 Portus Iccius, or Itius, 232, 233, 237, 238
 Preston, Capt. Ames, 315
 ——— Sir Amyas, 333
 Price, Capt. John, 351

Prisse, M. his description of the Tablet of Rameses II. 357
 Procopius, description by of the Franks' Axe, 176
 Pullison, Alderman, 149
 Pynson, Richard, editions of Lyndewode's Provinciale printed by, 428

Q.

Quanterness, Picts' House at, 123

R.

- Radcliffe, Sir John, 405
 Ragnacaire, King of Cambrai, 180
 Raleigh, Carewe, 142
 Raleigh, Lady, anxiety of, towards her husband, 165
 ——— suit regarding the payment of her marriage portion, *ibid.*
 Raleigh, Sir Walter, 310, 315, 317, 322, 324, 325, 329
 ——— his character, &c. with new particulars of his life, 137, 144, 160
 ——— Letters of, 152, 156, 162, 163, 167, 169
 ——— his intrigue with Mrs. Throgmorton, 160, 161
 ——— their imprisonment in the Tower, 162
 ——— appointment from regarding the manor of Sherborne, Co. Dors. 163, 164
 ——— voyage undertaken by him in 1592, but returned and left the charge thereof to Sir Martin Frobisher, 310
 ——— great heart-burning against him arises, 324
 Rameses, temples erected by throughout Nubia, 386
 Rameses I. Lists of his wars, 381
 ——— tablet set up by him at Ibrim, the ancient Primis, *ibid.* 382
 Rameses II. 383
 ——— Historical Tablet of, relating to the Gold Mines of Ethiopia, 357—391
 Rameses II. hieroglyphic pictures of, 358, 359
 ——— translation of the Tablet, 360—370
 ——— conquests of at Beitoually, 386
 ——— statue of, removed from Nubia by Belzoni, 387
 Rameses III. 373
 ——— coronation of, 371
 ——— tomb of, 372
 Ra nub Cheper, the King, base of a statue inscribed with the name of, 374
 RAWLINSON, *Lieut.-Col.* H., Notes by, on some Paper Casts of Cuneiform Inscriptions upon the sculptured rock at Behistun, 73—76
 Report of the Committee appointed by the Council of the Society of Antiquaries to investigate the circumstances attending the recent Discovery of a Body in St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 406—430
 REPTON, JOHN ADEY, *Esq.* on the construction of Timber Arches, 445
 REVELEY, THOMAS, *Esq.* presents a Torque, Fibula, &c. found in Westmorland, to the Society's Museum, 446
 Reymon, Captain, 297
 Reynaldes, Captain, 330, 334
 Rich, Barnaby, 151
 Rigollot, Dr. his Observations on the Arts and Ornaments of the Teutonic races, 181
 Rinansey, 89
 Ring of Brogar, 97
 ——— representation of, 102
 ——— its dimensions, 104
 Ring of Bûkan, and its dimensions, 106
 Ring of Stenness, with Cromlech, 98, 99
 ——— dimensions of the, 101
 ROBERTS, GEORGE, *Esq.* Memoir on the practice of Banishment as it obtained in the reign of James II. among those who were sentenced to death for their participation in the Rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, 350—356
 Robertsbridge, 248
 ——— Saxon and most probably British fortification still existing near, 248
 Romney Marsh, 241

- Ronaldsha, North, island of, 89
- "Roundells," or Fruit Trenchers, Account of, 225—230
- Royston, ancient cave at, described by Dr. Stukeley in his *Palæographia Britannica*, considered to be a Roman sepulchral vault, 28
- Ruthven, Alexander, 195
- Ruthven, Mary, dau. of Patrick Ruthven, 203
——— married to Sir Ant. Vandyke, 204
- Ruthven, Patrick, 195, 196
——— Observations on Documents relating to him, and to his father William first Earl of Gowrie, 190—224
——— confinement of in the Tower of London for nineteen years, 197, 198
——— Letter of to the Earl of Northumberland, 198, *note*
——— an allowance made to, in 1616, 200
——— terms of his release from the Tower, *ibid.*
——— new conditions of his liberty, 201, 202
——— married to Eliz. Woodford, 203
——— sufferings of him and of his family in the troubles of the time of Charles I. 205
——— assumes the title of Earl of Gowrie, 206
——— practises as a physician in London, 207
——— in the King's Bench, 208
——— buried thence at St. George's in Southwark as "Lord Ruthen," *ibid.*
——— charges relating to his imprisonment in the Tower, 215—218
——— grant of annuity to of 500*l.* per annum, 218, 219
——— power of attorney to his daughter Mary Ruthven to receive £120 a-year of his pension, 219, 220
——— Petition of against one Andrewes, 223
——— assignment from to Lettice Ellinsworth, 223
——— administration granted to Patrick Ruthen, Esq. his son, 224
- Ruthven, William, 195, 196
——— designated as a chemist and philosopher, 197
- Ruthven, William, his Common-Place Book, 451
- Ruthven and Dirletoun, Deed of procuratorship relating to the lands and baronies of, 212—215
- S.
- Sackfield, Captain, 301
- Saffron Walden, in Essex, Rules of the Free-School at, *t. Hen. VIII.* 37—41
- St. Cruz, Marquis of, 311, 341, 343
- St. Leonard's, one of the probable places of Cæsar's landing in Britain, 242
- St. Ninian's Lodge, at Brechin, law of, for the registry of mason's marks, 34
- St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, Report of the Committee appointed to investigate the circumstances attending the recent discovery of a body at, 406—430
- Sandwick, in Orkney, excavations at, by Dr. Watt, 108, 109
——— ——— tumulus at, containing three stone chests, opened by Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Solander, and others in 1772, 109
- Samneh, fortifications of, 375
——— Translation of the Tablet removed from, by the Duke of Northumberland, now deposited in the British Museum, 389
- San, or Heliopolis, 373
- Savill, Captain, 312
- Savin, St., Church of, in Poitou, 294, 295
- Savrock, near Kirkwall, in Orkney, subterranean chamber discovered at, 131
- Saumur, Account of the Church of St. Peter at, 281
——— St. Nicolas Church at, *ibid.* 282
- Sawell, Captain, 334
- Saxon Inscription, portion of one found at Dewsbury in Yorkshire, 437
- "Scramasaxes" of Gregory of Tours, 184
- Sculptures at Goodrich Castle, description of rubbings from, 436
- Seal *ad causas Ecclesiasticas*, found at Dawley, co. of Salop, 438
——— of Margaret, Queen of Edw. I. 443

- Seal of Cardinal Beaufort, *ibid.*
 Sebakhetp, certain Æthiopian rulers so named, 375
 Selzen, tombs of the, opened, 184
 Semiramis, the Assyrian Queen, believed to have been
 a mythic personage, 73
 Senefru, the King, 374
 Sepulchre, moveable tomb so called, anciently used in
 Churches on Good Friday, 52, *note*
 Sesostriis, Expedition of, 385
 ——— inscription said to be engraved on his Tem-
 ples, 388
 Seymour, Lord Henry, 297
 Seymour, Edward, 154
 Shafts or Pits, instances of, formed for the purpose
 of sepulchral interment in the Roman times, 21,
 22; supposed to have been a mode of sepulture
 very generally adopted in the Roman time, 25
 ——— many such depositories in the county of
 Kent, 30
 Shaaemneser, son of Amenhetp, sepulchre of, 379
 Sham, place called, over which the god Horus pre-
 sided, 380
 Sheffield, The Lord, 296
 Sherborne, co. Dorset, Manor of, granted to Sir Walter
 Raleigh, 158
 Sherley, Sir Thomas, 330
 Ships, rapidity of Her Majesty in victualling and
 furnishing them, an. 1599, 321
 Shooter's Hill, Beacon anciently at, 57
 ——— murder committed at, in 1573, by
 George Brown, 60
 Sidonius Apollinaris, his description of the Frank
 warriors, 176
 Sign-penny, stewards, fee so called, 62
 Sinclair, Alexander, 203, *note*^b.
 Siriago, 333
 Slingsbie, Captain, 330, 334
 SMITH, CHAS. ROACH, *Esq.* Notes by, on Saxon
 Sepulchral Remains found at Fairford, Gloucester-
 shire, 77—82
 SMYTH, Capt W. H. Director, Supplement to the
 Description of an Astrological Clock belonging to
 the Society, 1—20
- SOLLY, NATHANIEL NEAL, *Esq.* Account of Ystum-
 cegid Cromlech, in the parish of Llanfihangel-y-
 Pennant, in the county of Carnarvon, by, 66, 67
 Sommers, Captain, 331, 333
 Souldier, Character of the, upon a Roundell *t. Jas. I.*
 227
 South Yale, Shetland, Pictish buildings at, 134, *note*
 Southampton, the Earl of, 322
 Southwell, Sir Robert, 296
 Spear of the Philistine who assaulted David, of brass,
 173
 Spear-heads from Anglo-Saxon graves, 183
 Spenser, Edmund, 150
 Spinola, Frederico, 341, 343
 Spital House in Kent Street, Borough, 27
 Sta, a Prince of Æthiopia so named, 387
 Stapleton, Sir William, obtains a number of the
 Monmouth Prisoners, 351
 Stenness, Account of, 96, 97
 ——— Ring of, 98, 99, 112
 ——— dimensions of the 101
 ——— representation of the Circle of, 102
 ——— first direct notice of the Stones of, 112
 ——— description of them, by Dr. Henry in the
 Arch. Scot. 113
 ——— Principal Gordon's Account of the, 114
 Stewart, Lady Arabella, 200
 Stone, near Aylesbury, Account of the Discovery of
 Roman and other Sepulchral Remains at, 21—32
 ——— summary of the remains, 26, 27
 Stoneranda, 94
 Suit-Grant, 53, *note*
 Sykes, Colonel, Roundells or Fruit-Trenchers, *t.*
 James I. exhibited by to the Society, 225
- T.
- Tablet or Book-cover, with an Anglo-Saxon Inscrip-
 tion, 438—440
 Talbots, the, Earls of Shrewsbury, at one time the
 possessors of Goodrich Castle, 435
 Tanner, Robert, his "Mirror for Mathematics," 261

THOMAS, *Lieut. F. W. L.* Account by, of some of the Celtic Antiquities of Orkney, including the Stones of Stenness, Tumuli, Picts' houses, &c. 88—186
 Thorolf, spear of, 178, *note* ^a
 Thothmes I. 379
 Thothmes IV. preamble of an inscription dated in the seventh year of, 389
 Throckmorton, Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh's intrigue with, 160, 161
 — her imprisonment on that account, 162
 Throgmorton, Capt. 323
 Throughton, Capt. 313, 330, 331
 Tilbury, caverns at, described by Camden, considered to be Roman sepulchral Vaults, 28
 — Morant's account of them, 29
 Timber Arches, on the construction of, 445
 Trevor, Capt. 334, 344
 Tumuli, Account of the opening of some in the East Riding of Yorkshire, 251—258
 Tunicle, sub-deacon's garment so called, 56
 Turin, ancient Egyptian Map at, 382
 Tyrone, 333, 334

U.

Uai, the chiefs of, 380
 Vandyke, Sir Anthony, particulars relating to the latter part of his life, 204
 — fate of his paintings left on hand or unfinished, 205, 221
 Vavasor, Captain, 307
 Vavasor, Sir Thomas, 323, 329
 Vea, stones of, 116
 Veare, Sir Francis, 315, 317, 322
 Vestrafield in Sandwick, barrows on, 94, 100, 117
 Villa Frank, 328
 Vinci, Leonardo da, 3
 Vineta, Account of the lost city of, 440—442
 Vint, Henry, *Esq.* Account of a Silver Disc from Tarentum belonging to, 265—272
 Visconti, Gaspar, sonnet by, alluding to the application of the coiled spring in watches, 12

Urns, Roman, discovery of at Stone in Buckinghamshire, 25

Vulliamy, B. L. *Esq.* Account of the globular clock presented by to the Society, 14, 15

Vyse, Col. Howard, marks noticed by him and others on stones in the Pyramids of Egypt, 33, 35, 36

W.

Wade, Major, town-clerk of Bristol, 356, *note* ^a

Walsingham, Sir Francis, Letter of, 147

Walsingham, Sir Thomas, 62, *note*

Wasbaster, hill-dyke of the town-land of, 107

Watt, Dr. of Skaill, excavation by in the parish of Sandwick, 107, 108

WAY, ALBERT, *Esq.* Notice by, of a Bronze beaded Collar found in Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire, 83—87

Weapons of the Celtic and Teutonic Races, Account of the, 171—189

Wells, care among the Egyptians of making them in the desert, 383

— one on the Cosseir road, *ibid.*

— another at the Sarabut El Khadem, *ibid.*

Weston, or West-end Green, parish of Eltham, Kent, 52, *note*

Whett's Elm, or Wyatt's Elm, frequently mentioned in the parish records of Eltham in Kent, 57

WHITE, WALTER, *Esq.* account of certain Tombs, called Huns' graves, in the Netherlands, 442, 443

Wideford Hill in Orkney, Picts' House at, 124, 125

Widow, the, as poetically described upon a Roundell, *t.* James I. 228

Wife, the, as described upon a Roundell or fruit-trencher of the *t.* Jas. I. 228

Williams, Capt. 301

WILLIAMS, JOHN, *Esq.* Letter of, upon the Coin of Bona of Savoy, 450

Williams, Sir Roger, 301

Winkfield, Sir John, 315

Winter, Capt. William, 501

Winter, Sir William, 297

Wissant, the place of Cæsar's departure, according to some writers, for the Invasion of Britain, 231, 232
 — bay of, 236
 Worde, Wynkyn de, editions of Lyndewode's Provinciale from the press of, 427, 428
 WRIGHT, THOMAS, *Esq.* Communication by, of the Rules of the Free School at Saffron Walden in Essex, *t.* Henry VIII. 37—41
 — on a leaden Tablet, belonging to Lord Londesborough, 438—440
 — Exhibition by, of a Volume in the handwriting of Patrick Ruthven, 451
 Wyck, Henry de, Clock by, 2

Y.

York, unglazed antique head of coarse clay, found under the walls of, with a hoard of stycas, in 1841, 47
 Yorke, Sir Edw. 305, 311
 Yorke, Captain Gilbert, 310
 Yorkshire, East Riding of, Account of the Opening of some Tumuli in, 251—258
 Ystumcegid Cromlech, in the county of Carnarvon, Account of, 66, 67

ERRATA.

Page	89, l. 11,	for Eynhallon,	read Eynhallow.
—	92, l. 28,	— Vog and Syking,	— Voy and Lyking.
—	94, l. 30,	— Busa	— Birsā.
—	96, l. 3,	— Hana	— Harra.
—	98, l. 15,	— brū	— Bū.
—	99, l. 11,	— unturned,	— untrimmed.
—	104, l. 11,	— Sykin,	— Lykin.
—	107, l. 15,	— Wall,	— Watt.
—	111, l. 25,	— peina,	— peirra.
—	119, ll. 5, 50,	— Hangseid,	— Haugseid.
—	123, l. 13,	— strong,	— stoney.
—	130, l. 7,	— Randals,	— Randal.

